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FORCHHAMMERS AKZENTTHEORIE UND DIE GERMANISCHE LAUTVERSCHIEBUNG.

1. Dasz Verstärkung des Atemdruckes die physiologische Ursache der germanischen Lautverschiebung ist, ist längst erkannt worden, und eine Kette immer klarerer Darstellung zieht sich von Raumer (Die Aspiration und die Lautverschiebung, Leipzig 1837) über Scherer (GddS. 90ff), Paul, Zur Lautverschiebung (Btr. I 147 ff) und Kräuter (Zur Lautverschiebung, Straszburg 1877) bis auf Hans Meyer (ZfdA 45, 101 f). Hans Meyer stellt wohl einen ursächlichen Zusammenhang zwischen den einzelnen Akten der Lautverschiebung im engeren Sinne fest, sieht sich aber noch genötigt, Verners Gesetz und die germanische Tenuisgemination von derselben zu trennen. Diese Trennung ist unvermeidlich, solange angenommen wird, dasz Ursache des expiratorischen Akzentes verschiedener Druck der Atmungsorgane sei. Mit Verners Gesetz und der germanischen Tenuisgemination fallen auch Sievers Gesetz über die Behandlung von germanisch *ǵw*, sowie Holtzmanns Gesetz über die Verschärfung von nachtonigem *j*, *w* nicht nur ausserhalb des Rahmens der Lautverschiebung, sondern sie geraten mit derselben in direkten Widerspruch; bei starkem Kontrast in der Druckstärke zweier benachbarter Silben müszte man auch Druckverstärkung des Konsonanten in der stärkeren, Druckschwächung des Konsonanten in der schwächeren Silbe erwarten, wie unten zu erklären sein wird. Verners eigene phonetische Erklärung seines Gesetzes befriedigt nicht. Nach ihm ist der geringere Expirationsdruck charakteristisch für den stimmhaften Konsonanten, sodasz *apá* zu *aða* wurde; wenn dagegen der Hauptton vorausgehe, gereiche der grözere Expirationsdruck dem Konsonanten zum Schutz, sodasz *ápá* erhalten bliebe. Diese Erklärung würde ein Gesetz geschlossener Silben im Germanischen voraussetzen, während in der Tat das Germanische fast wie das Slavische zur Trennung nach offenen Silben neigt (vgl. Sievers, Btr. XVI, 262 f); in *ápá* aber kann der Atemdruck der ersten Silbe dem folgenden *p* nicht zum Schutz ge-

reichen; in *a-šá* (oder etwa *'-ašà*) dagegen könnte der folgende Haupt- oder Nebenton wohl einen Einfluss auf den Konsonanten ausüben.

2. Nun hat vor nicht langer Zeit Forchhammer eine neue Akzenttheorie aufgestellt (*Tidskrift för döfstumskolan* 1896), die ich nach Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, S. 115, zitiere:

“Ist es wirklich der Druck der Atmungsorgans, auf dem die verschiedene Stärke der Silben beruht? Davon ist man bisher ausgegangen. . . . Nach ihm (Forchhammer) beruht das Wesentliche auf der Grösze der Stimmritze. Laszt uns einen Versuch machen: wir gehen von der geschlossenen Stimmritze aus und nähern uns langsam der offenen Stellung (ϵ 2 oder ϵ 3). Wir werden dann finden, dasz die kräftigste Stimme der geschlossenen Stellung am nächsten liegt, und dasz die Stimme darauf schwächer wird, während gleichzeitig der Luftverbrauch grösser wird. Also erhalten wir starke Stimme bei geringem Luftverbrauch and schwache Stimme bei groszem Luftverbrauch. Wir können mit der kräftigsten Stimme einen Vokal wie *a* gerade gegen ein angezündets Licht singen, ohne dasz die Flamme im mindesten flackert, während wir umgekehrt mit einer schwachen, aber luftefüllten Stimme sehr leicht das Licht ganz auslöschen können. In Wirklichkeit kann man eine schwache Stimme auf zweierlei Weisen erhalten, entweder durch Verminderung der Ausatemungskraft oder durch Vergrösserung des Abstandes zwischen den Stimmbändern; aber die Wirkung bleibt nicht dieselbe; im ersteren Falle ist die Stimme, wenn auch noch so schwach, doch verhältnismässig klangvoll, wie sie denn auch wegen des geringen Luftverbrauches lange ausgezogen werden kann; diese Art eignet sich daher besonders für den Gesang, wo es auch feste Regel ist, dasz Piano mit Hilfe der Atmung gebildet werden soll, wenn dies auch so grosze Schwierigkeiten in sich schlieszt, dasz ein beherrschtes Piano etwas vom Schwersten ist, das es gibt. Im anderen Falle ist die Stimme klangloser, deutlich als luftefüllt zu hören, wie sie denn auch wegen des Luftverbrauchs verhältnismässig rasch verbraucht wird. Dies ist jedoch gewisz die Art und Weise, die wir in der Rede bei “unbetonten Silben” benutzen, da sie die leichtere ist. Kann

man sich überhaupt denken, dasz ein so schneller Wechsel zwischen starken und schwachen Silben, wie wir ihn in der Sprache haben, wirklich mit dem groszen, schweren Atmungsapparat vollzogen wird, wenn man einen so leichten und leicht beweglichen Apparat wie die Stimmbänder hat? (Die Akzentuierung geht mit ihrer Hilfe "so leicht vor sich, dasz schon eine Bewegung von—ich glaube sagen zu können, höchstens 1 mm hinreichend ist, um von der stärksten zur schwächsten Stimme überzugehen.") Was ist nun die physische Erklärung dafür, das die Stimmbänder, wenn sie einander nahe stehen, einen kräftigeren Ton erzeugen, als wenn sie etwas entfernt sind? Der Atemstrom beruht darauf, dasz grösserer Luftdruck in den Lungenbläschen ist als draussen in der atmosphärischen Luft; wenn wir uns eine Messung der Luft während des Ausströmens der Luft aus der Lunge durch den Mund denken könnten, würden wir sehen, wie sich der Druck allmählich verliert. Ist der Luftweg frei, so wird die Veränderung selbstredend ziemlich ebenmässig vor sich gehen; ist aber der Luftweg an einer Stelle stark eingengt, so wird—nach physischen Gesetzen—der Druck sich so verteilen, dasz die grösste Druckdifferenz auf beiden Seiten der Einengung sich befindet, und wird an einer Stelle vollständiger Verschluss gebildet, so sammelt sich die ganze Druckdifferenz hier. Je grösser die Annäherung zwischen den Stimmbändern ist, desto grössere Druckdifferenz wird zwischen der Luft über und unter ihnen bestehen; das ist aber gerade die Bedingung für die kräftigeren Schwingungen, den stärkeren Ton.

Wir können jetzt vielleicht als abgemacht betrachten: Der Unterschied zwischen "stark" und "schwach" kann zuwege gebracht werden mit Hilfe von:

1. Stärkerer und schwächerer Ausatmung; dies Mittel wird (am besten) beim Gesang verwandt; ausserhalb des Gesanges kommt es nur subsidiär zur Verwendung, wo man, wie beim Rufen oder bei starker Emphase, alle Mittel benutzen will, um etwas besonders hörbar zu machen;

2. Grösserer oder geringerer Annäherung der beiden Stimmbänder; dies ist das normale Mittel bei gewöhnlicher Rede, wo die Unannehmlichkeit, dasz ein Teil der Luft verloren geht, und dasz der Klang ästhetisch nicht so ansprechend

wird, nicht die Vorteile bedeutend grösserer Einfachheit aufwiegt. Die deutlichste Empfindung der "Murmelstimme" erhält man vielleicht, wenn man auf den Unterschied zwischen zwei aufeinanderfolgenden, sonst gleichen Vokalen achtet, von denen der erste schwach, der zweite stark ist, wie in dänisch *var du ude?* engl. *the East*, besonders so wie sie in schneller natürlicher Rede lauten."

Dies stimmt, wie auch Forchhammer in einer folgenden Nummer der Taubstummenzeitschrift bemerkt (Jespersen l. c. 117, Anm.) teilweise mit dem überein, was Sievers in seiner Phonetik (S. 29) über die Murmelstimme sagt, "nur dasz Sievers in der Murmelstimme ein Nebenphänomen sieht, das oft die Schwächung der Silbe begleitet, welche, wie er glaubt, auf schwachem Ausatmen beruht, während F. in der Murmelstimme, d. h. in einem vergrößerten Abstand zwischen den Stimmbändern die Ursache für die Unbetontheit der Silbe sieht." Sievers sagt l. c.: "Von der Vollstimme unterscheidet sich die Murmelstimme insbesondere dadurch, dasz die Stimmbänder infolge zu weiter Stellung und zu geringen Stromdrucks nur schwach und unvollkommen ansprechen, der Stimme also Flüster- und Hauchgeräusche beigemischt werden, welche die beim Murmeln entweichende Nebenluft hervorbringt. Sie kann vermutlich durch beliebig schlaffe Artikulation des Kehlkopfes erzeugt werden, vielleicht aber ist für sie typisch die zuerst von Czermak beobachtete Bildungsweise, dasz die Knorpelglottis geöffnet bleibt."

3. Übertragen wir diese Theorie auf die germanische Lautverschiebung, so wird dadurch natürlich an der Erklärung der ersten drei Akte ($t > th > þ$, $dh > ð$, $d > t$) nichts Wesentliches geändert, da diese vom Akzent unabhängig sind. Nicht zu übersehen aber ist ein Prinzip, das mit F.s Theorie immerhin in engem Zusammenhang steht: die Verstärkung des Expirationsdruckes hat zwei Folgen: einerseits als direkte Folge die Neigung, einen vorhandenen Verschluss im Ansatzrohr zu sprengen; das führt vor allem zur stärkeren Aspirierung der Tenuis und dann zu ihrem Übergang in Spiranten, indem ein starker Atemstrom aus der geöffneten Glottis dringt und Bildung einer Enge statt eines Verschlusses bewirkt; ähnlich entsteht ð aus dh : der schwächere Luftstrom, der aus

der verengerten Glottis dringt, genügt, den an sich lockeren Verschluss einer aspirierten Media zu sprengen. Andererseits aber ist eine indirekte Folge eine der verstärkten Expiration entgegenwirkende Verstärkung der Muskelspannung in Zunge oder Lippen. Der im Verhältnis zu *dh* festere Verschluss des *d* wird durch den stimmhaften, also schwachen Atemstrom nicht gesprengt; die Muskelspannung der Zunge verstärkt sich vielmehr, und dies führt, als Rückwirkung, zur Öffnung der Glottis, sodass *t* entsteht; ein anderes Ergebnis der verstärkten Muskelspannung sehen wir später in der nicht mehr zur eigentlichen Lautverschiebung gehörenden Entwicklung der stimmhaften Spirans zum stimmhaften Verschlusslaut; auch hier wirkt dem in gleicher Stärke fortwirkenden Expirationsdruck die daraus resultierende stärkere Muskelspannung entgegen, bis sich Verschluss bildet.—Die zweite Lautverschiebung bietet darin ein etwas anderes, zum Teil recht buntes Bild, das in einem späteren Artikel zu besprechen sein wird.

Schematisch stellen sich also, mit Jespersens Bezeichnung, die drei Hauptakte der ersten Verschiebung folgendermassen dar; als Beispiel sind, wie durchwegs, die Dentale gewählt, ϵ bezeichnet die Stimmbänder, β Zungenspitze und Zungenblatt, 0 steht für Verschluss, d. h. keine Öffnung, 1 für Enge, 2 für weitere, 3 für weiteste Öffnung; der Unterschied zwischen Spalt und Rille kann für die gegenwärtigen Zwecke vernachlässigt werden; „ steht für Ruhelage.

1.	t	$> th$	$> p$	2.	dh	$> \delta$	3.	d	$> t$
	$\epsilon 3$	$\epsilon 3$	$\epsilon 3$		$\epsilon 1$	$\epsilon 1$		$\epsilon 1$	$\epsilon 3$
	$\beta 0$	$\beta 0 + \beta,$	$\beta 2$		$\beta 0 + \beta,$	$\beta 2$		$\beta 0$	$\beta 0$

Da die Zahlen—die natürlich rein symbolisch, nicht mathematisch aufzufassen sind—die Grösze der Ausfluszüffnung für den Atemstrom bezeichnen, ist in ihnen die besprochene Verstärkung klar angegeben: $t > p$ entspricht einem Wachsen von 3 zu 5, dh zu δ einem solchen von 1 zu 3, und d zu t zeigt dasselbe Verhältnis; leider lässt sich die Muskelspannung kaum in ähnlicher Weise graphisch darstellen.

4. Die vom Akzent abhängigen Konsonantenveränderungen des Germanischen lassen sich durch blosze Annahme starken Expirationsdruckes nicht erklären. Vielmehr müsste man

daraus, solange man Druckakzent annimmt, auf einen gerade entgegengesetzten Prozess schlieszen. Nicht *a-pá*, sondern *ápá* würde *aða* ergeben; nicht *ɣw'* sondern *'ɣw* müsste zu *w* werden (s. u.); in gleicher Weise müssten wir *ája* statt *ájja* erwarten. und schliesslich würde die germanische Tenuisgemination eher vor unbetonter als vor betonter Silbe eintreten. Jede Erklärung, die geringeren statt stärkeren Expirationsdruckes in diesen Lautveränderungen fordert, zieht einen scharfen Schnitt durch die gesamte germanische Konsonantenentwicklung, der durch nichts zu rechtfertigen ist und chronologisch mehrfach auf Widerspruch stöszt. Die notwendige logische Forderung ist die: zuerst trat Verstärkung des Expirationsdruckes ein; *t* wurde zu *p*, *dh* zu *ð*, *d* zu *t* als unmittelbare oder mittelbare Folge, wie oben behandelt. Dann aber hätte aus irgendwelchen Gründen eine gegenteilige Tendenz wirken müssen—denn man kann doch nicht gut annehmen, dass zwei entgegengesetzte Tendenzen zur gleichen Zeit geherrscht hätten—und diese hätte es möglich machen müssen, dass unter Umständen (die Abhängigkeit vom Akzent lässt sich dabei phonetisch kaum rechtfertigen) *p* zu *ð* und *ɣw* zu *w* wurde, und dass *ája* blieb, während *ájja* eintrat. Die germanische Tenuisgemination brauchte zwar an sich mit diesem neuen Prinzip nichts zu tun zu haben, dennoch aber bedeutet sie die grössten chronologischen Schwierigkeiten, da sie vor *d* > *t*, also noch zur Zeit der alten Tendenz, eintreten musste, jedoch dieser bei Annahme eines Druckakzentes klar widerspricht.

5. Verners Gesetz stellt sich nun bei Annahme der Forchhammer'schen Theorie folgendermassen dar: germanische stimmlose Spiranten (zum kleineren Teile vielleicht auch Verschlusslaute) neigen im allgemeinen zur Assimilierung an umgebende stimmhafte Laute; sie werden in solcher Umgebung selbst stimmhaft; vergleiche die Behandlung von intersonantischer stimmloser Spirans im Alt-englischen, Alt-nordischen, Alt-sächsischen (die sich noch im norddeutschen *-s-* = *-z-* fortsetzt). Diese Assimilation trat unbeschränkt ein, wenn der Akzent (Hauptton, Nebenton oder vielleicht Pausa) folgte: *ápá* > *aða*; die Silbentrennung war *a-pá*; die erste Silbe wurde mit *ε* 2 oder ähnlich (Murmelsstimme, Halbstimme), also mit teilweise offener Glottis, gesprochen; beim Einsatz der

Tonsilbe aber wurde die Glottis verengt und stimmhafte Spirans gebildet. Begann das *p* dagegen eine tonlose Silbe, so erfolgte die für die Tonlosigkeit erforderliche Glottisöffnung (ε 2 bis ε 3) schon beim Silbeneinsatz, und blieb erhalten, bzw. entwickelte sich aus *t*, *th*. Die Glottisöffnung ε1 oder ε2 (ε3) beginnt sofort mit dem Einsatz der neuen Silbe, sodasz *a-ðá* ein ε2 + ε1, dagegen *ápa* ein ε1 + ε2 darstellt. Persönliche Experimente sind überzeugend, besonders wenn man die Tonlosigkeit der einen Silbe gegenüber der sehr stark betonten anderen Silbe recht hervorhebt; er wird einem dann schwer, *áða* oder *ápá* sprechen, und als Ursache der Schwierigkeit fühlt man die Silbentrennung aufs deutlichste.

Tonlosigkeit der vorhergehenden, nicht Betonung der folgenden Silbe ist als eigentlicher Grund allgemein anerkannt, und dies steht mit der gegebenen Erklärung nicht im Widerspruche, wenn man sich gegenwärtig hält, dasz die Stimmhaftigkeit des Spiranten in stimmhafter Umgebung das Normale, Stimmlosigkeit das erst durch den Übergang von der unbetonten zur betonten Silbe bedingte Abnormale ist. Ich will indes nicht leugnen, dasz ich die häufige Bequemlichkeitszitierung des Verner'schen Gesetzes, als vom Akzent der "folgenden" Silbe abhängig nicht für ganz ausgemacht falsch halte. Stimmhafte Spirans im Auslaut (z. B. im nom. sg. masc. der *o*-Stämme) könnte Sandhi-form, dagegen die nicht ganz verständliche stimmlose Spirans im gen. sg. das Lautgesetzliche sein. Davon bei anderer Gelegenheit.

6. Zu dieser Erklärung von Verners Gesetz ist Annahme starken Expirationsdruckes zwar keine *conditio sine qua non* (ausgenommen insoweit als sie zur Erklärung der Spiranten überhaupt notwendig ist), aber sie steht damit in keiner Weise im Widerspruch. Erforderlich indes ist sie zur Erklärung von Holtzmanns Gesetz, wonach Halbvokal nach stark-tonigem kurzem Vokal "verschärft" (gedehnt) wird, was dann im Gotischen und Nordischen weiter zu einer Art Affricata aus palatalem, bzw. velarem Verschlusslaut und der entsprechenden Spirans führt: *'i > j > jj > d'd'j*; *'u > w > ww > ggw*. Der Grund ist in der aus starkem Expirationsdruck resultierenden Muskelspannung zu suchen; ebenso wie *dh >*

$\delta > d$ wird, d. h. dem Atemstrom ein immer kräftigeres Hindernis entgegengestellt wird, so wird aus einer lockeren (weiten) Spirans (Jespersens Öffnung 3) eine immermehr verschärfte Spirans (Öffnung 2 bis 1) und endlich ein Verschlusslaut, der ja im Nordischen schliesslich das spirantische Element verlieren kann.

Bei Annahme von Druckakzent ist das nur zu verstehen, wenn die Silbe, die stärkeren Druck fordert, folgt, aber nicht, wenn sie vorausgeht, denn die vorausgesetzte Muskelspannung ist nur beim Übergang zu stärkerem Druck erklärlich. Nach Forchhammers Theorie dagegen würden die Verhältnisse so liegen, dass in der ersten (betonten) Silbe dem starken Atemdruck die verengerte Glottis entgegentritt; beim Übergang zur Stimmbänderöffnung ist zweierlei möglich: die Dehnung der ersten Silbe, die wir im Westgermanischen finden, oder die Hervorhebung der Silbentrennung durch einen festeren Verschluss (eben die Rückwirkung der Muskelspannung), wie im Gotischen und Nordischen. In dieser interessanten Doppelheit der Entwicklung liegt nicht ein wirklicher Kontrast, sondern nur zwei verschiedene Phasen der gleichen Tendenz; im ersteren Falle wird der starke, aber durch Glottisenge gehinderte Atemstrom durch längeres Ausströmen geschwächt, im zweiten Falle tritt ihm die Reaktion der Muskelspannung entgegen. Das Prinzip der ersteren Erscheinung ist dasselbe, das Vereinfachung von Doppelkonsonanten nach langem Vokal fordert: wie ein starker Atemstrom kräftigen Verschluss bewirkt, so bewirkt ein durch Dehnung geschwächter Atemstrom Schwächung oder Kürzung des Verschlusses; vom Standpunkt der Muskelspannung ist beides im Grunde das Gleiche.

Das Verhältnis dieses Vorganges zu Verners Gesetz ist dem zwischen $d > t$ und $t > þ$ zu vergleichen; $t > þ$ und Verners Gesetz beruhen auf Expirationsdruck, $d > t$ und Holtzmanns Gesetz auf der daraus resultierenden Muskelspannung.

7. Genau dementsprechend liegen die Verhältnisse bei Sievers' Gesetz (an dem ich trotz Streitberg, U. G. 112, Anm. 2, festhalte). Nach diesem wird gw , soweit es nicht durch kombinatorischen Lautwandel entlabialisiert war, zu w , falls der Akzent folgte. Dies ist lediglich der umgekehrte Fall zu dem im vorigen Abschnitt dargestellten, gewissermassen die

Probe aufs Exempel, und bedarf daher einer weiteren Besprechung nicht, die nur das oben Gesagte wiederholen könnte.—Eine einigermaßen sichere Entscheidung zwischen dieser Auffassung der Behandlung von *gw* und der Streitberg'schen (an der durchaus nichts Unmögliches ist) wird allerdings nur auf Grund einer genauen Untersuchung der in jedem Falle anzunehmenden Analogiebildungen möglich sein.

8. Die germanische Tenuisgeminatio ist *nach* Verner's Gesetz eingetreten, ist aber *vor* der Verwandlung von Media zu Tenuis anzusetzen, gehört also noch zur Lautverschiebung und ist den gleichen phonetischen Tendenzen unterworfen. Sie ist denn auch den beiden eben behandelten Lautgruppen analog. Die Gruppen *ðn*, *dn* werden zu den weniger Widerstand bietenden assimilierten Gruppen *ðð*, *dd* (im weiteren Verlauf, bei Verstärkung der Muskelspannung zu *tt*); das oben Gesagte, wonach ohne Forchhammers Akzenttheorie diese Entwicklung eher bei vorausgehendem als bei folgenden Akzent anzunehmen wäre, gilt auch hier, sodass *ðn* > *tt* sich nur mit Hilfe dieser Theorie verstehen lässt.

9. Die Annahme, dass dynamischer Ton von der Größe der Glottisöffnung, nicht von der Stärke des Atemstroms, abhängt, löst also die Schwierigkeiten, die einer einheitlichen Erklärung der Lautverschiebung sonst im Wege stehen. Ohne diese Annahme muss man für sie zwei einander entgegengesetzte phonetische Tendenzen anerkennen, die einander ablösen, und man gerät dabei in unentwirrbare chronologische Widersprüche.

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A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

This treatise has not been written by a specialist in English with exclusive reference to English development, but it is the work of one more familiar with comparative linguistic studies. In Vol. X, pp. 335-354 of *THE JOURNAL* the writer has already outlined the general course of the development of the relative constructions in the different Germanic languages. There also English was treated. Even at that time the writer was conscious that his sketch of the English development was very incomplete and promised a fuller treatment later of the so-called omission of the relative. In his mind, however, also a number of other important questions had arisen and soon clamored for solution. Has the French influenced the English development as much as some German scholars claim? For years doubts with regard to some of these claims so confidently made would not be downed and gave the mind little rest until the resolution came to approach these questions a little closer. Little by little it became apparent that the whole development would have to be taken up again in detail as important additional facts had come to light in the course of the inquiry. Renewed study of the German growth also brought out new facts, which moreover illumine the English development.

In his work on this subject the writer used freely all the investigations of English and continental scholars and was thankful for the many happy suggestions he found. Notwithstanding the abundance of grammatical material offered in the many treatises and the manifold notes and glossaries in the special editions of English authors the writer has felt it his bounden duty to read the English authors themselves. He has read almost the entire printed literature up to A. D. 1450 and the principal works between that date and 1600. True ideas of English grammar can only be obtained from live English as found in the living language, or as preserved in printed documents or manuscripts. The conceptions of lexicographers

and grammarians are often at variance with each other and are often fundamentally wrong. Grammarians only too often treat important linguistic questions under the impression of preconceived ideas which have no basis in actual usage. Others try to solve difficult language problems *logically* without the necessary *historical* perspective. The vision of an editor of a special text is often also so hemmed in by the narrow boundaries of the particular dialect which he is studying that the general view is shut off. The student of language must always keep close to the actual records of speech and see that they are arranged according to the order of the time and place of their origin. It was often necessary for the writer to gallop thru extended stretches of literature. The reading of so many books was often very superficial and yet the writer has considerable confidence in his results. As he dashed thru these books he kept his eyes fixed upon certain grammatical constructions and noticed how they varied in the different centuries and the different parts of England. He left minor details to one side and kept constantly in view the main lines of the development.

There is no lack of detailed grammatical treatises of particular dialects, but we really need more of these hurried glances thru the different English dialects. The way seemed not unfrequently long and dreary when the attention was turned to the ideas of the authors themselves so largely theological and so often foreign to the thought of our own time, but it became full of intense interest when it became apparent from the study of these plain popular dialects that there was gradually forming a simple but strong and beautiful language which was destined to spread over a great portion of the earth. Anglo-Saxon, the literary language of the South, had, after the Norman conquest, gradually yielded to French and Latin. The native language, however, was not entirely abandoned for literary purposes. It gradually returned to favor until about 1250 it had gained the ascendancy. There was, however, nothing which might be called a literary language that was widely recognized as a standard. The writers in the different parts of England now employed their native local speech. These dialects were all very different

and yet were very much alike. Scholars have emphasized too much their differences. No one of these dialects was destined to supplant the others. The South did not gain such a decided victory over the North as in Germany. Northern usage in many important features gradually spread to the South. Scholars have emphasized too much the influence of the South and especially the Midland, and put too much stress upon the importance of the great writers such as Chaucer. The plain, terse, cogent English of the common people of the North was to leave its imprint upon the final form of the language that was to emerge from these dialects as the speech of England and a large part of the world. It was a great delight to the writer to watch the gradual spread of northern terseness and it has been to him a great pleasure to bring this vital character of English speech into connection with his theme of the English relative constructions, especially as first developed in the North.

The plain directness so characteristic of the English race manifests itself quite clearly in one of the oldest constructions of the English language—the so-called omission of the relative pronoun. The origin of this construction is not English, but Germanic or rather Indo-Germanic. While other peoples have discarded this old usage for finer and more intricate instruments of thought the English people has in large measure retained it in accordance with its natural trend to plain directness. There is in fact here no omission of a relative at all, but if anything is omitted it is a personal pronoun: “Here’s a gentlewoman [,she] denies all” (Shakspeare’s *M. f. M.* 5. 1. 282). “I have a bag of money here [,it] troubles me” (id. *Merry W. of W.* 2. 2. 179). The omission of the personal pronouns as indicated in the square brackets is very common in the older periods of the language, not only in such sentences but in general there was a tendency to withhold the personal pronouns as they were not felt as necessary to the thought. In each of these sentences from Shakspeare the construction is *asyndetic*, i. e. is without a connective, two propositions lie side by side without a formal connecting link, and yet the second proposition modifies in a certain sense the preceding proposition. Where as here the connection is loose

the construction is called parataxis, i. e. arranging side by side. Often the connection is very close so that the second proposition is evidently subordinate to the first: "You are one of those [,they] would have him wed again" (id. W. T. 5. 1. 23). "This is the man [,] I seek [him]" (id. "Troilus," 5. 8. 10). "Where is this cup [,] I call'd for [it]?" (id. Anth. a. Cleop. 2. 7. 59). Where as here the connection is close the construction is called hypotaxis. The distinction lies in the *thought*, there is no distinction in the *form*. In each case two propositions lie side by side. Modern feeling inclines to a formal expression for the hypotactical relation and inserts relative pronouns here and naturally interprets the omissions in the old syndetic hypotactical construction in accordance with modern usage and says that the omitted pronouns here are not "they," "him," "it," but "who," "whom," "that." In the earliest period, however, relative pronouns had not yet been created and of course could not be used and hence could not be supplied in thought. The expression "omission of the relative" is in the strict sense quite inaccurate. Originally, as we have seen, the two propositions lay side by side without any formal connecting link. The context alone suggested the degree of the closeness of the connection.

In the course of the later development relative pronouns gradually became established in usage to indicate the subordination and by a choice between these pronouns the connection could be indicated as loose or close, as for example "that" may indicate a close connection and "who" a loose relation. A still looser relation may be denoted by the use of a personal pronoun in the second proposition: "There is a man at the door who wants to see you," or still looser: "There is a man at the door, he wants to see you." While the degree of closeness cannot always even now be denoted accurately the frequent attempts to denote the degree of closeness by the choice of the proper relative indicate the trend of modern thought to find a formal expression for fine distinctions of thought. The older language was more simple but often at the same time more terse and forceful. The English people have appreciated the force of the older construction and still

often employ it. There has, however, from the very beginning of the historic period been a strong prejudice against it. It was considered by the learned Anglo-Saxon writers as less fine than distinct pronominal forms such as they found in Latin with which they were all intimately acquainted. Thus we find very little of it in the oldest documents that have come down to us, for this oldest literature was under strong Latin influence. The forceful old construction, however, suddenly appeared in wide use when the popular dialects began to be used after the Norman conquest. It had probably been alive throughout the oldest period but had not been employed in the literary language. This is shown by the fact that it frequently occurs in the Lindisfarne Glosses written about A. D. 950 at Durham. The author of these glosses was a northerner and glossed the Latin Gospels in his native Northumbrian. Likewise it was alive in all the English dialects. At the beginning of the fourteenth century northern writers in and around Durham used the construction with great freedom much as we find it later in Shakspeare. The Durham writers played the most important part in the literature of the first half of the fourteenth century and little by little as we shall see later certain features in the dialects of the North found favor further to the South. The recognition of our oldest relative construction was not so general in the south as the use of some other northern features. It is not quite true, however, that this oldest relative construction was a northern feature. It was probably well known in every dialect, for the writer has found cases in the speech of every section of England, but *is* was not a form that was generally recognized in the written language. Literary recognition came first in the North. Slowly but gradually it became established in the South. The writer can offer no reason why the North first made literary use of this construction. He rejects Professor Jespersen's new theory of Danish influence on the grounds that the construction is first found in the Lindisfarne Glosses where there seem to be no traces of Danish influence, while it is very rare in Ormulum (about A. D. 1200) where there are evident signs of Danish influence. The North also in other respects first broke away from old literary tradition.

It does not seem possible to ascribe this strong northern influence to any great political influence exerted by Durham, nor to the influence of the Durham writers. Durham was in the fourteenth century an important center, but it does not seem plausible to explain the spread of northern speech in this way. Northern English was the first to throw off the old declensions and to shorten words. There was there a marked tendency to *monosyllabic form*, which is today a prominent characteristic of the English language. The terseness of the North found a sympathetic hearing among the immediate neighbors to the South, for similar tendencies were also developing there. The literary documents in the Midland show that the literary language there gradually abandoned its older and longer forms for shorter and simpler ones. At the same time we can notice the spread of the terse asyndetic relative construction. The general tendency of the North toward terseness spread to the Midland and from there passed to the South. This general tendency found in general little favor with Chaucer, for here as elsewhere Chaucer did not reflect popular usage. Chaucer instead of crystalizing English usage retarded it. He was not in full sympathy with the simple and terse English which was used in the North and probably in a much more limited extent and modified form also employed by plain folk in his own native town. It was, however, this simple and terse language that was destined finally to carry the day. The present literary language is traceable to the speech of London, which was originally southern in character and later was gradually in its essential features conformed to the midland type and still later was in large measure influenced by the simpler tendencies of the North. This trend toward simplicity reached in a number of respects its fullest and most complete expression in Shakespeare. Since his time the old asyndetic relative construction has lost a good deal of its former favor in literature and even in colloquial language has much narrower boundaries than in the sixteenth century. In the nominative relation it is now rarely heard. We occasionally hear it in certain expressions: "There is a man at the door wants to see you." In a well-known floral guide are the words: "Here's a book will tell

you how to select." The following sentence we must read several times before we understand it: "Those men blush not in actions blacker than the night will shun no course to keep them from the light." (Shakspere's "Pericl. 1, 1, 135). It is evident that in the nominative relation this construction is often ambiguous or unclear. Perspicuity is the highest law of language and it is manifest that in the nominative relation this construction is doomed. Shakspere was often willing to assume the risk of unclearness to attain the terseness and forcefulness of the old construction. In reading his dramas we have often felt that modern English character has lost its former dash in the personal expression of its inner life. In the accusative relation, on the other hand, this construction still has wide boundaries, much wider, however, in colloquial speech than in the literary language. The old prejudice against this construction has survived. Little narrow-minded grammarians and school-teachers who have no knowledge of the historical development here and little insight into linguistic principles are still at their old work of limiting the use of this construction. These little fellows only know the little rules they have learned in their school-books. It is very sad but true that coming generations will learn in large part their English, not from Shakspere, but from the little wights who guard so faithfully their little rules. It is quite clear where we are drifting, but the writer desires to turn the attention away from the future to the past, to the earliest forms of this old asyndetic construction and then later follow the development of the different relative pronouns.

In order to get a clear idea of the asyndetic relative construction and the later development of the relative pronouns it is necessary to begin the study in the oldest period where the forms are inflected and the case relations are perfectly clear. Unfortunately the simplest asyndetic form is little used in Anglo-Saxon. As it is helpful to see this original form in actual language illustrations are given from the kindred German which will throw full light upon the English development. Later the few traces of this construction in Anglo-Saxon will be given.

As in both parataxis and hypotaxis the two propositions of a sentence often lie side by side without any formal connecting link; the closeness of the connection in the thought alone distinguishes the two forms of statement. The distinction is often very slight. Thus in "Mit sehn gewan er küende /erbûwens lands, hiez Ascalun" (Wolfram's "Parzival," 398.22-3) "He caught sight of an inhabited place which was called Ascalon." We can assume that the connection between the propositions is rather loose as we can easily pause after the first proposition and then begin a new sentence, while in "Wir gewunn ein wurz heizt trachontê" (ib. 483.6) "We found a plant which is called dragonwort" the connection seems a trifle closer, as the indefinite article in spite of its name often has a slight shade of definiteness. It sometimes even has almost the force of a definite article: "Wer was ein man lac vorme grâl?" (ib. 501.20 "Who was the man who lay before the Grail?"), literally "Who was a certain man?, [he] lay before the Grail." It is usually difficult in sentences which thus contain an indefinite article to draw a sharp line between parataxis and hypotaxis as there is no formal distinction between the constructions. Hypotaxis is usually indicated by the employment of the *definite* article and in this way differentiates itself in form from parataxis: "Der möchte mich ergetzen niht des mærs mir iwer munt vergiht" (ib. 476, 17-18) "It (i. e. the Grail) couldn't divert my mind from the sad story (which) you have just related to me," literally "it couldn't divert my mind from the sad story, your mouth relates [it] to me." The definite article which is a weak demonstrative points to the following asyndetic relative clause. There is often as here an omitted personal pronoun in the subordinate clause. The omission brings the two propositions closer together and is a primitive step in the direction of a formal expression for the hypotactical relation. The omitted personal pronoun here is "es," the genitive object of "vergiht." It can also be in the nominative or any other case: "Dechein sûl stuont dar unde / diu sich geglichen kunde der grôzen sûl dâ zwischen stuont" (ib. 589.29) "No column stood there that could be compared to the large column that stood in the middle." The omitted personal pronoun in the

subordinate clause is "siu" *it*, the subject of the second "stuont." The well-known grammarian Hermann Wunderlich has failed to see the real situation here as he has stated on page 285 of "Der deutsche Satzbau" that the omitted pronoun is always in the accusative or some other oblique case in hypotaxis and is in the nominative only in parataxis.

The definite article may also follow the governing noun when it is the antecedent: "Dô sageter Parzivâle danc / prises *des* erwarp sîn hant" (ib. 156, 12-13) "He then thanked Parzival for the honor (which) he had won," literally "Then he thanked Parzival for honor, that one, his hand had won [it]." The position of the definite article or rather demonstrative "*des*" here is very important, for the relative pronoun "*der*" developed in just such sentences. The demonstrative stands at the end of the first proposition and points to the following asyndetic relative clause. The article can precede the antecedent and the demonstrative may follow it: "*Thie* furiston *thiz* [=thie iz] gisahun, es harto hintarquamun" (Otfrid, IV. 4. 71) "The high priests who saw it were sore afraid," literally "The high priests, those, [they] saw it, were sore afraid." Both the definite article and the demonstrative "*thie*" point as with hands to the following asyndetic relative clause "[they] saw it." Of course the personal pronoun "*they*" does not actually occur in the sentence, for as we have seen above it was usually omitted in the subordinate clause. It is here assumed that the "*thie*" contained in "*thiz*" is still a demonstrative, but this is not certain. It may already have been felt as a relative pronoun, for it is a nominative and may be the subject of the relative clause, but on the other hand it may also be construed as demonstrative belonging to "*furiston*" and placed at the end of the principal proposition that it may point to the following clause. No formal criterion can settle the question. In the preceding sentence from Wolfram the corresponding form, the genitive "*des*," is beyond doubt a demonstrative, for the construction in the following subordinate clause requires an accusative, not a genitive. Thus we can often distinguish whether the construction is demonstrative or relative by the case form. Originally the construction was always demonstrative. As the case form demanded by

the main proposition was often as in the sentence from Otfrid the same as that required in the subordinate clause it was often doubtful to which proposition the demonstrative belonged. Gradually under the influence of Latin models the demonstrative passed from the main proposition to the subordinate clause and became a relative pronoun.

In the preceding paragraph the asyndetic relative clauses modified nouns, but they might also restrict demonstratives: "Gott hüete al *der* ich lâze hie." (Wolfram's "Parzival," 324.29) "May God protect all those I leave here." It is perfectly clear that "*der*" is a demonstrative, the genitive object of the very "hüete." Also here it is not correct to speak of the omission of a relative. It is again a personal pronoun that is omitted: "May God protect all those, I leave [them] here." The omission of the personal pronoun is still the rule in English asyndetic hypotaxis, which thus preserves a very ancient type of sentence. In such sentences as: "Ich bin ouch *der* in nie gesach" (ib. 751.2) "I am also one who has never seen him" the form "*der*" may belong to either the principal proposition or the subordinate clause. Just as after nouns it gradually came to be felt as belonging to the subordinate clause and thus developed into a real relative pronoun.

Just as in the case of a noun antecedent where there were often two demonstratives, one before the noun in the form of the definite article and one at the end of the proposition pointing to the following clause there was also in the case of a demonstrative antecedent often a repetition of the demonstrative: "Ni intwirit worold ellu *thes* wiht, *thes* ih thir zellu" (Otfrid II. 12.20) "The whole world will not disprove any of these things, these things (that) I shall tell you." Here the construction is still demonstrative. This repetition of the demonstrative is the origin of the so called correlative construction. Originally the demonstrative was repeated as it was needed at the end of the proposition to point to the following asyndetic relative clause. In course of time the second demonstrative lost much of its originally strong stress and glided over into the following clause as a relative correlative to the antecedent demonstrative: "Ni ward ther than tho funtan, *der* wolti widarstantan" (Otfrid II. 11.27) "No one

was found there who would resist," originally "That one was not found there, that one, [he] would resist." In Otfrid's sentence it is not sure whether the construction is relative or a demonstrative as the case form of the second demonstrative would admit of either interpretation. In course of time, however, it was felt as relative. This double demonstrative became a very productive new relative type. In the older periods the single demonstrative type was more common than the double form but later the singular demonstrative form was almost entirely replaced by the new double or correlative type.

In the *single* demonstrative type described in the paragraph just before the preceding one there were two quite different forms. In the first form the demonstrative stands in the principal proposition: "So wer so ouh muas eigi, gebe *demo*, ni eigi" (Otfrid I. 24.7) "Whoever has food let him give of it to him who hasn't any." Here the demonstrative has the case form demanded by the verb of the principal proposition. In the second form the demonstrative stands in the second proposition and has the case form required by the verb of this proposition: "Mit des grâls insigel hie kumt uns *des* wir gerten ie" ("Parzival," 792. 29-30) "Here comes to us with the seals of the Grail he for whom we have been yearning so long." Mr. Gustav Neckel who discusses these two forms in his interesting little book "Über die altgermanischen Relativsätze," Palaestra V comes to the conclusion that the position of the demonstrative is regulated by the case form demanded by the verbs of the two propositions. The demonstrative stands in that proposition in which there is a verb that requires a genitive or dative: "Ahzehen wochen hete gelebt/*des* muoter mit dem tôde strebt" ("Parzival" 109. 5-6) "He had lived eighteen weeks whose mother is now struggling with death." Mr. Neckel thinks that a nominative or accusative can easily be supplied in thought and hence the subject is here understood, while the genitive "des" is expressed, as a genitive or dative cannot be so easily supplied in thought. Thus according to Mr. Neckel it is a mere question of case form. The writer has collected a large number of examples which do not confirm this rule. From these examples it becomes

apparent that the law involved is not a formal one, but is based upon the meaning. The demonstrative stands in the first proposition where the second proposition is clearly subordinate and restricts the meaning of the first one closely: "ein teil *des* ich von iu verlôs" ("Parzival," 327.11) "a part of that (which) I lost thru you." On the other hand, the demonstrative stands in the second proposition whenever that proposition contains an important independent fact: "Du zihst in [*des*] daz doch nie geschah" (ib. 352.20) "You accuse him of that which surely never took place." The second proposition is not a restrictive clause but an independent and very positive utterance of the very positive little Obilot. The idea of an independent statement is also indicated by the use of the demonstrative in the second proposition. We usually find here in restrictive clauses a personal pronoun which is usually of so little weight that it is omitted. This demonstrative is not a relative that has glided over into the subordinate clause from the principal proposition where it was originally a demonstrative, but it originally stood in the second proposition and has been retained on account of its importance. Notice that the demonstrative "*des*" has been omitted in the principal proposition, while according to Mr. Neckel's rule it ought to be expressed and the nominative "*das*" should be omitted. The "*des*" is omitted here because the following proposition is not a restrictive clause but an almost independent statement, hence it is not needed to point forward to the following restriction. Likewise in the example from "Parzival" 109. 5-6, quoted by Mr. Neckel as given above. In this spirited sentence of the great poet there are two almost independent statements, an unborn child had been living and developing for eighteen weeks, its mother was struggling with death. Likewise in 148. 28-9: "Sus wart für Artûsen brâht an dem got wunsches het erdâht" "Thus there was brought before Arthur that one upon whom God had bestowed the most beautiful gifts." There is no need here to describe the person brought before the king. We know that it is Parzival. The poet gives in his second proposition not a restriction for the identification of the person, but adds an independent statement about him. While the two propositions

are almost independent the omission of the pronominal subject of the first one indicates a relation between them, a loose relation, parataxis. The omission of the pronoun in the second proposition and the use of the demonstrative at the end of the first one pointing to a following restriction denotes a closer relation, hypotaxis: "*Die man sie gar verswuor, wan den sie got bewiste*" (ib. 824.24-5) "She renounced men except the one whom God would assign to her." The demonstrative "*den*" is here used to point to the following restrictive clause. The personal object of the verb in the restrictive clause is a personal pronoun in the genitive, but it is omitted in accordance with common usage, while it ought to be expressed and "*den*" omitted according to Mr. Neckel's rule, for according to him we could easily supply the accusative "*den*." In fact, however, "*den*" cannot be omitted, for it points to the following restriction. Thus the writer sees in these two constructions the clever attempt of the older period to give formal expression to the idea of parataxis and hypotaxis. These two older types are not always consistently followed as they are not even in the oldest period clearly felt, for the new correlative type with entirely new grammatical conceptions had already obscured the older ideas. Later the correlative type gained almost a complete victory over the older forms. The older type is now only used in the masculine and feminine with definite reference: "*Die ich meine heisst Frau Findelklee*" (Hauptmann's "*Versunkene Glocke*," Act. 2.1.1047.) The Correlative type, i. e. "*die die*" instead of simple "*die*" is also used here and is even more common than the older single form. In English the correlative type has also prevailed in the literary language, but in colloquial speech the older hypotactic asyndetic construction can still be used. We can translate Wolfram's "*Dô kam von dem ich sprechen will*" ("*Parzival*," 132.28) by "then came that one I shall speak of." The translation, however, is not accurate. Wolfram used the old paratactic asyndetic type, while the modern English form is hypotactic with a demonstrative pointing to a following restriction. In fact there is no restriction here. Wolfram actually says: "Then came a man, of that one I shall now have something to say." The

second proposition is not a restriction but the more important of the two statements. Thus we do not in modern German or English pay any attention to the thought distinction observed in the older periods, but employ uniformly the correlative type and in English in addition also the hypotactic form of the asyndetic construction. The impelling force in both languages is the modern desire to indicate hypotaxis, to employ hypotactic form where there is the slightest relation, sometimes even where the independence of statement ought to be emphasized rather than its dependence. Thus *thought* has been sacrificed to *form*. The development of hypotaxis has in general made modern speech much more accurate and elegant, but it has at points, as here, weakened the expression of thought and feeling. A clear insight into our loss here ought to spur us to resist somewhat the hypotactical tendency and to hold on to some of the old things that have come down to us charged with the vigor of simpler and more energetic thought and feeling.

The asyndetic relative construction following a noun or demonstrative antecedent as illustrated in the preceding paragraphs was never very common in the older German periods, but it is quite common in Otfrid and Wolfram. The two largest Germans of the older periods and the largest Englishman were all very fond of this construction. The simplest explanation is that they were all in close touch with national life. In England the literary language of the South had in the oldest period barred this native method of expression almost entirely out. Later the rise of the dialects brought it into favor. In Germany, on the other hand, it was much more common in the oldest period and later gradually disappeared. The largest men were naturally more independent in language and their strong thought and feeling broke through the artificial barriers and sought natural channels of expression. At first it seems rather strange to find such a very free use of this construction in so late an author as Wolfram. At the close of the Old High German period the construction was very little used, even in such an important and vigorous writer as Notker. Then came Wolfram who used it very freely and in every form known in the oldest period. Notker was a learned man under

Latin influence. Wolfram, as he tells us himself, could neither read nor write. Some scholars regard Wolfram's utterance as one of his many jokes. It seems to them impossible that one who has found a beautiful expression for the most wholesome and profound philosophy of human living propounded by any of the older German writers could be without a knowledge of the art of reading and writing. It has been to the present writer a source of pleasure and inspiration in the last fifteen years to lead each year young people to this foundation of wholesome philosophy, but the conviction has steadily grown that Wolfram has told the truth. This language so full of asyndesis is the expression of one unacquainted with scholarly linguistic Latin learning. It is a free and natural expression of one used to speaking rather than writing. Under this impression the writer turned to Hans Sachs to see if in this simple man of the people the old asyndetic construction might in a much later period still be found. Asyndetic parataxis is very common. His works fairly abound in such sentences as: "Gen Augspurg kam ein edelman, / der het ein knecht, [er] hiess Grobian" ("Die klain fischlein," 11. 1-2). "Vor langer zeit ein pawer sas in Payern, [er] alt von jaren was" ("Die fabel von dem Pawren, wolff und füechs," 11.1.2). Often the two propositions lie side by side, each a complete sentence: "Auch ist ain spil, haist man das puecken" ("Der verspilt rewter"). We find this complete form also in close hypotaxis. "Mein Herr, ich bin der man, / die Männer ich gefressen han, / die selber waren Herr im Haus" ("Der Narrenfresser," 11. 59-61). This interesting sentence has all the earmarks of primitive German. The definite article before "man" points to the following restrictive asyndetic relative clause. Also the more common hypotactic type with omitted pronoun is found, both after a noun and a demonstrative antecedent. The omitted pronoun may be in the nominative relation: "Weil der frid ist das hohest güt / all creatur erfrewen thuet" (Fabel des fuechs mit der schlangen," 11.35-6). "Da hört er das im nit gefel" ("Der sailler erstach den münich und sein weib," 1.15.). The omitted pronoun may be in the accusative relation or in some other oblique case: "Mein speis die was / allein das fleisch der Thier ich ass" ("Löwin mit

ihren Jungen," 11. 26-7). The hypotactic construction, however, is very rare in Hans Sachs. Also Luther offers but a few examples. It is quite evident that while the paratactic construction was very common at this period the hypotactic form had almost disappeared. The Latin type had gradually supplanted the native German form.

In the oldest English period there are very few examples of the simple type of asyndesis discussed above. This is of course not a natural condition of things because the further we go back the commoner it ought to be. In the documents that have come down to us it is most common in *parataxis* where the omitted pronoun is in the nominative relation: "Sum welig man wæs hæfde sumne gerefan" (Luke 16.1, Corpus MS.) "There was a certain rich man who had a steward." The Latin original "quidam erat diues *qui* habebat uilicium" shows clearly hypotactic form by the use of the relative "qui." In Latin "qui" usually indicates a close connection, but it is also employed as here where the connection was loose. The Anglo-Saxon translator here followed his English speech-feeling and deviated from the Latin model. As we have seen above the old asyndetic construction resisted also in German the Latin type the most successfully in *parataxis*, for the Latin original seemed at this point entirely too foreign. The English translator made a distinction in his translation between close and loose connection, although in his native idiom he used the asyndetic construction in both cases. It was natural for him to bring together, i. e. to speak in one breath what was related. To the Germanic mind hypotactical form was something new and foreign. It grasped the idea that the most *common* and *characteristic* force of "qui" was to indicate *close* connection i. e. that it introduced a restrictive clause. Wherever the connection was close both English and German writers under the influence of the Latin avoided carefully their native asyndetic construction, but they still yielded frequently to their natural inclination to bring related things together in asyndetic form wherever the connection was not close. It seems at first more natural that they would use asyndesis where the connection was close, for it was a Germanic tendency to bring together what was closely related,

but they had observed that close connection was denoted in Latin by an especial word and among English and German writers it became a fixed goal to find for this idea a formal expression in some native word. This more frequent use of hypotactic form for close connection than for loose resulted for the most part from the peculiar form of the Germanic sentence here. As we have seen above a demonstrative pronoun stood at the end of the principal proposition pointing to the following restrictive clause. Under the influence of the Latin this demonstrative developed into a relative pronoun. There was no such demonstrative in sentences where the connection was loose and the use of hypotaxis was quite unnatural and developed very slowly.

The commonest use of the asyndetic *hypotaxis* in Old English is where the antecedent is a demonstrative. The omitted pronoun may be in the nominative case: "Lisse selle. . . . þam þe wirðiað" (Genesis, 1757) "I offer favor to those who honor thee." The omitted pronoun may be in some oblique case: "Wiste forwohrte þa he ær wlite sealde" (ib., 857) "He knew those to be guilty to whom he had given beauty." "Gode þancode. . . þæs se man gespræc" ("Beowulf," 1398) "He thanked God for that which the man had spoken." The pronoun in the relative clause may be expressed as in case of the language of Hans Sachs described above: "And þær is mid Estum an mægð þæt hi magon cyle gewyrcean" (King Alfred's "Voyage of Wulfstan") "There is among the Esthonians one tribe which can create cold," literally "one tribe, that one, they can create cold." The neuter demonstrative as in this example is sometimes used with reference to persons. Likewise in the following example where the pronoun in the relative clause is omitted: "Hwa is þæt þe slog?" (Matth. 26, 68, Rushworth Glosses) "Who is he that smote thee?", literally "Who is that one?, [he] smote thee." Later in Middle English "that" regularly points to persons or things.

The asyndetic construction is more common where the antecedent as in all these examples is a demonstrative than where it is a noun because the demonstrative has become associated with the Latin relative, and although it is in fact not a relative and as a demonstrative had the construction of

the principal proposition it is in the feeling of the grammarian an approach to the Latin form if not a full equivalent. The demonstrative often as in the preceding examples stood at the end of the principal proposition so that it stood between the two propositions as the Latin relative. This old type is still used quite commonly where there is definite reference: "this fruit and *that* I bought yesterday." It has, however, entirely disappeared where the reference is general and indefinite, i. e. in clauses which we now regard as substantive clauses. As the demonstrative "that" has definite meaning there arose in course of time the feeling that a more indefinite word would be better suited to the indefinite force that naturally belongs to a neuter pronoun which without definite reference is used as the subject or object in a substantive clause. In spite of the conflict between the indefinite force of "that" in substantive clauses and its definite meaning when used elsewhere it was only after a long struggle that it was supplanted in this function by some other word. It is still used by Shakspeare: "I earn *that* I eat, get *that* I wear" ("As you like it," 3, 2, 76). Although this simple form was common here in Oldest English the fuller form with "ðe" described at length below also occurred: "ne herigen þætte [= þæt ðe] unnyttre is" (King Alfred's "Boethius," Sedgefield's ed. p. 72) "Nor praise what is useless," literally "Nor praise *that there*, [it] is useless." In Middle English "þæt ðe" became "that that." This double form also came from another source: "þæt god gesamnode ne syndrige þæt nan man" (Mark 10.9. Corpus MS.) "That [which] God has joined together let no man put (that) asunder." Both "þæt's" here were originally demonstratives, but the double form led to the idea of correlatives and brought about a real relative construction: "Ne nan man ne mæg . . . him gedon þæt hit sie ðæt ðæt hit ne bið" (King Alfred's "Boethius," p. 36) "No one can cause him (an intelligent man) to be *that which* or *what* he is not." "*That that* is, is" (Shakspeare's "Twelfth N." IV. 2). This double form and the other single "that" were later supplanted by "that which" or more commonly "what," the latter of which forms appeared very early in Middle English. The correlatives "that which" appeared much later, for the original use

of "which" after an antecedent was for definite, precise reference and hence it could not be employed after indefinite "that." Even today "that which" is not as common as "what." There is one place, however, where it is exclusively used, namely in definitions: "That which separates one part of a surface from an adjoining point is called a line." This brings out the real difference between "that which" and "what." The former is a little more definite, although in general they both are general and indefinite and usually have much the same meaning.

Asyndetic hypotaxis is in Oldest English not only found after a simple demonstrative, but it also occurs sometimes after a pleonastic demonstrative that repeats a preceding demonstrative and stands *after* the governing noun so that it may point to the following syndetic relative clause: *þæt is se Abraham se him engla god naman niwan asceop*" ("Exodus," 380) "That is that Abraham to whom the God of the angels gave a new name," literally "That Abraham, that one, the God of the angels gave him a new name." It is evident that the "se" here is a demonstrative, as it has the case required by the verb of the principal proposition. Where, however, the case demanded by the principal proposition is the same as that required by the verb of the subordinate clause it is impossible to tell whether the demonstrative belongs to the principal proposition or the subordinate clause: "*Se dema se ðæt ingeðonc eal wat, he eac ðæm ingeðonce demð*" ("Pastoral Care," Sweet 38.11) "The judge who knows the inner thoughts judges the inner thoughts." In such sentences the demonstrative gradually developed into a relative and passed from the principal proposition to the subordinate clause.

The asyndetic hypotactic construction is in oldest English very rare where the antecedent is a *noun*. In the first example in the preceding paragraph the antecedent is a noun, but it is followed by a demonstrative which is felt as the real antecedent. In oldest West Saxon, the literary language of the South, hypotactic asyndesis is carefully avoided where the antecedent is a noun. Also in the Gospels in the Corpus MS. written about A. D. 1000 there is not the slightest tendency

toward asyndesis, nor is there any further advance in Layamon's "Brut" written about 1205. This must simply be literary usage, for asyndetic hypotaxis is common in the Lindisfarne Glosses written near Durham about 950. The writer believes he has made here an important discovery, for he cannot find anywhere in learned literature any mention of asyndetic hypotaxis in these glosses. The language of these glosses has been carefully studied by able scholars with regard to its phonology and inflectional systems, but the syntax has been slighted on the general grounds that the syntax of a dialect cannot be accurately determined from mere glosses. It will appear, however, from the examples given below that the frequent use of asyndetic hypotaxis in these glosses is beyond doubt. This Durham usage acquires additional importance when brought into relation to the many other features of the north English dialects that indicate a general trend in the North toward terseness and directness, such as the shortening of words by the dropping of endings, the tendency to discard grammatical gender, etc. The use of asyndetic hypotaxis while it is among other northern features which indicate a fondness for terse expression, must not be thought of as of northern origin. It was primitive Germanic. It was preserved in North English because North Englishmen spoke their native dialect. In every West Germanic dialect asyndesis was a common feature. As we shall see later the writer of the Lindisfarne Glosses was influenced in his translation by his Latin model, but there is in his usage no fixed convention that proscribes asyndesis and he often employs it in contrast to the Latin original.

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(To be continued)

DIE ERSTE DEUTSCHE ÜBERSETZUNG VON SHAKESPEARES "ROMEO AND JULIET."

Im Jahre 1758 erschien ein dreibändiges Werk in Basel unter dem Titel:

"Neue Probestücke der Englischen Schaubühne
aus der Ursprache übersetzt von einem
Liebhaber des guten Geschmacks."

Unter den neun Dramen dieser Sammlung, die sonst von Young, Addison, Dryden, Otway, Masan, Congreve und Rowe herrühren, findet sich als drittes Stück im zweiten Bande ein einziges von Shakespeare, nämlich: "Romeo und Juliet, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen, von Shakespear."

Dies darf man als die erste deutsche Übersetzung von Shakespeares grosser Tragödie betrachten. Zwar wurde das Drama schon im 17ten Jahrhundert von den englischen Komödianten in Deutschland aufgeführt, wie der im Dresdener Hofarchiv noch aufbewahrte Katalog beweist, der die Liste der Stücke enthält, die dort im Jahre 1626 von den Engländern gegeben wurden, mit Angabe des Datums von deren Aufführung. Danach wurde die "Tragoedia von Romio und Julietta" schon am zweiten Januar wie auch sonst noch mehrere Male im Laufe des Jahres aufgeführt. Eine Handschrift dieses Schauspiels in deutscher Sprache ist noch in der kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu Wien vorhanden. Von ihr hat Albert Cohn in seinem Werke: "Shakespeare in Germany in the 16th and 17th Centuries," einen Abdruck gegeben, wie auch eine englische Übersetzung derselben. Von diesem in Alexandrinern verfaszten Stück sagt Cohn: "It is Shakespeare's play almost scene for scene, many passages are literal translations. Really poetical passages have now and then crept in, apparently against the author's intention; but he has compensated himself for such mistakes by the omission of all the fine motives of this magnificent tragedy; as also by the insertion of comic scenes utterly devoid of taste, which by their disgusting coarseness obliterate the small amount of tragic

feeling of which this author is capable." Das Stück ist aber nicht "the authentic text of the piece as played by the English Comedians, but a version calculated for the requirements of the stage at a later period, in which the English element was but slightly represented in the companies." Eine Übersetzung des Shakespeareschen Dramas also ist es keineswegs, und es kann daher der Baseler Übersetzung das Recht auf die erste Stelle nicht streitig machen.

In der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts war Shakespeare in Deutschland wenig bekannt. Der gelehrte Bodmer war wohl der erste Deutsche, der sich mit einem gründlichen Studium des englischen Dramatikers beschäftigte, und im Jahre 1732 lobt er ihn im Vorworte zu seiner Übersetzung von Miltons "Verlorenem Paradies." Seine "merkwürdige Schreibung des Namens (Sasper, Saspar, Saksper)," obwohl man sie nicht "auf Rechnung seiner Unkenntnis setzen darf, mag man sie nun mit Elze (Shak.—Jahrb. I 338) als Umdeutschung oder mit Vetter (Bodmer-Denksschrift S. 330) als verunglückten Versuch phonetischer Schreibung¹ ansehen," ist wenigstens ein Beweis dafür, dass dieser Name dem deutschen Ohr noch fremd war.

Baron von Boreks 1741 erschienene Übersetzung von "Julius Cäsar" wurde von Gottsched verpönt.¹ Überhaupt war Deutschland damals so arm an Übersetzungen aus fremden Literaturen, dass Lessing sich bitterlich darüber beklagte,² und 1754 in seiner "Theatralischen Bibliothek" lange Auszüge aus dem spanischen und französischen Drama erscheinen liess. Dann und wann erhob sich eine Stimme in Deutschland für Shakespeare. J. Elias Schlegel erkannte dessen Überlegenheit über Gryphius.³ Jöcher erwähnte ihn in seinem "Gelehrten-Lexicon" als einen ausgezeichneten Dramatiker, doch "sei er kein Gelehrter." Der grosse Reformator Lessing war der erste Deutsche, diesen wunderbaren Genius in seiner gan-

¹ Wielands Shakespeare, von Ernst Stadler.

² "Beyträge zur Critischen Historie Der Deutschen Sprache."

³ Vorwort zu den "Beyträgen zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters."

⁴ "Vergleichung Shakespears und Andreas Gryphs." Aufsatz in den "Critischen Beyträgen." 28. Stück.

zen Grösse zu begreifen, und in den Literaturbriefen für das Studium von Shakespeares Werken energisch aufzutreten.

Daher darf unser Übersetzer mit seinem 1758 vollendeten Werke unter die Pioniere gerechnet werden, die zu dem allgemeinen Aufschwung des Zeitalters ihren Teil in Deutschland beitrugen; erstens, weil er neun englische Dramen statt französischer zur Übersetzung wählte, zweitens, weil er dem älteren, in Deutschland noch wenig gewürdigten Shakespeare in seiner Sammlung Raum gewährte, und drittens weil er die noch seltenen fünffüssigen Jamben statt des Knittelverses oder der schwerfälligen Alexandriner benutzte.

Die "Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften" vom Jahre 1760 (B. VI St. 1, S. 60 ff) recensiert diese "Probestücke" ziemlich scharf, obwohl der Kritiker, wie er sagt, nur ein einziges Stück, Otways "Wayse" nämlich, gelesen hatte.

Unter Anführung von langen Auszügen daraus macht der Kritiker auf manche Unrichtigkeiten in der Übersetzung aufmerksam, besonders tadelt er die Ausdrucksweise als "zu Schweizerisch," und die Verse als oft ungelenk. Doch erkennt er es als ein Verdienst, dasz der Unbekannte die reimlosen fünffüssigen Jamben gewählt hat, und gibt zu, dasz die Übersetzung an manchen Stellen gut sei, was ihn zu dem Wunsch veranlaszt, "dasz der Herr Verfasser seinen Entschluss, eine Fortsetzung davon zu liefern, nicht ganz möge fahren lassen." Er ermahnt ihn aber, grözere Sorgfalt auf seine Arbeit zu verwenden, und empfiehlt ihm "hauptsächlich die Shakespearischen Stücke: sie sind die schönsten aber auch die schwersten."

In der "Chronologie des deutschen Theaters" (1775) steht auf Seite 201 folgender Paragraph:

"Zu Basel machte man das erstemal eine grosse Sammlung von übersetzten englischen Schauspielen, unter dem Titel: Neue Probestücke der englischen Schaubühne, worinnen in rauen Versen travestirt erschienen: die Rache," usw.

In seinem 1787 zu Zürich erschienenen Werke, "Ueber W. Shakespeare" erwähnt Joh. Joach. Eschenburg diese Übersetzung auf Seite 503-4 wie folgt:

"Seit der eben angeführten Uebersetzung des Julius Cæsar* ist, so viel ich weisz, keines von den Shakspearischen

* 1741, von Caspar Wilhelm von Borck.

Stücken, vor Erscheinung der Wielandischen Uebersetzung, verdeutscht worden, ausser Romeo und Julie, in den Neuen Probestücken der Englischen Schaubühne, die ein Ungenannter zu Basel 1758 in drey Theilen gr. 8 herausgab. Ich kenne diese Uebersetzung nur bloss aus der in der Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften befindlichen Beurtheilung jener Sammlung, die freylich von dem Werthe derselben keine sehr günstige Vorstellung erregt."

Diese Uebersetzung von Romeo und Juliet findet auch in Rudolph Geneès "Geschichte der Shakespearischen Dramen in Deutschland," Leipzig, 1870, auf Seite 204 Erwähnung, aber nur mit Berufung auf die drei obengenannten Kritiken.

In einem Aufsatz vom Jahre 1878: "Ueber den fünffüssigen Iambus vor Lessing's Nathan," der im 90. Band der "Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften" in Wien erschien, bespricht August Sauer diese "reimlose iambische Uebersetzung von neun Englischen Trauerspielen," wobei er Bodmers Einfluss vermutet, was das Vermass anbetrifft. "Man musz nur bedauern" fährt er fort, "dass der anonyme Uebersetzer nicht mehr Sorgfalt angewendet, und dass daher ein so umfangreiches Werk so roh und unvollkommen werden musste." Später gibt er aber zu: "Unser Verfasser kann leicht fünffüssige Verse bilden, wenn er sich alle erdenkbaren Freiheiten in Bezug auf den Versausgang und die Verwendung von Anapästen gestattet."

Und noch im Jahre 1890 erwähnt Dr. Bruno Wagener auf Seite 2 seines Werkes: "Shakespeares Einfluss auf Goethe in Leben und Dichtung," eine Uebersetzung von "Romeo und Julia," die nur mit folgender Anmerkung näher bezeichnet ist: "In den 'Neuen Probestücken der Englischen Schaubühne, 2 Bde, Basel, 1758.'"

Sonst scheint diese kühne Unternehmung vom Jahre 1758 wenig Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen zu haben; das heiszt, wenn man aus dem Mangel an Anspielungen darauf in der Literatur schlieszen darf. Sie bietet uns daher ein interessantes Feld zur Forschung.

Das einzige meines Wissens noch erhaltene Exemplar dieses Werkes befindet sich in der kaiserlichen Universitäts-Bib-

liothek zu Straszburg, und ist noch jetzt nach mehr als hundert und fünfzig Jahren in dem besten Zustand. Die drei Oktavbände haben einen dauerhaften Einband von Leder, der Druck ist nicht verblichen und hat wenig Fehler. Das Werk macht überhaupt dem Verleger, Joh. Jacob Schorndorff alle Ehre. Wer aber der Übersetzer, dieser "Liebhaber des guten Geschmacks" gewesen ist, bleibt uns ein Geheimnis.

In einem Briefe, den ich vor einigen Wochen von Dr. C. Chr. Bernwulli, Oberbibliothekar der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Basel erhielt, schreibt er: "Ich möchte es nur als Vermutung aussprechen, es könnte Prof. Johann Jacob Spreng von Basel sein." Beweis dafür hat sich aber bis jetzt nirgends gefunden.

Dasz er "Romeo und Juliet" nach derjenigen Ausgabe übersetzte, "in welcher der berühmte Schauspieler Garrike einige Veränderungen vorgenommen hat," ist selbstverständlich, da David Garrick damals auf dem Höhepunkt seines Ruhmes in London stand, und, wie Genève sagt, "durch sein Spiel die Shakespeare'schen Stücke aufs neue belebte."*

Obige Angabe, die auf dem Titelblatt der Übersetzung steht, weist uns gleich auf jene Bearbeitung dieser Tragödie hin, die mehr als hundert Jahre ihren Platz auf der englischen Bühne behauptete, und erst vor einigen Jahrzehnten durch das Original verdrängt wurde.

Im Jahre 1748, also in der zweiten Saison, nachdem David Garrick die Oberaufsicht des Drury Lane Theaters übernommen hatte, stutzte er Shakespeares "Romeo and Juliet" für die Bühne zu. Diese "mangled version" ist, wie Joseph Knight in seiner Biographie: "David Garrick" sagt, "the earliest of those perversions of Shakespeare's texts which are Garrick's crowning disgrace, and cast something more than doubt upon his much vaunted reverence for Shakespeare." Zwei Jahre später ist diese Bühnenbearbeitung unter dem Titel: "Romeo and Juliet. By Shakespeare. With alterations and an additional Scene, as it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane," bei den Londoner Verlegern, Tonson and Draper im Druck erschienen.

*Geschichte der Shakespeare'schen Dramen in Deutschland, S. 142.

Eine zweite Bühnenausgabe, die Garlandsche nämlich, ist unter derselben Jahreszahl, 1750 in den Katalog des British Museums eingetragen, obgleich kein Datum auf dem Titelblatt steht, und nur Garricks Name im Personen-Verzeichnis zeigt, dasz diese auch von ihm herrührt.

Ein Vergleich der Übersetzung vom Jahre 1758 mit diesen beiden Garrickschen Bühnentexten, als den einzigen, die wohl dem deutschen Übersetzer zugänglich waren, stellt fest, dasz derjenige von Tonson and Draper die Grundlage zu der Übersetzung ist. Mit diesem Texte vom Jahre 1750 haben wir also zu tun.

I. Abweichungen des Garrickschen Textes von Shakespeares Drama.

A. Äusserliche Abweichungen.

1. Im Namen-Verzeichnis steht Romeo obenan, und Juliet ist der erste unter den Frauennamen, selbstverständlich um Mr. Garrick und Miss Bellamy, welche diese Hauptrollen spielten, gebührend hervorzuheben.

Der Name wie auch die Rolle von Lady Montague fehlt, und Peters Name erscheint nicht im Verzeichnis, obwohl er seine Rolle wie bei Shakespeare spielt. In diesen Punkten folgt die Übersetzung der Garrickschen Ausgabe.

Montague, Tybalt, Laurence haben bei Garrick die Formen: Mountague, Tibalt, Lawrence, während der Übersetzer zwar Tibalt, doch Montagu und Lorenz schreibt. Andere deutsche Formen, die in der Übersetzung vorkommen, sind: Eskalus, Merkutio und Johann, während die englische Juliet beibehalten ist. Balthasar erscheint in der Übersetzung ohne h und Lady Capulet ist durch Frau Capulet wiedergegeben.

Bei Garrick stehen die Namen der Personen ohne Bezeichnung, nach jedem aber der Name des Schauspielers, der die betreffende Rolle spielte, während der Übersetzer in dieser Hinsicht Shakespeare folgt: ja, nach einigen Namen fügt er noch etwas hinzu, nämlich:

nach Romeo....."und Liebhaber der Juliet."
nach Paris....."in die Juliet verliebt."
nach Lorenz....."und Beichtvater der Juliet."

nach Juliet....."von Romeo geliebt."

nach Frau Capulet....."und der Juliet Mutter."

2. Einteilung des Stückes in Scenen.

Der ganze erste Akt hat bei Garrick eine neue Einrichtung, und besteht aus sechs statt fünf Scenen.

Scene I. bis zu dem Ausspruch des Prinzen über die Häuser Capulet und Mountague.

Scene II. Gespräch zwischen Mountague und Benvolio über Romeo.

Scene III. Shakespeares Scene II entsprechend; Paris wirbe um Juliets Hand, Capulet ladet ihn zum Feste ein.

Scene IV. Ein Wald bei Verona, Mercutio und Benvolio warten auf Romeo, der gleich auftritt. Dann folgt ein Gespräch, das theils aus dem letzten Teile der ersten und der zweiten Scene, und theils aus Shakespeares vierter Scene zusammengestellt ist. Also findet im ersten Akte nur ein einziges Zusammentreffen der jungen Freunde statt, wodurch der Akt an dramatischer Einheit gewinnt.

Die fünfte Scene vor Capulets Haus entspricht Shakespeares dritter zwischen Frau Capulet, Juliet und der Amme, und die sechste Scene stellt den Maskeball dar, wie Shakespeares Scene V.

Akt III erhält acht statt fünf Scenen, aber nur durch das Einteilen der ersten in drei, und der fünften in zwei Scenen. Die zweite Scene beginnt gleich, nachdem man den verwundeten Mercutio ins Haus gebracht, die dritte nach Tibalts Tod und Romeos Flucht, und die achte nach dem letzten Abschied zwischen den Liebenden.

Auch findet sich eine Teilung in der dritten Scene des fünften Actes, und zwar da, wo Romeo und sein Bedienter auf dem Kirchhof auftreten.

In der Einteilung folgt die Übersetzung dem Garrickschen Text aufs genaueste mit Ausnahme davon, dasz der erste Aufzug durch das Einteilen des sechsten Auftritts einen "Siebenden" erhält, worin Juliet sich bei der Amme nach ihrem Verehrer erkundigt.

3. Bühnenweisungen.

Fast durchgehends tritt bei Garrick wie auch in der Übersetzung eine Person auf, ehe von ihr die Rede ist, während

Shakespeares gewöhnliches Verfahren gerade das Gegenteil ist. Zum Beispiel liest man bei Shakespeare in Akt I, Scene I:

"Greg. (Aside to Sam.) Say "better;" here comes one of my master's kinsmen.

Sam. Yes, better, sir.

Abr. You lie.

Sam. Yes, better, sir.
blows.

(They fight.)

Enter Benvolio."

Dagegen hat Garrick:

"Enter Benvolio.

Greg. Say better: here comes" etc.

Was der Baseler genau übersetzt:

"(Benvolio kommt hinein)

Gregory.

Sprich, einem besseren:" usw.

Akt II, Scene V.

"Jul. O God, she comes!

enter Nurse and Peter." Shakespeare.

gegen Garricks:

"Enter Nurse.

Jul. O Heaven! here she comes."

Dafür im deutschen Texte:

"(die Amme und Peter kommen hinein)

Juliet, Sie kommt, O Himmel!" usw.

B. Abweichungen den Inhalt betreffend.

1. Das Abschaffen des Reimes.

Garrick schafft die häufig vorkommenden Reime vielfach fort durch Auslassung der Reimpaare, die so oft eine Rede schlieszen, durch den Gebrauch von anderen Worten, oder durch anderes Zusammenstellen der Wörter, wobei er oft eine unbetonte Endsilbe anhängt.

Nehmen wir zum Beispiel folgendes aus Akt I, Scene V.

"Tib. Now, by the stock and honor of our race (Sh. kin.)

To strike him dead I hold it not a sin." oder:

"Tib. Uncle, this is a Mountague, our foe,

A villain that is hither come in spite

To scorn and flout at our solemnity."

für Shakespeares: "To scorn at our solemnity tonight."

Als Beispiel für die unbetonte Endsilbe nehmen wir folgende Stelle aus Akt II, Scene III.

“Fri. L. Young Son, it argues a distemper’d head,
 So soon to bid good morrow to thy pillow.” (Sh. “bed.”)
 “Romeo. Then plainly know my heart’s dear love is set
 On Juliet, Capulet’s fair daughter.”
 (Shakespeare, “On the fair daughter of rich Capulet.”)

und folgende von Garrick in dieselbe Scene eingeschaltete Zeilen, die gleich auf Romeos Worte:

“She whom I love,
 Doth give me grace for grace, and love for love,”

folgen, nämlich:
 “Do thou, with Heaven, smile upon our union,
 Do not withhold thy benediction from us.”

Für dieses Verfahren finden wir folgende komische Rechtfertigung in dem “Advertisement” am Anfang der Ausgabe vom Jahre 1750: “The Design was to clear the Original as much as possible, from the Jingle and Quibble which were always thought a great Objection to performing it.” Darüber sagt mit Recht Howard Candler, Präsident der “Toynbee Shakespeare Society” von London: “The lines introduced and altered with the recurrent extra syllable, are painfully prosaic.”

In der Übersetzung fehlt zwar der Reim, aber die unbetonte Silbe am Ende der fünffüßigen Jamben ist hier die Regel. Betrachten wir z. B. folgende Stelle aus Merkutios Rede in dem vierten Auftritt des ersten Aufzuges:

“Merkutio.

Ha! Ha! Ein Traum!

Das alte Zauberweib hat dich besucht.
 Sie ist die Wehmutter der Einbildung;
 sie ist nicht dicker als ein Agatstein
 an eines Aldermannes Zeigefinger;
 Es zieht sie ein Gespann von Sonnenstäubgen;
 Sie fährt uns in die Nase, wenn wir schlafen.
 die Rädersparren sind von Spinnebeinen;
 des Wagens Decke von Hauspringersflügeln;
 Die Tränen von dem kleinsten Spinngewebe.”

2. Abkürzung.

Mit der Einführung des Szenenwechsels, der zu Shakespeares Zeit fehlte, musste die Aufführung eines Stückes selbst-

verständlich mehr Zeit in Anspruch nehmen. Für eine Bühnenausgabe des 18. Jahrhunderts also war eine Abkürzung wohl nötig. Dabei schreitet Garrick ziemlich rücksichtslos vor.

1.) Der Prolog und der Epilog zu Anfang und Ende des ersten Aktes fallen aus, was wohl für den modernen Geschmack, der vom moralischen Zwecke eines Kunstwerkes nichts wissen will und für den vermittelnden Chor der Alten den Sinn verloren hat, ein Vorteil zu nennen wäre. Jedoch in Anbetracht der grossen Vorliebe des 18. Jahrhunderts für dergleichen wäre es kaum zu erwarten, besonders da Garrick, der, wie Knight behauptet, "a neat touch in such matters" hatte, fast jedes in seinem Theater aufgeführte Stück mit einem selbstverfaszten Prologe versah.

2.) Das Wortspiel, die anderen Späße der Bedienten, die Garrick "Quibble" nennt, und fast alle Monologe und längeren Zwiegespräche sind viel kürzer oder fallen ganz aus.

Akt I, Scene I ist das Gespräch zwischen Gregory und Sampson bis auf ungefähr die Hälfte verkürzt, wie auch in Szenen I und II diejenigen zwischen Romeo, Benvolio und den Bedienten.

Die Episode von dem Namen-Verzeichnis der einzuladenen Gäste fehlt ganz. Überhaupt spielen die Bedienten, besonders im Hause Capulets eine viel kleinere Rolle. Sie fehlen, zum Beispiel, ganz vor dem Maskenball am Anfang der 5. Scene des 1. Aktes und in der 2. und 4. Scene des 4. Aktes, wo von den Vorbereitungen auf die Hochzeit die Rede ist. Diese Abkürzungen kann man gelten lassen, aber die Auslassung des Gesprächs zwischen Peter und den Musikanten am Ende des 4. Aktes ist sehr gewagt, da dies der letzte Lichtstrahl ist vor den schnell aufeinander folgenden tragischen Ereignissen des letzten Aktes.

Im ersten und zweiten Akte kürzt Garrick die Unterhaltung zwischen dem geistreichen Mercutio und seinen Freunden ab (wohl um jenes "Quibble" zu vermeiden), bis wir so manchen leichten Zug vermissen, wodurch Shakespeare den von Brooks nur einmal erwähnten Höfling zu jener wunderbaren Verschmelzung des "fine gentleman" mit dem tapferen

Ritter* macht, der mit seinem kühnen Witze dem phantasievollen, leidenschaftlichen Romeo zur Folie dient.

Der grösste Teil von Capulets und der Amme übertriebenen Klagen über Juliets Tod, die Richard Grant White als Verspottung der 1581 erschienenen Übersetzung von Senecas Tragödien ansieht, fällt aus, was eine entschiedene Verbesserung ist.

In der fünften Scene des dritten Aktes fehlt der Teil der Unterhaltung zwischen Lady Capulet und Juliet, wo diese ihrem erkünstelten Abscheu vor Romeo als dem Mörder ihres Veters Ausdruck gibt. Dadurch verliert das junge, unerfahrene, doch schwerbedrängte Wesen einen Zug der Fröhlichkeit, die, meiner Meinung nach, zu ihrem Charakter nicht paßt.

Von den längeren Reden, die vielfach abgekürzt sind, sind diejenigen von dem Mönch besonders hervorzuheben; z. B. Akt II, Scene III, wo er Romeo den Wankelmuth vorwirft; Akt III, Scene II, wo er versucht, Romeo aus seiner Verzweiflung aufzurütteln, und Akt IV, Scene V, wo er über Juliets vermeintlichen Tod moralisiert.

Die allerletzte Scene wird durch Auslassungen in des Romeo und des Paris Reden, durch den Ausfall der Unterhaltung zwischen dem Mönch und Balthasar, und des Verhörs von Balthasar und dem Pagen Romeos bis auf zwei Drittel des Ganzen verkürzt.

3.) Die unbedeutende Rolle von der Gräfin Montague fällt, wie gesagt, ganz weg, und Frau Capulet erscheint nicht auf der Strasse während des Straszentumults im ersten Akte, nach dem Ermorden Tibalts im dritten Akte, und vor der Gruft in der letzten Scene; wodurch ein Gefühl des Befremdens beseitigt wird, das einen fast unbewusst bei ihrem Erscheinen unter solchen Umständen beschleicht.

Mit Ausnahme von vereinzelten Versen, die unten besprochen werden, folgt der Übersetzer seinem gewählten Texte auch in der Abkürzung.

3. Juliets Alter ist bei Garrick, wie auch in der Übersetzung achtzehn statt vierzehn Jahre, was wohl besser zu den

*Richard Grant White: Vorwort zu seiner Ausgabe von Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet." (1861).

Anschauungen des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts in England paszte.

4. Rosaline wird überhaupt nicht erwähnt, Romeo liebt Juliet von Anfang an, und entschlieszt sich, dem Maskenball beizuwohnen, aus Sehnsucht danach, seine unerreichbare Schöne doch noch einmal zu sehen. Hierin zeigt Garrick, dasz er die feine Menschenkenntnis nicht zu verstehen vermochte, die Shakespeare dadurch erwiesen hat, dasz er die Gestalt Rosalines beibehielt. Was einem im ersten Augenblick als Beweis des Wankelmuts vorkommen möchte, ist weiter nichts als Mittel zur Darstellung des leidenschaftlichen Jünglings, der nach der Liebe schmachtet, und der, da die Rosaline sich unerbittlich zeigt, sich selbstverständlich auf den ersten Blick in die schöne, liebevolle Juliet verliebt. Mit der Auslassung der Rosaline ist Garrick auch den populären Anschauungen seines Jahrhunderts entgegengekommen. Im Laufe der Zeit aber wurde das allgemeine Urteil darüber richtiger. Howard Candler sagt: "The omission of Rosaline is a grave blot on Shakespeare's intention and Bandello's plot."

5. Am Anfang des fünften Aktes setzt Garrick eine neue Scene ein, die den Leichenzug Juliets vorstellt, wobei ein abgeschmacktes Grablied gesungen wird. Hier nahm der Schauspieler wohl Rücksicht auf das Verlangen seiner Zeit nach theatralischem Effekte.

Paris' Worte, (V, 3, resp. 4) die bei Shakespeare folgendermassen lauten:

"Sweet flower, with flowers thy bridal bed I strew:—
O woe, thy canopy is dust and stones!
Which with sweet water nightly I will dew;
Or, wanting that, with tears distill'd by moans:
The obsequies that I for thee will keep,
Nightly shall be to strew thy grave and weep."

sind bei Garrick ganz umgewandelt:

"Sweet flow'r! with flow'rs thy bridal bed I strew:
(Strewing Flowers.)

Fair Juliet, that with angels dost remain,
Accept this latest favour at my hand,
That living honour'd thee, and being dead,
With funeral obsequies adorn thy tomb."

In der Übersetzung lauten sie:

“Du angenehmste Blume! Dise Blumen
Hab ich gebracht, dein Brautbett zu bestreuen.
(Streut die Blumen aus.)

Du wohnst bei Engeln, schöne Juliet,
nimm diese letzte Gunst von meiner Hand,
die lebend dich geehrt, und, da du todt bist,
dein Grab mit disem Leichendienste ziert.”

6. Noch eine wichtige Veränderung findet sich in dem Inhalt der vierten Scene vom fünften Akte. Dem Beispiel von Otway folgend, der in seinem Drama, “Caius Marius” Shakespeares Tragödie auf merkwürdige Weise verwandelt hat, läßt Garrick Juliet vor dem Tode ihres Gatten erwachen, und die Unglücklichen ein kurzes Gespräch führen. Als der Mönch eintritt, findet er die ohnmächtige Juliet auf dem Leichname des eben gestorbenen Romeo. Bald kommt sie wieder zur Besinnung, der Mönch mahnt sie zur Geduld; da fährt sie ihn folgendermaszen an:

“O thou cursed Friar! patience!
Talks't thou of patience to a wretch like me!”

was ein grelles störendes Licht auf den Charakter der vor dem Tode Stehenden wirft. Diese Wiederaufnahme des von den Italienern herrührenden Motivs ist entschieden ein Misserfolg. Darüber drückt Edward Dowden sich folgendermaszen aus: “It is wonderful what a good situation and a great actor can do upon the stage even with words such as these.”

Im Wesentlichen wird auch diese Garricksche Scene in der Übersetzung genau wiedergegeben.

Und endlich zeigen sich folgende Varianten in dem Schlusz:

“Go hence, to have more talk of these sad things;
Some shall be pardon'd, and some punished:
For never was a story of more woe
Than this of Juliet and her Romeo. *Shakespeare.*

Let Romeo's man, and let the boy attend us:
We'll hence, and farther scan these sad disasters:
Well may ye mourn, my lords, (now wise too late)
These tragic issues of your mutual hate:
From private feuds, what dire misfortunes flow!
Whate'er the cause, the sure effect is WOE.” *Garrick.*

"Des Paris und des Romeo Bediente
führt zu uns, um sie annoch zu verhören,
und dieses Unglücks ganzen Grund zu finden.
Ihr trauert mit recht, die ihr zu spät nun klug seyd,
beym schlimmen Ausgang euers bösen Hasses:
Der Bürger Zwist ist stets des Unheils Quelle;
Was auch sein Anfang ist, sein End ist böß."

II. Abweichungen der Übersetzung vom Garrickschen Texte.

Mit Ausnahme von zwei später zu besprechenden sind diese Abweichungen sehr unbedeutend.

In der 5. Scene des 1. Aktes, wo bei Garrick die Amme ihre unanständige Anekdote von Juliets Kindheit nur einmal erzählt, wiederholt sie dieselbe in der Übersetzung genau wie bei Shakespeare. In der letzten Scene des 1. Aktes sagt Juliet zu der Amme:

"A rhyme I learn'd e'en now
Of one I talk'd withal." (Sh. "*danced* withal")

Dafür hat die Übersetzung:

"Es ist ein Sprüchwort, das ich einst gelesen."

Am Ende des ersten Aktes erklärt die Amme das Rufen: "Juliet" von jemand hinter der Scene mit den Worten: "Sie werden uns zum Essen rufen;" die sich nur in der Übersetzung finden.

Der Deutsche übersetzt verschiedene Zeilen aus Romeos Selbstgespräch (II, 2), die bei Garrick fehlen, wie, zum Beispiel:

"And none but fools do wear it; cast it off;"

was in der Übersetzung lautet:

"Nur Dohren dienen ihm; entschlag dich seiner."

und folgende Bezeichnung von: "the wondering eyes of mortals," nämlich:

"that fall back to gaze on him."

Dafür in der Übersetzung:

"die staunend rückwärts fallen."

Folgende Stellen in derselben Scene weichen etwas von den englischen Texten ab;

"He jests at scars that never felt a wound," heisst:

"Er spottet über das, so nie geschehen."

“Wherefore art thou Romeo?” “Bist du noch Romeo?”

“With love’s light wings did I o’erperch these walls.”

“Der Liebe leichten Flügeln ist keine Maur zu hoch.”

und Romeos Worte: “So thrive my soul.” heissen “Seele freue dich!”

In der 4. Scene des 2. Aktes fehlen in der Übersetzung folgende Worte von Shakespeare, die Garrick beibehält:

“Romeo:.....here is for thy pains.

Nurse. No, truly, sir, not a penny.

Rom. Go to, I say, you shall.”

“Fie, how my bones ache.” (II, 5) heisst:

“ich glaube nicht, dasz ich noch Beine habe,”

In der ersten Scene des dritten Aktes sagt Mercutio: “and yet thou wilt tutor me for quarreling;” was in der Übersetzung lautet: “und doch willst du mich als einen Zänker ausschreyen.” Tibalt sagt: “Folgt mir auf dem Fusze,” nach Shakespeares “Follow me close,” statt Garricks “Be near at hand” zu übersetzen. Auch stehen in der Übersetzung Romeos Worte an Tibalt:

“Du weizst die Ursach noch nicht meiner Liebe,”

für: “Till thou shalt know the reason of my love”, welche Garrick ausläßt.

Mercutios:

“I am peppered, I warrant, for this world”—heisst:

“Ich bin in diser Welt keinen Heller

mehr wehrt, gewisz und wahrhaftig.”

Wie bei Shakespeare fragt *Benvolio*: Wie? bist du verwundet?”

während Garrick diese Worte dem Romeo in den Mund legt.

(III, 1. resp. 3.) “Ben: This is the truth, or let Benvolio die.” (G. “suffer”)

heisst: “Dis ist die Wahrheit, und Benvolio kan darauf sterben,” stimmt also zu Shakespeare.

(III, 2. resp. 4.) Shakespeares “death-darting eye” übersetzt der Deutsche:

“tödend Auge,” statt Garricks “earth-darting eye,”

“These sorrows make me old,” was Garrick ausläßt,

lautet in der Übersetzung: “dis macht mir graue Hare.”

(III, 5.) Hier finden sich folgende Zeilen, die bei Garrick fehlen:

"Nein, auser diser Stadt ist keine Welt,
es ist sonst nichts als Fegfeuer, Folter, Hölle,"*

und mit folgender Wendung:

"Dem Wort Verbannung streichst du Farbe an"
gibt die Übersetzung Garricks Worte wieder:

"'Tis death mis-term'd:"

Auch läßt die Übersetzung drei Zeilen in derselben Scene ausfallen, die Garrick beibehält, nämlich:

"Rom. Not I, unless the breath of heart-sick groans,
Mistlike, infold me from the search of eyes.

Fri: Hark how they knock—Romeo, arise; Who's there?"

Folgende Zeilen aus des Mönches Mahnung an Romeo finden sich nicht in dem Garrickschen Texte:

"Juliet lebt

Um derentwillen du erst neulich todt warst:

Hier bist du glücklich. Tibalt wollte dich
ermorden, aber Tibalt fiel durch dich:

Hier bist du wieder glücklich. Das Gesetz

veränderte den Tod in die Verbannung,

und ward dein Freund: Hier bist du nochmals glücklich.

Es drückt dich eine Last, die Last des Glückes;

Du stößest Glück und Liebe von dir weg.

Nimm dich in Acht, denn solche sterben elend."

Diese kraftvollen, überzeugenden Worte des Shakespeare-schen Textes möchten wir nicht gern vermissen.

"Since I have stain'd the childhood of our joy" (Sh. u. G.) heizt "Ich schändete die Kindheit unsrer Liebe—"

Folgende Stelle hat diese Varianten in den drei Texten:

(III, 5, resp. 7) "Rom. Nor that is not the lark, whose notes do beat
The vaulty heaven so high above our heads." (Sh.)

"I'll say, 'tis not the lark, whose notes do beat

The vaulty heaven so high above our heads:" (G.)

"es ist die Nachtigal, die das Gewölbe

des Himmels Tohnreich macht mit ihrem Liede."

In derselben Scene läßt die Übersetzung Romeos Worte ausfallen:

"More light and light? more dark and dark our woes."

(III, 5. resp. 8) Capulets Worte: "My fingers itch," die bei Garrick fehlen, gibt der Übersetzer wieder mit den folgenden: "die Faüste jücken mich."

*Dies ist eine wörtliche Übersetzung aus Shakespeare.

(IV, 1.) Juliets Rede:

"If I do so, it will be of more price,
Being spoke behind your back, than to your face."

die bei Garrick nicht vorkommen, finden sich in der Übersetzung wieder, nämlich:

"Wenn ich es tuh', so ists von gröszrem Wehrte,
als sagte ich dir es ins Angesicht."

Und noch in derselben Scene übersetzt der Baseler Shakespeares:

"In thy best robes," statt Garricks: "white robes."

In IV, 3, behält er die Anspielung auf die Alraunen in Juliets Selbstgespräch vor dem Einnehmen des Schlaftrunks bei die Garrick auslässt.

In der letzten Scene fehlt bei Garrick die Stelle, wo Romeo den Paris mahnt, an die Verstorbenen zu denken, und ihn nicht zum Mord zu reizen, auch fehlen sechs Zeilen, wo Romeo sich daran erinnert, dasz sein Bedienter ihm von einer Heirat der Juliet mit dem Grafen Paris erzählt habe, und noch zuletzt das ganze Gespräch zwischen den drei Wächtern. Dieses rücksichtslose Schneiden der letzten Scene erregt das Gefühl der unzureichenden Motivierung, und zwingt einen zu den Fragen: Warum ist Romeo jetzt so bereit zu kämpfen, da er früher so eifrig bemüht war, einen Kampf zu verhindern? Was veranlaszt ihn den toten Paris neben Juliet zu legen? und endlich, warum sind der Mönch und Balthasar nicht entflohen vor der Ankunft des Prinzen?

Diese Lücken in dem Garrickschen Texte finden sich nicht bei dem Anonymus, denn er behält die drei Stellen bei.

Auch bei Garricks wichtigsten Abweichungen von Shakespeare, nämlich bei der Auslassung von Rosaline und der Einführung der neuen Scene mit dem Leichenzug, hält sich der Übersetzer an die ursprüngliche Form des Dramas.

Vergleichen wir folgende Stellen in den drei Texten:

I, 2, resp. 4, "Rom. O heavy lightness; serious vanity!
Misshapen chaos of wellseeming forms,

* * * * *

This love feel I, that feel no love in this,
Dost thou not laugh? * * * * *

Rom. A right good mark-man!—And she's fair I love,
* * * * * she'll not be hit

With Cupid's arrow,—she hath Dian's wit;
And, in strong proof of chastity well arm'd,
From love's weak childish bow she lives unharm'd.

* * * * *

B. Be rul'd by me, forget to think of her."

Shakespeare.

Rom:

Love, heavy lightness! serious vanity!
Mis-shapen chaos of well-seeming forms!
This love feel I; but such my froward fate,
That there I love where most I ought to hate.
Dost thou not laugh, my friend?—Oh, Juliet! Juliet!

* * * * *

A right good marksman! and she's fair I love;
But knows not of my love; 'twas through my eyes,
The shaft empierced my heart; chance gave the wound,
Which time can never heal: no star befriends me;
To each sad night succeeds a dismal morrow.
And still 'tis hopeless love and endless sorrow.
Mer: Be ruled by me, forget to think of her."

Garrick.

Romeo.

"Liebe, zentnerschwäres leichtes Wesen!
ernsthafte Eitelkeit! unförmlichs Unding
schön-scheinender Gestalten: dich fühl ich,
Und lachst du nicht, mein Vetter!

* * * * *

Vortrefflich im Erraten! Sie ist schön;
Und spottet nur des Liebesgottes Pfeile;
Sie hat Dianens Witz; die Keuschheit hat
ihr Herz bewaffnet, und sie lachet nur
ob dises Knabens kindisch-schwachem Bogen.

Merkutio.

Nun will ich sterben, ist's nicht Rosaline
Lasz dich belehren; denk nicht mehr an sie."

"Ben. At this same ancient feast of Capulet's
Supps the fair Rosaline whom thou so lov'st;
With all th' admired beauties of Verona:
Go thither and, with unattainted eye,
Compare her face with some that I shall show,
And I will make thee think thy swan a crow."

Shakespeare.

"Mer: I warrant thee, if thou'lt but stay to hear,
To-night there is an ancient splendid feast,
Kept by old Capulet our enemy,

Where all the beauties of Verona meet.

Rom: At Capulet's!

Mer: At Capulet's, my friend;

Go there and with an unattainted eye,

Compare her face with some that I shall show,

And I will make thee think thy swan a raven."

Garrick.

"Merkutio.

Ja, ich versichere dich. In diser Nacht

speist Rosaline, welche du so liebest,

beym Capulet, der eine Mahlzeit gibt;

samt allem, was Verona schönes hat,

Komm, laszt us dort, doch in verstellter Tracht,

ihr Angesicht mit anderen vergleichen,

so wird selbst dir dein Schwan zum Raben werden."

"Ben. Tut, tut, you saw her fair, none else being by"

(Shakespeare und Garrick),

heiszt in der Übersetzung:

"Die Rosaline was dir schön, da niemand zugegen war;"

"Rom. I fear, too early: for my mind misgives

Some consequence, yet hanging in the stars,

Shall bitterly begin his fearful date

With this night's revels; and expire the term

Of a despised life, clos'd in my breast,

By some vile forfeit of untimely death:

But He, that hath the steerage of my course,

Direct my sail!—On, lusty gentlemen!"

Shakespeare.

"Rom: I fear too early: for my mind misgives

Some consequence, yet hanging in the stars,

From this night's revels—lead, gallant friends,

Let come what may, once more will I behold

My Juliet's eyes, drink deeper of affliction:

I'll watch the time; and, masked from observation,

Make known my sufferings, but conceal my name;

Tho' hate and discord 'twixt our sires increase,

Let in our hearts dwell love and endless peace."

Garrick.

Romeo.*

Nur zu frühe, fürcht ich:

Es ahnet mir nichts gutes, das allein

die Sterne wissen. Doch die,* so das Ruder

* Hier ist es wohl Rosaline, "so das Ruder von meinem Lauffe führet."

von meinem Lauffe führet, leite mich!
Kommt, gute Brüder."

Im 5. resp. 6. Auftritt desselben Aufzugs befinden sich folgende Stellen:

"Rom. (to a servant) What lady's that, which doth enrich the hand
Of yonder Knight?

Servant. I know not, sir.

* * * * *

Rom. The measure done, I'll watch her place of stand,
And touching hers, make blessed my rude hand.
Did my heart love till now? forswear it, sight!
For I ne'er saw true beauty till this night."

Shakespeare.

"Rom: Cousin Benvolio, do you mark that lady which
Doth enrich the hand of yonder gentleman?

Ben: I do.

Rom: * * * * *

I'll wait her to her place,
And, touching hers, make happy my rude hand.
Be still, be still, my fluttering heart."

Garrick.

"Romeo. zu einem Junker,
Wer ist dort

die Schöne, welche jenes Herren Hand ziert?

Junker.

Ich weisz es nicht, mein Herr.

Romeo.

* * * * *

Ich will ihr folgen: ihre zarte Hand
musz meine glücklich machen. Hat mein Herz
wol je geliebt? Verschwöret er ihr Augen,
das euch bis jetzt und schönere nicht begegnet."

Später in derselben Scene lässt Shakespeare, wie auch die Übersetzung, Romeo fragen:

"What is her mother?" und "Is she a Capulet?"

während Garrick die erste Frage dem Benvolio und die zweite dem Mercutio in den Mund legt.

Im ersten Auftritt des zweiten Aufzugs kommt Rosalines Name bei Shakespeare und dem Übersetzer vor: "I conjure thee by Rosaline's bright eyes,"

"Ich beschwör dich

bey Rosalines hellem Augenpare."

Dies ändert Garrick in :

“I conjure thee, by thy mistress’s bright eyes.”

Im dritten Auftritt fällt die Frage des Mönches :

“wast thou with Rosaline?”

bei Garrick, wie auch beim Deutschen aus.

Später sagt Friar Laurence :

“Holy Saint Francis, what a change is here!

Is Rosaline, whom thou didst love so dear,

So soon forsaken? * * * * *

Jesu Maria, what a deal of brine

Hath wash’d thy sallow cheeks for Rosaline!

If e’er thou wast thyself, and these woes thine,

Thou and these woes were all for Rosaline:

* * * * *

Rom. Thou chidd’st me oft for loving Rosaline.

* * * * *

I pray thee, chide not: she whom I love now

Doth grace for grace and love for love allow;

The other did not so.

Fri. L. * * * * *

But come, young waverer.”

Shakespeare.

Bei Garrick lautet die Stelle wie folgt :

“Fri: Holy Saint Francis, what a change is this!

But, tell me, son, and call thy reason home,

Is not this love the offspring of thy folly,

Bred from thy wantonness and thoughtless brain?

Be heedful, youth, and see you stop betimes,

Lest that thy rash ungovernable passions,

O’erleaping duty, and each due regard,

Hurry thee on, thro’ short-liv’d, dear-bought pleasures,

To cureless woes, and lasting penitence.

Rom: I pray thee, chide me not; she, whom I love,

Doth give me grace for grace, and love for love:

Do thou, with Heav’n, smile upon our union;

Do not withhold thy benediction from us,

But make two hearts, by holy marriage, one.

Fri: Well, come, my pupil,”

Dagegen steht in der Übersetzung :

“Mönch.

Bey allen Heiligen! wie so verändert!

Ist Rosaline, welche du so zärtlich

geliebet hast, so bald von dir vergessen?

Behüte mit*! welche eine Tränenflut
um Rosalinen waschte deine Wangen!
Du bist ganz anderst.

Romeo.

Du schaltest mich ja oft,

Dasz ich die Rosaline liebte.

* * * * *

Schilt mich nicht:

Ich liebe Juliet, sie liebt mich wieder;

Dis that die erstre nicht.

Mönch.

Komm, Flüchtiger:"

Ein einziges Mal erscheint der Name, Rosaline, auch bei Garrick (II, 4) aus Versehen wohl, denn die späteren Ausgaben seiner Werke haben Juliet, statt Rosaline:

"Why that same pale, hard-hearted wench that Rosaline,
Torments him so that he will sure run mad,"

was der Deutsche natürlich wörtlich übersetzt.

III. Stil und literarischer Wert der Übersetzung.

1. Die fünffüssigen Jamben.

Trotz des absprechenden Urteils der wenigen Zeitgenossen, die sich um das Werk bekümmert zu haben scheinen, und die "rauen Verse" tadeln, musz man nach einem sorgfältigen und unbefangenen Studium desselben sagen: der Baseler weisz im groszen und ganzen die fünffüssigen Jamben mit Geschicklichkeit anzuwenden und in wohlklingenden Versen den Sinn des englischen Textes wieder zu geben. Nehmen wir zum Beispiel folgende wohlbekannte Zeilen aus dem zweiten Auftritt des zweiten Aufzugs:

"Du hast nichts feindliches, als deinen Namen:
Was ligt am Namen? Nenne eine Rose
wie du nur willst, sie riecht doch immer wohl:
So wäre Romeo, wenn er auch schön
ganz anderst hiesze, immer gleich vollkommen.
Entschlag dich deines Namens, Romeo,
er ist kein Teil von dir, nimm statt desselben
mich selbst an";

oder folgende aus dem Selbstgespräch des Mönches im dritten Auftritt des zweiten Aufzugs:

"In diser kleinen Blume zarter Rinde
wohnt Gift, und doch auch eine Heilungskraft.

* sic.

Durch den Geruch erfreut es jeden Sinn,
 Durch den Geschmack verderbt es Herz und Sinnen.
 So sind, wie in der Kräuteren, zween Feinde
 im Menschen, Gnade und der rohe Wille:
 Wird diser meister, so erscheint die Raupe,
 der Tod, und frisst die Blume."

2. Die Form der Anrede.

Die gewöhnliche Form der Anrede ist du, doch redet Juliet die Mutter oft in der dritten Person an, wie z. B. im fünften Auftritt des ersten Aufzugs, wo sie auf der Mutter Frage: "Sprich, wie gefällt dir denn des Paris Liebe?" antwortet:

"Doch meiner guten Muter Augenwink
 wird mir hierinnen stets zur Richtschnur dienen."

Zweimal wird die dritte Person Pluralis angewandt, und zwar im vierten Auftritt des zweiten Aufzugs, wo die Amme zu Romeo sagt:

"Verzeihen sie mir, mein Herr;"

und im sechsten Auftritt des dritten Aufzugs wo Paris spricht:

"Gute Nacht

Madam, empfehlen sie mich ihrer Tochter."

3. Eigentümlichkeiten des Stils.

Man musz die zu häufige Anwendung des Relativsatzes an Stelle eines Adjektivs tadeln, da sie eine Wirkung der Schwäche hervorbringt, die zuweilen ans Lächerliche grenzt. Zum Beispiel in dem ersten Auftritt des zweiten Aufzugs:

"Ich beschwör dich

bey Rosalinens hellem Augenpare,
 bey ihrer hohen Stirne, ihren Lippen,
 die scharlachrot sind."

Im zweiten Auftritt finden wir für: "and kill the envious moon," "und erstick den Mond, der voller Neid ist."

"I must fill up this osier-cage of ours
 With baleful weeds and precious-juicéd flowers"

überträgt er wie folgt:

"Musz ich mir diesen unsern Weidenkasten
 mit gift'gen Kräuteren und Blumen füllen,
 die köstlich saftig sind."

"Gallop apace, you fiery-footèd steeds,"

wird zu:

"Trabt hurtig fort, ihr Pferde, deren Füsz
 von Feuer sind."

Juliets leidenschaftliche, beinahe wahnsinnige Rede, als sie mit der Nachricht überrascht wird, dasz Romeo ihren Vater erschlagen hat, die folgendermassen schlieszt:

"O, that deceit should dwell
In such a gorgeous palace!"

läszt der Übersetzer mit diesem Anticlimax auslauten:

"Der Palast
der prächtig ist, dient dem Betrug zur Wohnung."

Die Worte des Mönches in der Gruft:

"Ah, what an unkind hour
Is guilty of this lamentable chance."

finden folgende Wiedergabe:

"O welche Unglückstunde ist befleckt
mit disem Wechsel, der entsetzlich ist."

Von der sklavischen Treue, die Stadler an Wieland tadelt, die diesen besonders bei den kleinen Wendungen der Umgangssprache so oft zu undeutschen Ausdrücken verleitet, finden sich auch bei unserem Übersetzer dann und wann Spuren, jedoch sind sie nicht sehr häufig.

"I'm sorry that thou art so ill;" (II, 5) heiszt:

"Es tuht mir, liebe, liebe Amme leid,
dasz du so schlecht bist."

"What is the matter?" (IV, 5) (d. h. was gibt's?) = "Was ist die Ursache?", und "I say," (IV, 4) (hör'!) "ich sage."

Zu diesen Unarten im literarischen Stil kommt noch ein Mangel an völliger Beherrschung der englischen Sprache seitens des Verfassers, der ihn hier und da zu wunderlichen Fehlern veranlaszt. Weniger störend ist die falsche Wiedergabe von einzelnen Wörtern, die jedoch häufiger vorkommt.

Manche eigentümliche Wendungen darf man wohl dem Baseler Dialekt oder dem Zeitalter zuschreiben, wie zum Beispiel: (I, 4) "der Schreiner Gribler" (the joiner squirrel or old grub.), und "Sonnenstaubgen" (atomies). (I, 5. resp. 6) "Gränaugen" (corns), (II, 4), "Wortklepfer" (tuners of accents) "hauptguter Kerl" (good blade), "Modenfresser" (fashionmonger), "eine Katzenaugichte" (a gray eye or two), "Windfoche" (fan), "Wortkrämer" (saucy Merchant) und (II, 6) "Ausstreichen" (blazon).

Folgende Stellen dagegen kann man nur durch Unkenntnis oder einen Mangel an Sorgfalt erklären:

“Remember thy *swashing* blows” (I, 1) wird zu: “erinnere dich deines *blinkenden* Schwertes”, “part, fools”, (das der Übersetzer wohl depart las), zu: “Flieht Dohren”; “neighborstainèd steel” heisst “nachbarliches Schwert” und “mistempered weapons”, “die frechen Waffen.”

“Lammastide” (I, 3, resp. 5), die auf den ersten August fällt, also “Petri Kettenfeier” verwechselt er mit “St. Peterstulfeyer”, das heisst mit dem 18ten Januar.

Für: “’twas no need I trow to bid me *trudge*” (bei Gelegenheit des Erdbebens nämlich) steht: “da dorfte man mir nicht einschärfen, sie (das Kind) einzuwiegen”, und (I. 5. resp. 6) für “ward” (Minderjähriger) “Bube”; “dull earth” (II, 1) heisst “tolle Erde” und “the spirit of a fiend” (III, 4) “der Geist von einem Feinde”. Hier hat wohl die Ähnlichkeit der englischen mit den deutschen Wörter den Übersetzer irre gemacht.

“Coil” (Verwirrung) erscheint als “Gerausch” (II, 5). “Runaway’s eyes” oder “rude day’s eyes” (III, 2. resp. 4), worüber so viel gestritten worden ist, heisst einfach “scheue Augen”, und “the garish sun”, “die beschämte Sonne.”

Falsche Auffassung eines ganzen Satzes kommt auch nicht selten vor. Die allgemeine Behauptung (I, 2) aus einigen von Garrick eingeschalteten Zeilen: “Friendship still loves to sort him with his like:” wird zu: “noch immer hielt er viele Freundschaft mit uns.”

“I saw the wound, I saw it with mine eyes,—

God save the mark!” wovon die letzten vier Worte bei Garrick fehlen.)

ist wiedergegeben durch:

“Ich sah die Wunde, ja, mit eignen Augen.

Dort, *seines Zeichens*, auf der schönen Brust.”

“Hei to high fortune” (II, 5) heisst:

“Heut sei das Glück uns günstig.”

Das Wunderlichste Misverständnis ist wohl im 4. resp. 6. Auftritt des dritten Aktes zu finden; wo Capulet dem Freier Paris sagt:

“I will make a desperate tender
Of my child’s love,”

was bei dem Übersetzer, der tender wohl nur als Adjektiv kannte, folgendermaßen lautet:

"Herr Paris, ich will meiner Tochter Liebe
verzweifelt zärtlich machen."

Mehrere Male entstehen Fehler im Übersetzen aus Übersehen der Interpunktion.

Akt I, Scene III, (resp. V) ruft die Amme ihre junge Herrin mit den Worten: "What, lamb!, what, lady-bird—" In der Übersetzung aber sagt sie: "welch lam ist sie." Das Komma fehlt aber bei Garrick, was den Irrtum erklärlich macht.

Im 3. resp. 5. Auftritt des ersten Aufzugs kommt der Bediente herein und meldet:

"Madam, * * * you are called, my young lady asked for, the nurse cursed in the pantry", usw.

Hier hat der Übersetzer gelesen: "my young lady asked for the nurse;" daher finden wir:

"Madam, * * * man möchte die gnädige Frau sprechen, das Fräulein fragt nach der Amme und flucht beym Speiseschranke:" was noch unsinniger ist, da Juliet und die Amme während der ganzen Scene mit der Gräfin auf der Bühne sind.

Im vierten Auftritt des zweiten Aufzugs sagt Peter: "I saw no man use you at his pleasure: if I had, my weapon should quickly have been out, I warrant you;" was der Anonymus dadurch entstellt, daß er das Komma nach weapon setzt: "if I had my weapon;" also "Ich sage, noch niemand ist mit meiner Frauen nach seinem Willen umgegangen: hätte ich mein Schwert, so hätte ich geschwind vom Leder gezogen, ich versichere es." Schon der Widerspruch in den beiden Behauptungen hätte den Übersetzer zurechtweisen sollen, denn wenn niemand mit der Frau "nach seinem Willen umgegangen ist," wie Peter sagt, warum sollte er das Schwert ziehen?

Wo die Mutter (III, 5, resp. 8) auf Juliet's Frage: "Madam, in happy time, what is that?" antwortet:

"Marry, my child, early next Thursday morn", usw., steht in der Übersetzung als Widergabe für den Ausruf, "marry." "Ein Hochzeitstag, mein Kind," "How now? a

conduit, girl?" heizt "Wie, Mädgen, heizt dises Lebens-art?" Sollte der Übersetzer vielleicht *conduct* gelesen haben?

"But fettle (oder wie bei Garrick settle) your fine joints 'gainst Thursday next," lautet:

bis auf den Donnerstag
mach alles, was du schönes hast, bereit."

Die Behandlung der schweren Redensarten und Wortspiele wäre vielleicht einzeln zu betrachten. Ein paar mal läßt der Übersetzer eine ihm unverständliche Stelle einfach weg; z. B. in der ersten Scene, fallen die Worte: "Quarrel, I will back thee" aus, dafür steht: "aber, aber, aber."

Merkutios Rede (III, 1) war ihm auch teilweise zu schwer, denn:

"O calm, dishonourable, vile submission!—
Ha! la stoccata carries it away—Tibalt—you rat-catcher."

lautet:

"Welch eine schändlich—ehrvergessene
Zufriedenheit ist dises? Tibalt, ha!"
"A peevish, self-will'd harlotry it is" (IV, 2) heizt:
"sie ist ein störrisch, eigensinnig—"

Hier fällt die Amme dem Capulet in die Rede mit:

"Herr!

schau, sie kömmt wirklich von der Beicht zurück."

"Do you bite your thumb at us, sir?" (I, 1) lautet:
Beisest du wegen uns in den Daumen, mein Herr?"

"A fortnight and odd days (I, 3, resp. 5) findet folgende rätselhafte Wendung: "Vierzehn und etliche ungerade Tage;" wozu der Verfasser sich wohl genötigt fühlte durch das Wortspiel in der Amme Antwort: "Gerad oder ungerad. Peters Stulfeyer mag nun in einem Tage des Jahres kommen, wenn es will", usw.

Hier übersetzt Schlegel: "Ein vierzehn Tag' und drüber", mit der Antwort: "Nun, drüber oder drunter."

Der Grusz: "God (oder good) you good den" (II, 4) war dem Baseler wohl ganz unverständlich, denn er ersetzt die Stelle mit: "Groszen Dank, Dank! schöne Madam."

Doch weisz der Unbekannte, sich nicht selten sehr geschickt über schwere Stellen hinweg zu helfen. Betrachten wir folgende Worte von Merkutio: (II, 1)

"Nay, I'll conjure too,
Why, Romeo! humor! madman! passion! lover!
Appear thou in the likeness of a sigh.
Speak but one rhyme, and I'm satisfy'd.
Cry but ah me! couple but love and dove,
Speak to my gossip Venus one fair word,
One nick-name to our purblind son and heir;"

wo die Übersetzung lautet:

"Im ruffen! Ja, er soll beschworen seyn:
Wie, Romeo! Liebhaber! Wahnsinn! Lust!
erschein in der Gestalt von einem Seufzer;
Ich bin zufrieden, wenn du nur ein Wort sprichst;
Schrey nur "Ach mir!" und reime was zur Liebe,
ist es gleich nur das bange Wort "betrübe."
Sprich nur ein Wort zu der Gevater Venus,
Und nenne ihren kleinen blinden Sohn
bey einem kleinen Namen";

oder "I'll to my trucklebed", wo er das Übersetzen des letzten Wortes vermeidet, indem er die Stelle folgendermassen wiedergibt:

"ich geh zu schlafen, wo ich gewöhnet bin."

In der vierten Scene finden sich folgende schwere Stellen: "Mer: Oh, he's the courageous captain of compliments; he fights as you sing prick-song, keeps time, distance, and proportion; rests his minim one, two and the third in your bosom; the very butcher of a silk button, a duellist, a duellist; a gentlemen of the very first house, of the first and second cause; ah the immortal passado, the punto reverso, the hay—

The pox of such antick lispings affected phantasticoes, these new tuners of accents:—Jesu, a very good blade—a very tall man—a very good whore—Why, is not this a lamentable thing, grandsire, that we should be thus afflicted with these strange flies, these fashion mongers, these pardonnez moi's?"

Dafür in der Übersetzung:

"O er ist der beherztteste Hauptmann im Complimentenmachen; das Fechten kömmt ihm so leicht an, als dir ein Lied abzusingen; er nimmt Zeit, Ort und Gelegenheit in Acht; er hält seinen halben Schlag aus, eins, zwey, und der dritte in deine Brust; wenn es aufs Morden ankömmt, so schonst er keinem seidenen Knopfe; ein rechter Eisenfresser." Hier fallen zwei Zeilen aus.

“Der Gukuk hole solche Pickelhåringe, solche lispelnde, affektirte und phantastische Grillenfänger, solche neuen Wortklepfer—Fürwahr ein hauptguter Kerl—ein recht schlanker Mann—eine sehr gute Hure—Wie? Groszvater! ist es nicht etwas erbarmungswürdiges, dasz wir keine Ruhe haben können vor solchen seltsamen Mücken, disen Modenfressern, disen Pardonnez moy’s?”

In demselben Auftritt steht für:

“one Paris, that would fain lay knife abroad,”

“ein gewisser Paris, der wollte sich gern mausig machen.”

4. Selbständigkeit des Übersetzers.

In dieser Beziehung müssen wir zunächst die Frage näher betrachten, ob der Garricksche Text vom Jahre 1750 wirklich der erste Druck seiner Bearbeitung ist, wie Joseph Knight in seiner Biographie “David Garrick” behauptet.

Das einzige, was Zweifel darüber erregen könnte, ist, dasz Lowndes in seiner Bibliographie eine Ausgabe vom Jahre 1748 angibt. Ich habe aber trotz langen Suchens keine Spur von einer solchen Ausgabe entdecken können weder in den Bibliographien noch in den öffentlichen Bibliotheken Englands. A. Capel Shaw, Oberbibliothekar an der “Free Library” zu Birmingham, (die bekanntlich eine der besten Sammlungen von Shakespeare-Schriften besitzt) schrieb darüber als Antwort auf eine dies bezügliche Anfrage: “Lowndes is notoriously inaccurate in the Shakespeare section;” und William E. Doubleday, Oberbibliothekar an der “Central Library” in Hampstead, drückt sich in einem Briefe vom vorigen Jahre folgendermassen aus: “It certainly seems as if Lowndes had assigned 1748 to the undated edition which the British Museum ascribes to 1750; and I feel pretty sure that this is so.” Wenn aber eine Ausgabe vom Jahre 1748 je existierte, so dürfen wir annehmen, dasz die Anspielungen auf Rosaline noch darin zu finden waren, und auch dasz der Leichenzug noch nicht dargestellt wurde. Denn der Titel des Textes vom Jahre 1750 lautet wie folgt: “Romeo and Juliet. By Shakespeare. With Alterations and an additional Scene, As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane.”

Und im “Advertisement” am Anfang dieser Ausgabe steht folgende Erklärung:

"When this play was revived two Winters ago, it was generally thought, that the sudden change of Romeo's Love from Rosaline to Juliet was a Blemish in his Character, and therefore it is to be hop'd that an Alteration in that Particular will be excused; the only Merit that is claim'd from it, is that it is done with as little Injury to the Original as possible."

1750, also, macht Garrick auf die neue Scene aufmerksam, die wohl bei seiner ersten Fassung (1748) fehlte; auch sagt er ausdrücklich, dasz die Rosaline bei der Aufführung im Jahre 1748 noch nicht ausgelassen wurde. Hier hätte unser Übersetzer also das Vorbild für sein Verfahren in diesen beiden Punkten: dennoch ist die Möglichkeit eines Druckes vom Jahre 1748 so gering, dasz wir es für beinahe festgestellt halten dürfen: der Baseler hat sich nicht ausschliesslich an den englischen Schauspieler gehalten, sondern Shakespeares Tragödie in ursprünglicher Form auch in den Händen gehabt, und an vielen Stellen deren Überlegenheit über Garricks "perversion" derselben erkannt. Besonders musz man es ihm hoch anrechnen, dasz er dem Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen so weit voraus war, was das Beibehalten der Rosaline anbetrifft. Dabei geht er, wie wir schon gesehen haben, ganz consequent zu Werke, verliert seine Aufgabe nie aus den Augen und versucht dennoch dem Garrick möglichst treu zu bleiben, indem er ein paarmal selbst einige Worte einschaltet. Auch bei näherer Betrachtung der anderen Stellen, wo er von Garrick abwich, um Shakespeare zu folgen, müssen wir ihm jedesmal den guten Geschmack zuerkennen, worauf er im Titel Anspruch macht.

Freilich darf man die vielen Übersetzungsfehler nicht auszer Acht lassen; diese sind aber fast ohne Ausnahme auf Unkenntniss der englischen Sprache zurückzuführen und wären bei einem Übersetzer des 18ten Jahrhunderts schon eher zu entschuldigen, da es damals an gründlichen englisch-deutschen Wörterbüchern und Grammatiken fehlte und geschäftlicher und gesellschaftlicher Verkehr zwischen Deutschland und England sehr beschränkt war.

Ernst Stadlers Erklärung* von dem "unverschuldeten Schicksal, das die Wielandsche Shakespeare-Übersetzung be-

* "Wielands Shakespeare," Quellen und Forschungen, CVII, 1910.

troffen hat", dürfte auch für die Baseler Übersetzung von "Romeo und Juliet" gelten. "Auch die vollkommenste Übersetzung," schreibt Stadler, "ist an die Geschmacks- und Gefühlsbedingungen ihrer Zeit gebunden und wird wertlos in dem Augenblick, wo diese Bedingungen hinfällig werden."

* * * * *

"Entstanden auf der Grenzscheide zweier Generationen zu einer Zeit, wo bereits vielfache Anzeichen das Heraufkommen eines neuen Geschlechtes verkündeten, das sich in seiner Art zu denken und zu empfinden in leidenschaftlichem Gegensatz zu der älteren Generation befangen fühlte," war es der Baseler Übersetzung wie auch der Wielandschen unmöglich, festen Fusz zu fassen; sie konnten weder die alte noch die neue Generation zufrieden stellen.

Dennoch wagen wir es, die Meinung auszusprechen: trotz aller Mängel hat der Baseler bei seinen Zeitgenossen nicht volle Gerechtigkeit gefunden. Sicherlich dürfen wir ihm Selbständigkeit, ein gesundes Urteil und einen tiefen Ernst nicht absprechen. Seine Übersetzung von "Romeo und Juliet" ist und bleibt eine würdige Arbeit, die doch wesentlich dazu beigetragen hat, Deutschland mit Englands grösstem Dramatiker bekannt zu machen.

ANNA ELIZABETH MILLER.

Smith College, May, 1911.

THE GAUTLAND CYCLE OF SAGAS.

I. THE SOURCE OF THE POLYPHEMOS EPISODE OF THE HRÓLFSSAGA GAUTREKSSONAR.

In his valuable introduction to the *Hrólfssaga Gautreks-sonar*¹ Detter demonstrated that this saga is an independent literary product, the work of an author who knew and made extensive use of many Fornaldarsagas. In particular, the episode *Frá risa* is shown to be a working over of the Polyphemos story current in the North.

As regards the occurrence of this motif in Norse popular tradition, Nyrop² had called attention to the striking resemblances between the stories of Egil's, and of a monk's escape, in the *Egilssaga einhenta*³ and legend No. cexvii of the *Mariu saga*,⁴ respectively; and the Greek story as known from Homer. The foundation for the comparative study of this motif had then already been laid by Wilhelm Grimm in his famous essay "Die Sage von Polyphem"⁵ in which particular stress was laid on the Norwegian tale of "Troidene paa Hedalsskoven."⁶ Boer⁷ then observed traces of this motif in the adventures of Örvar Odd with the giants of Bjarmaland; and, lately, Andrews⁸ in the *Hálfs saga*.⁹ To these Hackmann, in his comprehensive treatise "Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung"¹⁰ has added a number of undoubted parallels.

¹ *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, Halle 1891.

² *Nord. Tidsskrift f. Fil.* 1881.

³ *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda* (Fas.) vol. III.

⁴ Unger, Christiania 1871.

⁵ *Kleinere Schriften*, IV, 428.

⁶ With good reasons excluded from Polyphemos stories by Hackmann, *infra*, p. 4.

⁷ *Arkiv* viii, 97.

⁸ *Hálfs Saga ok Hálfsrekka*, Halle 1909.

⁹ The hurling of a glowing *snærisþjót* into the eye of the *brunnmigi* is to be reckoned, however, to the primitive notion of driving off sinister beings with the friendly element of fire. Cf. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, § 175, 135, 264.

¹⁰ Helsingfors, 1904.

It will thus be seen that Scandinavian popular tradition has its share in this, one of the oldest and most widely spread stories* in the world, known and told from Sicily and Greece to Iceland, and from Ireland and Portugal to the steppes of the wild Khirgis near the Chinese Wall. But, whatever be the ultimate origin and source of the story, transmission by learned agencies seems probable in the case of the Northern versions.

The author of the *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*—the Polyphemos episode of which I propose to examine here—doubtless was a well-read cleric who set himself to compose a story about the life and deeds of the (legendary) king Hrólfr of Gautland. The main feature of the plot are three wooing-expeditions, each more dangerous than the preceding; and all gloriously successful—after the necessary reverses, to add zest—by the resourcefulness of Hrólfr. One can almost watch the author in his endeavor to introduce variety into his scheme by weaving into the story adventures that nearly run the gamut of the usual stock-in-trade of the teller of *Fornaldarsögur*, both *Norðrlanda* and *Suðrlanda*; yet not without an occasional sally into thorough-going realism (cf. chap. 32 *dráp kerlingar*). Nor is he unsuccessful in an humorous situation, as when telling about the make-belief troll, Þórir járnskjöld, who maroons Hrólfr írakonung and all his host in his beer-hall, causing him to *sitja þar í þot um dag*, but does not fool the clever princess Ingibjörg. Moreover, each event is plausibly motivated—as *Fornaldarsögur* go.

In the course of their earlier cruises Hrólfr and his companions have slain the evil viking Grímar after a terrible battle. Subsequently, when eastward bent to Garðaríke, on his brother's war-like wooing-expedition, Hrólfr's dragon-ship is separated from the rest of the fleet by a magic storm and

*The story (in its theoretically fullest form), reduced to the simplest terms, has the following points:

- 1) A man is kept in durance by a (one-eyed) giant.
- 2) He blinds the giant.
- 3) He escapes (by secreting himself under a ram).
- 4) The giant in his turn vainly endeavors to outwit him.

Cf. Hackmann, l.c. 160 ff. *Handbook of Folk Lore* (G. L. Gomme), slot, 'Fugl Dam,' etc.

driven on an island. The king, accompanied by his foster brother Ásmund and ten warriors, disembarks in order to explore the country, bidding his crew await them the while.¹

Eptir þat gengu þeir upp á eya; var þat mikit land ok skógótt. Þeir fundu einn skála á eya; var hann bæði mikill ok rammgerr ok ei þóttuz þeir sétt hafa jafnhátt hús; hurðir vóru aptr. Bað konungr þá upplétta; þeir hljópu á hurðina ýmsir ok geck engum upp. Konungr geck þá at ok hratt upp með annari hendi, gengu síðan inn ok lituðuz um ok fundu þar eld ok brugðu á skíði ok báru um skálann. Sá þeir, at ei skorti þar allzkonar varning; sæing var þar búin harðla vel ok stórliga mikil. Konungr lagðiz niðr i sængina ok sá hann, þótt annar legðiz niðr til mótz við hann, at þó var sængin sýnu meiri. Þóttuz þeir vita, at þat mundi eigi smámenni vera, er þar átti forræði á. Þar var ein súla fyrir framan sængina upp undir ásinn ok á ofanverðri súlunni heck eit sverð mikit ok svá hátt uppkomit, at Hrólfr konungr feck hvergi nær tekit neðan til.

Chap. 22. Hrólfr asks his men whether they would care to stay over night with him, ok hér bíða bónda, þess hér á forráð, ok hætta til, hversu hann er heim at hitta. As they bravely leave the decision to him—en kváðuz ecki fúsir at bíða—he sends back six of them.

Nú er at segja Hrólfi konungi, at þeir sitja við eld um kveldit ok er áleið, heyra þeir dunar miklar út ok því næst gengr þar inn maðr. Undruðu þeir eigi, þóat skálinn væri mjök uppfærðr, þvíat ofarliga bar hann sitt höfuð. Var þat inn hræðiligsta risi; ecki var hann svá illiligr, at ei mætti um þat hræfa, þess er hann var þó mjök stórskorinn i andliti. Vel var hann ok buinn at klæðum; hann hafði einn hvítabjörn á baki ok boga i hendi harðla rammlligan. Ákafliga var hann móðr, ok ðat ætluðu þeir, at hann mundi lengra hafa atgengit en þar um eya. Hann gengr at eldinum öðrum megin ok kastar niðr birninum. Ecki kveðr hann konunginn ok hvárigir tala þar við áðra. Sundrar hann björninn skjótt ok fimliga; síðan festir hann ketil upp ok sýðr. Eptir þat býr hann borð ok berr á vist; alt þótti þeim þat ok vel skipat. Eptir þat

¹ P. 33 (as all the following quotations from the Hrolfsaga Gautrekssonar = *Hr.*) of Detter's edition.

tekr hann til matar ok etr ok drekr (heldr frekliga), ok er hann er mettr, berr hann braut alt, þat sem hann leifði, ok býr síðan borðit i annat sinn vel ok kurteisliga, setr fram munnlaug með handklæði. Eptir þat tekr hann til orða: þat er ráð, Hrólfr konungr! at ganga til matar; em ek ecki svá aumlátr at ek tíma eigi, at gefa nockurum mönnum mat, þóat mik sæki heim um málsakir, þóat ótignari sé en þér eruð. Eruð þér ágætari menn en flestir áðrir fyrir mörg snildarverk, er þér hafið unnit umfram áðra Konunga. Konung segir: þetta er vel boðit ok mikilmannliga, en bæði gerðum vér áðr,¹ at eta ok drecka en vér gengum frá skipum; þurfum vér ei ¹ at ágirnaz mat þinn né dryck.

With grim humor the giant retorts that, in very truth, they merit a different treatment than hospitality; for he is Grímar's brother and has caused the storm in order to wreak dire vengeance on them,—with which he proceeds forthwith.

Risinn skýr i eld járngaddi miklum ok var klofinn í endann annan [sem tveir væri mjök hvassir]. Var þat geigvænligt færi ok er þat var glónda, svá at alla vega sindraði af. Þá brá hann því upp ok rak í gegnum tvá fylgðarmenn Hrólfs konungs, þá er sátu út frá Ásmundi. Hann brá þeim á lopt ok kastaði innar um eldinn; fengu þeir skjótan bana. Með þeim hætti lét hann fara áðra tvá, þá er útar sátu frá konungi og sýnduz þeim nær sex oddanir á þessu færi, er hann skók þat. Þá mælti risinn: ecki skal þér bana, Hrólfr konungr! með þessum hætti, sem lítilsháttar mönnum; skuluð þit fóstbræðr lifa i nótt, skal ek hafa gaman af yekr á morginn ok kvelja mjök til bana. Hrólfr konungr kvað frest illz best ok kvez gjarna sem lengst lifa vilja, en eigi annan dauðdaga mundu síðr kjósa en þenna. Eptir þat býz risinn til svefns, geek áðr til ok skeldi hurðinn í klofa; hann var farmóðr ok sofnaði skjótt. Þá mælti Hrólfr konungr: hversu þikkiz þú kominn, fóstbróðir? Ásmund segir: heldr illa, segir hann, þicki mér tröll þetta ilt við at eiga ok eigi hægt til órræða. Konungr segir: aldri mun sa óvinr fyrirkoma oekr, ok mun nöckut annat fyrirliggja. Konungr tók þá skíð eitt ok skeldi á þilit hjá sér; risinn vaknaði ok bað þá liggja kyrra; ella kvez hann mundu slá þá í hel. Eptir þat sofnar risinn. Hrólfr Konungr skellir enn skíðunni í annat

¹ Commas misplaced in Detter's text.

sinn, risinn sneriz á aðra hlið ok talaði þá eeki um ok sofnaði fast. Konungr skeldi it þriðja sinn miklu skjallast; vaknaði risinn þá eeki við.

ch. 23. Hrólfr konungr mælti: nú skal fara at með ráði. Vilda ek fyrst geta nátt sverðinu, þætti mér líkligt, at þat mundi bíta risann.

They are successful in reaching the coveted sword. þá mælti konungr: nú vaenkaz ockart mál mjök; skal nú með ráði atfara. Skaltu reka í eldinn járntein þessa ok gera glóandi; vilda ek, at þú leitaðir at færa járnteina þesst í augu risans í því er ek legg sverðinu á hónum, ok ef svá berr til, forðum ockr sem skjótast innar um sængina. Hrólfr konungr Gautreksson bregðr nú sverðinu ok sýniz, sem var, ágætr gripr. Konungr hafði kefli eitt i hendi, gengr nú at sænginni djarfliga, [flettir upp klæðum ok sýndiz hann harðla fjándliga. Konungr legg sverðinu á hónum undir höndina svá fast, at þegar geck í gegnum hann ok jafnskjótt færði Ásmundr járnteinana glóandi í augu hónum ok eptir þat skunduðu þeir í braut. Konungr kastaði þá keflinu útar til dyra ok kom í skíðahlaðann ok skall mjök við. Risinn hljóp upp hart ok útar til dyranna ok fálmaði höndunum, hugði, at þeir mundi þangat hlaupit hafa ok aetlaði at kreista þá með engri vægð. En með greypiligum sárum ok umfangi miklu fellr hann út á hurðina, svá at hón brotnaði [í smán mola.] Þeir gengu þá at ok börðu risann með stórum trjám þar til hann dó, ok var hónum heldr mikit til fjörs. Ete.

Though fairly consistently and, at any rate, well told, this episode will be seen to have been cleverly concocted from two (or more) disparate sources.

The one is the *Vatsdalasaga*. The first chapters of this family chronicle deal—as usual in the *Islendingasögur*—with the antecedents in Norway of the lordly race of the Vatsdal. A solitary robber has been rendering the way through the Jämtlandsforest unsafe, even for larger parties. The peasants begin to mutter and make reflections on the inability of their chieftain, Ketil raum, to protect them. The aging father, on his part, eggs on his son Þorstein—not a war-like man, though a *gæfumaðr*—to uphold the traditions of the family by performing *nökkur framaverk*. Þorstein takes the

hint and, one day, leaves the house and rides toward the great forest.

¹ Hann hepti hest sinn við skóginn, ok síðan í hann ok fann afstíg einn, er lá af þjóðgötunni: ok sem hann hafði lengi gengit, fann hann í skóginum hús mikit ok vel gert. Þorsteinn þóttiz vita, at þetta herbergi mundi sá eiga, er stígana hafði bannat, huárt sem þeir váru einn eða fleiri. Síðan gekk Þorsteinn inn í skálann, ok fann þar stórar kistur ok mart til gæða. Þor var skíða(hlaði) mikill en annars vegar vara í sekkum ok alzkyns varningr. Þar sá hann rekkju eina, hon var miklu meiri enn nokkur sæng, er Þorsteinn hafði fyrr séð, þótti honum sa ærit hár, er þetta rúm var mátuligt. Rekkian var vel tiölduð; þar var ok borð búit með hreinum dúkum ok heiðrligum krásum ok hinum bezta drykk. Eigi gerði Þorsteinn at þessum hlutum; ²—He then hides himself between the sacks in the store-room.

Síðan heyrði hann út dyn mikinn er á leið kveldit, ok síðan kom inn maðr ok leiddi eptir sér hest; síá maðr var harðla mikill, huítr var hann á hár, ok fell þat á herðar með fögrum lokkum. Þorsteini sýndiz maðrinn vera hinn fríðasti; síðan kúeykti þessi maðr upp eld fyrir sér en leiddi áðr hest sinn til stallz; hann setti munnlaug fyrir sik, ok þuó sik, ok þerði á huítum dúk. Hann rendi ok af verpli vænan drykk í stórt stéttarker ok tók síðan til matar. Allt sýndiz Þorsteini athæfi þessa mannz merkiligt ok miök hæversligt: miklu var hann meiri maðr enn Ketill faðir hans, ok þótti hann, sem var, manna mestr. Ok er skálabúinn var mettr, set hann við eld,—

He suspects, from the appearance of the gledes, that somebody has been there but a short while ago, and searches the house carefully; but in vain, because Þorstein manages to conceal himself in a chimney; and because, forsooth, "another fate was granted unto him, than to be killed."

The robber gives up the search, with forebodings of im-

¹ Quotations from *Vatnsdælasaga* (= Vts) according to Vigfússon's edition, p. 5, in *Fornsögur*. Leipzig 1860:

² Vigfússon, *Orig. Isl.*, II, p. 276: ".....somehow wrong; then a clause is missing, to tell how he kindled the fire to warm himself, without however touching anything on the table."

pending retribution. Síðan gekk hann aptr til huílunnar ok tók af sér saxit. Suá sýnðiz þorsteini, sem þat væri in mesta gersimi ok all-líkligt til biz, ok gerði sér þat i hug at duga mundi ef hann næði saxinu.

He anxiously weighs in his mind whether he ought to kill the man in his sleep. His appearance had aroused þorstein's sympathy; but his father's egging prevails over his scruples.

Síðan sofnar skálabúi, en þorsteinn gerir tilraun með nokkuru harki, hué fast hann suæfi; hann vaknaði við ok sneriz á hlið, ok enn leið stund, ok gerði þorsteinn tilraun áðra ok vaknaði hann enn við ok þó minnr. Hit þriðia sinn gekk þorsteinn fram ok drap mikit högg á rúmstokkin ok fann at þá var allt kyrt um hann. Síðan kúeykti þorsteinn log og gekk at rekkiunni, ok vil vita, ef hann væri á brautu. Þorsteinn sér at hann liggir þar, ok suaf í silkiskyrta gullsaumaðri ok horfði (í) lopt upp. Þorsteinn drá þá saxinu ok lagði fyrir brióst enum mikla manni ok veitti honum míkit sár. Þessi brast við fast ok þreif til þorsteins ok kipti honum upp i rúmit hía sér, en saxit stóð i sárinu en suá fast hafði þorsteinn til lagit at oddrinn stóð í beððinn, en þessi maðr var fárrammr ok lét þar standa saxit sem kommit var, en þorsteinn lá i milli þilis ok hans.—

The remainder of the story does not concern us here, excepting in so far as we take note that it bears a vital connection with this episode. The dying robber, who turns out to be Jökull, son of the earl of Gautland, does not revenge himself; but, in the contrary, recognizing þorsteinn to be a *gæfu-maðr*, binds him by promise to journey personally to Gautland and inform his parents about his life and death, and—to ask for the hand of the earl's heiress! This task, astonishing and *mürchenhaft* as it seems, þorsteinn courageously and successfully performs.

The verbal and phrasal similarities between the passages quoted are so many and so close that there is not much room for doubt that the author of Hr. was intimately familiar with this part of Vts.—perhaps even had some version of this saga

lying before him.¹ Yet, as all depends on the weight of the evidence, I shall subject the similarities to detailed scrutiny.

1) The adversary's abode is, in either case, within a great forest. No significance is to be attached to this particular agreement by itself. A wooded island is (as e. g. in Homer, Sindbad the Sailor) the traditional haunt of the ogre of the Polyphemos type also in Scandinavian folklore.² Just as traditionally do the *stígamenn*—or *úthlaupsmenn* and *illvirkiar*, as they are called in Vts.—infest the *inland* forests. Our author (Hr.) had sufficient discrimination to adhere to his tradition which, as with the seafaring nations of Greece, Persia, and India, makes an island the home of the Cyclopes.

2) Both Jökull and the giant dwell in well-made timber-houses (Vts.: *hús mikit ok vel gert*, afterwards called *skála*; Hr.: *skála, bæði mikill o krammgerr*). We know better: the normal out-and-out troll of Scandinavian folklore is unthinkable in such well organized surroundings. Representing a lower and cruder order of things, he is at home generally *undir hellinum*.

3) In both stories, the unusual size of the house and the bed are very particularly noticed. Jökul's bed is "much larger than any þorsteinn had seen before, and a very tall man indeed, he thought, was he for whom this bedstead was meet."—To Hrólf and his companions "it seemed that they had never seen so high a house." The giant's bed is "extraordinarily big. The king laid himself down on the bed and saw that, even though another man laid himself down against him, the bed was considerably longer (i. e. more than two men's length). They were of the opinion that it wasn't a small person who owned these premises." After they have made the acquaintance of the giant "they do not wonder þóat skálinn var mjök uppfærðr."

4) The bed is in either case hung with curtains (Vts. *Rekkian var vel tiölduð*). To be sure, we are not told so in

¹ Which were nothing unusual. Cf. e. g. Snorri's copying of Eiríkr Oddson's *Hryggjarstykki* (*Heimskr.* 736*), and the mannjöfnaðr in the *Örvar Oddssaga*, following the one of Sigurd and Eysteinn, ch. 21. On the question cf. Cederschiöld, *Gött. G. A.* 1892; 709.

² Cf. Hackmann, l. c. passim.

Hr.; but it is very suspicious (as the action is worse than purposeless) when we are told that the king stripped the giant of his clothes** before delivering the blow that is to free them. Very likely, the author had in mind the passage in Vts. where Þorsteinn discovers that Jökull "lies there and slept in a gold-embroidered silk shirt and lay on his back," when he approaches the bed (and lifts the curtains?) to see whether he was still there.

5) Contrary to the general custom of their kind, both highwayman and giant are excellent housekeepers. Their dwellings are clean, they cook their meals in an orderly fashion,¹ have decent table-manners and, after the manner of the nobility, use finger-bowl and towel. The verbal parallelism here is unmistakable. This is all the more noteworthy since, to my knowledge, there is no similar scene anywhere in the sagas: there are no stereotype phrases.

6) It may be worth while to point out that in neither case do the visitors partake of the good things seen (or offered.)* They only kindle a fire on the hearth while awaiting the arrival of the proprietor. Of course, in accordance with the later taste, king Hrólfr cannot conceal himself as Þorsteinn does, later on, without in the least losing 'face.'

7) A great din announces the return of the owner of the house. Vts.: Then he heard a great noise without, as evening came on, and then in came a man etc." Hr.: "They sit by the fire in the evening, and as it grew later they hear a great noise without, and thereupon in comes a man etc."—That Þorsteinn should hear Jökul's approach as a great noise is natural enough, for the robber returns leading after him a horse—laden with fresh booty, we suppose—and their steps resound on the floor of the shed in the stillness of the woods. Moreover, Þorsteinn is tense with expectation as to what sort of man the outlaw may turn out to be.—The giant, on the other hand, as we shall presently see, is an exceptionally well-

**Or, 'bed-clothes'; ch. Kölbing, *Flóres Saga ok Blánskiptúr*, Halle 1896 ch. xx; note p. 68; cf. on the other hand, Jökul's shirt.

¹ Whereas the giant's brother, Grímar, eats his meat raw and drinks blood, berserk-fashion. Hr. ch. 16.

*Cf. the suggestion of an omission here, in Vts., by Vigfússon.

bred specimen of his kind, and there is no reason why he should make an unmannerly noise—excepting, forsooth that the author knows that trolls generally do.—To the recurrence of the phrase *heyrði út dynar miklar* no weight is to be attached *in itself*, since it occurs also in other sagas.¹

8) The description of the troll is clearly based on that of the noble Jökull. Vts: “This man was very tall, his hair was light and it fell in fair locks upon his shoulders. A very handsome man he seemed to Þorsteinn.” Hr.: (The being approaching)² was a most terrible giant; he was not so ugly looking that one could not get over it (i. e. he was not so ill-conditioned), excepting though that he had very big features.* He was also well attired.” That is to say, the appearance of this troll is altogether unlike that of any other of his kind who are uniformly described as ungainly, illproportioned, and clad mostly in coarse, short skins. Even the berserk Grim whose bigger brother he is appears in unmitigated colors as *mikill ok illiligar ásýndar*.³ In fact the somewhat wobbling style of the passage seems to indicate that the author was feeling the incongruity of having his troll not so bad-looking and well-dressed; for it won’t do to arouse any such sympathy with the ogre as Þorsteinn, and we, very naturally feel with Jökul. Sure enough, a contradiction promptly follows when Hrólfr strips the giant of his clothes *ok sýndiz hann harðla fjándliga*.

9) Both giant and robber possess an excellent sword—to be sure, neither the giant nor Hrólfr can fittingly be armed with a short sword (sax) such as Jökul has. The robber unfastens his sword before going to sleep. “Þorsteinn thought it to be a most precious object and very likely to cut sharp, and bethought himself that it would help him if he got possession of it.” Hrólfr takes counsel with Ásmund: “First I should like to get possession of the sword for it seems likely to me that it will bite upon the giant.” After obtaining the

¹ E.g. *Grettiss*, ch. 35, ch. 45.

* Also in *Grettiss*, ch. 35, the fiend Glám’s face is described as *undarlíga stórskorit*, þv. ch. xix, etc. Cf. also *Fas* III 121.

² Before called ‘maðr’.

³ Ch. 16.

sword (Risanaut) he remarks: "Now our enterprise has become much more hopeful."

The sword hung up on high in the ogre's den—it is the only steel to which he is not invulnerable—is another frequent motive in Germanic folklore, down to our Jack the Giant-killer; but it is only here found in connection with the Polyphemos motive. Strangely enough, the very first occurrence of "the sword on the wall" in Germanic tradition shows the closest resemblance to the description of *Risanaut* which Hrólfr confesses to be *valla vápnhæft* for himself.

Béowulf 1557: (the fight with Grendel's dam in the cave.)

Geseah þā on seawum / sige-eādīg bil.
eald sweord eotenisc / ecgum þyhtig,
wigena weorð-mynd: / þæt wæs wæpna cyst,
búton hit wæs máre, / þonne ænig mon óðer
to beadu-láce / ætberan meahte,
gód ond geatolic, / gíganta geweorc.

and again 1660: (Béowulf speaks)

"Ne meahte ic æt hilde / mid Hruntinge
wiht gewyrcean, / þeah þæt wæpen duge,
ac mé geúðe / ylða waldend,
þæt ic on wáge geseah / wlitig hangian
eald sweord éacen /
.... / þæt ic þý wæpne gebræd.¹

10) Similar threefold trial is made by Þorsteinn and Hrólfr to make certain about their enemies' sleep. ^{*} This also is a common enough motive in the fairy story;² but interdependence is shown by the close resemblance of the passages

¹ The same motive in *Grettiss*, ch. 66, cf. Boer, *Zfdph*, xxx, 62. *Hjálmþérss*. (Fas III) ch. IX. Several examples from unprinted *lygisögur* are quoted by Jiriczek, *Zfdph*, xxx, 6*. Modern instances in Scandinavian folklore are seen in Asbjörnson og Moe, 'Soria Moria slot,' 'Fugl Dam,' etc.

^{*} *Griplur*, str. 8, quoted by Kölbing, *Beiträge*, p. 166:

Sverð á einum súlustaf

sér hann uppi hanga, IV, which sword is necessary to kill the *hangbúi*.

² Cf. *Grettiss*, chap. LV, *Finnbogas*, chaps. xxxix and xxxx.—Just why M. Moe (*Eventyrlige Sagn i den Ældre Historie*, p. 660) should attribute the threefold trial of the Finns' sleep, in the story of Gunnhild (in the saga of Harold Hairfair) to loan from Vts. I cannot see by any manner of means.—Note that there is a sleep-ruse in *Frithjófs*, closely resembling that of *Finnbogi*.

in Vts. and Hr. (Vts.:—*hann vaknaði ok sneriz a hlið*—and the second time: *ok vaknaði hann enn við ok þó minnr*. Hr.:—*risinn sneriz a áðra hlið ok talaði ecki um* etc.)

11) The mode of slaying the sleeping opponent is in both cases by plunging the sword into his chest. In both cases it is wielded with such force that it comes out at the back, yet not killing him instantaneously. Here it is worthy of notice that the incident of Þorsteinn being seized by Jökul and lifted into the bed between himself and the wall is cleverly made use of as a *stratagem* of the king to save himself from the fury of the giant.

I shall, finally, not omit to cite—as merely cumulative evidence—the words of Hrólfr that numbers will not avail against the giant: Mun os ek ecki margmenni tjóa við þenna mann; mun hann jafnt fyrirkoma mörgum som fán, ef þess verðr afauðit, which may be compared to the rumors of the formidableness of Jökul, þvíat engir kómu aptr þeir er fóru, ok þótt saman væri xv, eða xx, þá höfðu þó engir aptr komit ok þóttuz menn þúi vita at fragerð(amaðr) mundi úti liggja. (Vts. p. 3).

It has been repeatedly remarked² that the tale of Þorsteinn and Jökul, as well as other episodes of Vts., can make no claim to historic truth. Indeed, folk-lore origin, or at least, influence, is obvious. But we are concerned here, not with the question whence the author of Vts. has his materials,³ but how his account served the author of Hr. for his purposes.

However, having pointed out the dependence of Hr. on Vts., there remain a number of distinct features not accounted for by this dependence, and which, likewise, do not belong to the Polyphemus story. These may be due—though with less certainty—to our unknown author's acquaintance with the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*. Detter (p. xxxviii) had thought of the episode with the half-troll Hárek in connection with the *hólmgang* (ch. 34) of king Hrólfr. That particular resemblance is slight. In fact, the events preceding the *hólmgang* remind one rather of the very numerous encounters of the kind in the historical sagas, especially of Egil skallagrimsson's fight

² Esp. Vigfússon, *Orig. Isl.* II, 279.

³ Hardly from South Teutonic sources, as Vigfússon opines, *ibid.*

with Ljót,¹ and still more of king Olaf Tryggvason's winning of Gýða from a viking.² It is curious that Detter overlooked resemblances far more important, which—as I hope to show—may furnish the clue to the interrelations of these and other sagas.

The saga of Thorstein Víkingsson—in the shape now accessible in print³—contains the story of Víking Vífilson and of his sons Thorir and Thorstein, half lost in a profusion of the usual features of the Fornaldarsagas—magic, fighting, adventures galore, and exaggerations of all kinds. But the kernel of the story—the staunch friendship of the foster-brothers Víking and Njörfi, and the terrible test to which it is put through the enmity of their sons, until Jökul Njörfason and Thorstein remain the sole survivors, with an undying hatred of each other—this kernel is equal to the very best in Icelandic prose.

In the beginning of the saga we are told of an ugly giant, Hárekr Járnhauß who comes to carry off the king's proud shrew of a daughter, but is overcome by the swain Víking who wields the sword Angrvaðill with good effect. This magic sword was originally an heirloom in the giant's family (cf. *Risnaut* in Hr.) It passes then into Thorstein's and the latter's son, Friðþjóf's, possession.

We are particularly interested in the troll's weapon. It is described as a *fléinn tvíoddaðr*. We remember that our friend from Hr. is suddenly made to have a like weapon in his hands, though we are told but a moment previous that he is armed with a great *bow*. It is not said where the troll takes this weapon from; but we can make a guess as to where the author of Hr. got it.

As the giant draws near the palace the door-keepers refuse him entrance;⁴ sjá lagði til þeira fleininum, ok sinn oddrinn kom fyrir brjóst hvórum, ok svá út um bakit, ok hóf þá báða yfir höfuð sér ok kastar þeim báðum langt á völlum

¹ *Egilss.* chap. 64.

² Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar of Heimskringla, chap. 31. Cf. Heinzel, *Beschreibung der isländischen Saga*, Vienna 1880, p. 51.

³ *Fas* II.

⁴ L. C. ch. II.

dauðum, etc.—The additional heating of the iron in Hr. belongs to the Polyphemos motive.

Further on in the story, when old Víking despairs of holding any longer his sons Thorstein and Thórir against his liege-lord's son Jökul, he sends them away to his other foster-brother, Hálfðan, warning them in advance of certain adventures that will befall them on the way. There are especially *skálabúar tveir* of whom they are to beware. They overcome the first of these who attacks them for having killed the sons of Njörfi. The second encounter repeats the same motive, with the usual crescendo of the folk-tale. "They fared forth in the morning,

enn at kveldi þess dags fundu þeir annan skála; var sá sýnu stærri, Hurð var hnigin á klofa; Þórir gekk at hurðinni, ok ætlaði upp at hrinda, ok gekk eigi; hann gekk at með öllu afi ok gekk eigi at heldr. Þorsteinn for at hurðunni ok hratt upp ok gengu inn. Hlaði með vöru var þrá aðra hönd, enn skíðahlaði á aðra; sæing stór stóð innar um þvert, svá þeim þótti ór hófi ganga vöxtr hennar;...þeir settust þá niðr ok kvektu eld upp fyrir sér, enn er langt var af dagsetri heyrðu þeir, at fast var niðr stigit; því næst var hurðinni upp lokit, þar gekk inn risi furðulega mikill; hann hafði bjarndýr mikit bundit á bak sér, en fugla-kippu fyrir. Hann lagði niðr byrðina á gólfit ok mælti: "Fussum! ok eru hér komnir vandræðamennirnir Víkingssynir, er nú hafa verst or um landit sakir óhappa sinna; hversu kómuzt þit ór höndum Sáms bróður míns?" "Svá kómumst vit sagði Þorsteinn, "at Sámr lá eftir dauðr." "I svefni hafð þit svikit hann," segir Fullafi. "Eigi var þat," segir Þorsteinn, því at vit börðumst, ok feldi þórir bróðir minn hann." "Ekki skal níðast á ykkir í nótt," segir Fullafi, "skulið þit bíða morguns ok hafa mat, sem ykkir líkar." Síðan sundraði skálabúi veiði sína, ok tók borð ok bar á mat; tóku þeir þá allir til matar; etc.

It is not clear exactly why the giant intends to spare them till the next morning. Nor does the wait help on the story; because they start the fight in the morning, and we are expressly told: *Hvárigir leituðu þar til svika við aðra*, presumably on account of the dog (*illa lét hundrinn, þá er þeir fóru hjá honum*). Nothing is said of an attempt to flee. Evidently, the author of þv. is under the influence of some other source (not a Polyphemos story), encounters of the kind being fairly common in the Fás.

The other features in Hr. not to be accounted for by either Polyphemos motive nor Vts. are all here.

1) It is the rule in the fairy-story that the door can be opened only by the hero. Ásmund as well as Þórir try in vain. (By the way: is the heroic exaggeration in Hr. "(konungr) *hratt upp með annara hendi*" due to þv.'s information (one line below in the text): *Hlaði með vöru var þar á áðra hönd, enn skiðahlaði á áðra?*)

2) Neither woodpile nor shed for goods plays any role in the story of þv., and may be due to another source—the same, perhaps as used by Vts. (or Vts. itself?) where, however the information concerning the robber's booty is very appropriate. Þorsteinn on his return redistributes it among his henchmen. In Hr. we are told that the billet the king throws fell on the wood-pile—which had not been mentioned at all before. Compare below the similar stratagem in Vts.

3) It is common enough for giants to carry home with them a bear or other venison on their shoulders,¹ crashing it down on the floor;² but it is amusing to see how the giant in Hr. follows Háreks procedure in þv., in merely killing the door-wardens, thus preferring bear's meat to Hrólf's men, whereas the thoroughgoing giant in other stories of the Polyphemos type roasts and eats his human prey. The preparation of the venison for food is described in about similar terms in þv. and Hr.

4) The scenting of the intruders by the giant³ could of course not be used by the author of Hr., no more than the hid-

¹ Cf. *Hýmiskviða* v. 10.

² As Polyphemos crashes down his bundle of fagots.

³ The exclamation and muttered speech of the giant Fullafi: "Fussum! ok eru her komnir etc." is probably the first occurrence, in Germanic folklore, of the formula so familiar from stories of Jack the Giant-killer: "Fe, fa, fum! / I smell the blood of an Englishman; / Be he alive or be he dead, / I'll grind his bones to make me bread." (Cf. king Lear, III, sc. 4, where Edgar as Poor Tom sings:

Child Roland to the dark tower came,

His word was still,—

Fie, foh, and fum,

I smell the blood of a British man.)

The "Hutetu, her lugter saa Kristenmands blod" of many Norse tales; etc.—Cf. W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, I, 134, and 468, where examples of the formula are given also from France, Italy, and India.

ing of Þorsteinn in the chimney. Jökul's observation of the gledes and the forebodings suggested thereby partake of the nature of this motive.

5) In both Hr. and þv. (we have to suppose), the door is securely fastened by the giant before lying down to sleep. We don't see why (excepting for slavishly following þv.) Hrólfr and Ásmund cannot escape, since Hrólfr before had opened the door with one hand from the outside, seeing also that the giant is fast asleep—instead of having to resort to letting the enraged giant himself break open the door by flinging his bulk at it.² In þv. there is at least the terrible dog that prevents escape. The fairy-tale that has passed through the alembic of the popular mind would not brook such an improbability.

But all this would hang by a thin thread were it not for the remarkable corroborative fact that *the author of Hr. evidently took the characters of Hrólfr and Ketill from the pattern of Þorsteinn and Þórir in þv.*, and that saga again, perhaps, from the two brothers Þorsteinn and Jökul in Vts. whose mutual relations must be, essentially, historic.

The unlike brothers—in all three cases the oldest; the others koma ekki við þessa sögu—are described as follows in þv.: “var Þorsteinn fyrir þeim í alla hluti; hann var manna mestr ok sterkastr, vingðr ok vinfastr, tryggr ok trúr í öllum hlutum, seinþreytt til allra vandræða, enn galt grimlega, ef hans var leitast. Varla þóttu menn vita hversdaglega, hvart honum þótti vel eðr illa, þó mót honum væri gert, enn löngu síðar lét hann sem nýgert væri. Þórir var skjótlyndr ok ákafamaðr hinn mesti, svall honum alt á æði, ef honum mein var gert eðr móti skapi; sást hann ok ekki fyrir, við hverja sem um var at eiga, eðr hvað eftir kóm, ok lét þat alt verða fram at ganga, er honum kóm í hug at gera. (IX).

Compare with this thumbsketch the more verbose description in Hr.: Var Ketill þrimr vetrum ellri, manna minnstr ok þó inn skjótligasti, hann var kallaðr Ketill kregðr, hávaðamaðr mikill ok þó framjárn ok lét ecki fyrir brjóst brenna, at tala ok gera þat honum kóm i hug, harðfengr ok fullr áræðis. Hrólfr var manna mestr ok sterkastr ok friðastr sýnum, hann var fámæltr ok fastlyndr ok óframgjárn þó móti honum væri gert eða mælt, þá lét hann ei sem hann vissi fyrst í stað, en nöckuru síðr, þá

² Were it not for the rationalizing tendency of the author of Hr. one would feel inclined to read “svá at hann brotnaði i smán mola”—the usual fate of the foiled and blinded giant in Norse tradition. Cf. Hackmann, l. c. Nos. 24, 33, 36, 39, 42 and p. 177.

aðra varði sízt, þá hefndi hann harðliga ok vaskliga, ok þóat (nöckurir þeir hlutir væri talaðir fyrir honum), er hann vardaði, þá lét hann, sem hann heyrði eigi ok gaf engan gaum at, en stundu síðar eða nöckurum vetrum síðar lét hann sem nýmælt væri eða nýforðit.—Hann var vinsæll af, alþýðu, etc,” p. 10.

And again: “Þetta fór enn eptir skaplyndi Hrólfs konungs, at hann gaf at þessu engan gaum ok lét liða hjá sér sem mart annat, þat sem fyrir honum var talat, at ei vissi þat gerr fyrst i stað, hvat honum bjó i skapi. Tók hann þá till þess jafnan síðar, er öðrum var mjök ór minni fallit.—To the same effect, p. 11, l. 12.

Þórir's hotheadedness is the cause of the war of revenge between the sons of Njörfi and of Víking. Subsequently, when Þorsteinn and Þórir fare out alone, Þóris escapades regularly provoke the danger his stronger and steadier brother must help him out of. At one occasion, Þórir jumps over an abyss without waiting for Þorsteinn to receive him on the other side. After barely saving Þórir from falling back, Þorsteinn reproves him gently: Jafnan sýnir þú þat, frændi, at þú ert óbilgjarn;¹—”Similarly, when Ketill impatiently presumes to wield *risanaut*: “Konungr svarar: mikit er um ákafa þínn ok vel mundi þér frambera, ef þú værir eptir því forsjáll, sem þú ert framgjarn.²—”

The difference in character is really worked out in Hr.³ In þv., however, Þorsteinn is given no opportunity to exhibit the qualities mentioned last in the character sketch. The fact is, he has really nothing to revenge. The description of him fits to perfection the character of the pacific and just, yet inexorable, Þorsteinn Ingemundsson.

Sjá svein var snemma vænn ok gerfiligr, stiltr vel, orðviss, lang-sær, vinfastr, ok hófsmaðr um alla hluti.⁴

In Jökul Ingemundsson the violent nature of his murdered ancestor reappears. “Hann mun verða . . . eiga margra maki ok eigi mikill skapdeildarmaðr, en trygg vinum ok frændum, of mun vera mikill kappi ef ek sér nökkut til; mun eigi nauðr at minnast Jökuls frænda várs sem faðir mín

¹ *Fas.* chap. xvi.

² P. 44.

³ Cf. Finnur Jónson, *Lit. hist.* II, 794.

⁴ Vts. p. 23, line 22.

bað mik? - Hann var fálátr, úmjúkr ok údæll, harðúðigr ok hraustr um alt." ¹

To be sure, in no case does Jökul actually provoke trouble; yet his unrestrained impetuosity was really the cause of his father's being killed by Hrolleif. In the pursuit of revenge, Þorsteinn calmly bides his time—a whole year—until his plans are ripe; just as king Hrólfr waits long before wiping out the ignominy of his reception by Þórbjörg, much to the displeasure of Ketill (cf. Jökull). Later on, ² when the brothers are following the tracks of Hrolleif in the snow, Þorsteinn, requests them to stop a moment while he explains that haste is necessary, or else Hrolleif's mother, the witch, will have anticipated them by brewing charms. Jökull starts up:

skyndum þá; hann var þá fremstr á stigum af öllum þeim. Þá leit hann aptr ok mælti; ilt er þeim mönnum er ölmusur eru at vexti ok fráleik, sem er Þorsteinn bróðir mín, ok mun nú draga ór höndum hefndina, er vér kómumst hvergi. Þorsteinn svarar: eigi er enn sýnt at minna megi tillög mín ok ráðagerðir, en áhlaup þín úvitrlig."

After careful reconnoitering—again according to Þorsteinn's well-laid plan—they come up to the evildoer's house.

Þeir sa hús standa litið fyrir dýrum, ok hlið í milli ok heimadýranna. Þorsteinn mælti; Þetta mun vera blóthús, ok mun Hrolleif hingat ætlat, nú gangit þér i krókin hjá húsinu, en ek mun sitja yfir dýrum uppi ok hafa kefi í hendi; en ef Hrolleifr gengr út, þá mun ek kasta kefinu til yðar, ok hlaupit þér þá til mín.

Of course Jökul wants to do that, and to preserve peace, his good elder brother lets him, but not without fearing that Jökul might spoil the whole. And right he is: when Hrolleif issues, Jökul turns so quickly that he tumbles down with the woodpile; yet manages to throw the stick to warn his brothers.—With this stratagem of throwing a stick compare king Hrólfr's ruse to mislead the giants as to his whereabouts.

Again, when the Ingemundsons clash with Már and Þórgrímr, Þorsteinn's deliberateness causes Jökul to chafe (chap. 29). The latter brother's fiery impetuosity finally starts the notorious feud with Finnbogi and Berg. ³

¹ L. c. do.

² L. c. p. 41.

³ Vts. chap. 31. The crossing of the wintry river, with consequent freezing of garments occurs also in þv. chap. xvi.

It will thus be seen that the feature of this salient difference of character in the hero and his brother which, quite as much as the scheme of the three wooing expeditions* is characteristic for Hr, very likely owes its origin, finally, to Vts. It forms the strongest connecting link between Vts., pv., and Hr.

Detter, accepting Heinzel's conclusions, assumes (p. xxxix) close connection of Hr. with the Ostrogothic cycle. Barring a possible hint as to þórir járnsjólðs enormous shield,¹ the similarities are not compelling. "Es ist zuzugeben, dass in beiden Fällen ein gefangener Held durch die Unterstützung einer Verwandten seines Gegners befreit wird."² Aber gerade Heinzel weiss nach, dass das Motiv auch sonst vorkommt, und die Gleichsetzungen von Ketill und Wolfhart, þórbjörg und Ute, þórir járnsjólð und Hildebrand scheinen mir nicht entscheidend—eine Übertragung jüngerer Sage in den Norden ist nicht wahrscheinlich." At any rate, the identification of Ketill with Wolfhart must now be given up. Another prop was knocked from under this ill-founded hypothesis when Ranisch made the plausible suggestion of the plot of Hr. being loaned from an older Ragnarssaga.³

pv. and Hr. are, furthermore, to be bracketed together because of the fylgja-dreams,—pv. chap. xii; Hr. p. 12 and p. 21.

Dreams, particularly of attending spirits, are a common enough device in O. N. literature to forecast impending events.⁴ In this instance, however, the fylgjur resemble each other too closely in appearance and function to regard it as due to a coincidence.

*Suggested, as Ranisch (*Gautrekssaga*, XLIV) thinks, by some form of the Ragnarssaga löðbrókar.

¹ Cf. *Virginal* str. 354, 491.—The fact that the names of Hrólfr inn gamli, Grímr, járnskjólðs þórir occur in the *Hynðuljóf* proves nothing "da ja der Sagadichter irgendwelche saggeschichtliche Namen frei verwertet haben kann." Mogk, *Grd.* II, 840.

² The first part of the *Spés þátt* of the *Grettissaga* presents some similarity to the *dýfliza* episode in Hr. Boer, *Zfdph.* xxx, 13. It is not the question, though, whether all such episodes go back to Southern sources.

³ *Litztg.* 1893, p. 458. Golther (*Litbl.* xiv, 195) likewise is sceptical.

⁴ Cf. Henzen, *Die Träume in der altnordischen Litteratur*, p. 34, ff.

When on the inaccessible island in the Wener Lake, whither the sons of Víking had fled to avoid the revenge of the sons of Njörfi, Þorsteinn, their leader, dreams one night "at hingat runnu þrjá tigi vargar, ok vóru sjau bjárndýr ok hinn áttundi rauðkinni; hann var mikill ok grimmlegr, ok at auk tvær refkeilur; þær fóru fyrir flokkinum, og vóru heldr illilegar ok á þeim var mér mestr óþokki." He interprets the white bear to be Jökul, the leader of the Njörfasons; the 7 bears, his brothers; the wolves, the men of the king's sons; and the two bitch-foxes, the malicious sorcerers who had caused the gjerningaveðr covering the lake with ice, thus permitting the pursuers to approach. The úgiptumaðr Þórir scorns the warning. But no sooner had Þorsteinn and the other brothers armed themselves than Jökul and his men rush to the attack.

In Hr., queen Ingigerð is forewarned of the friendly advent of king Hrólf and his band by the following dream:—"ek sá vargarflok mikinn. Vargarnir fóru mikinn ok hingat þótti mér þeir stefna á Svíþjóð. En fyrir vörgunum fór it óarga dýr harðla mikit ok þar fór eptir hvítabjörn, þat var rauðkiðr. Bæði þótti mér dýrin sléttfjölluð ok hýrlig ok fara kyrlega ok láta ógrimmlega," etc. The lion, of course, is king Hrólf, the polar bear, his fosterbrother Ingjald. The queen foretells their immediate advent at Uppsala and gives her consort directions how to receive them.—She dreams this dream a second time, when Hrólf returns with an army to take princess Þórbjörg by force."—"ek sá til sjávarins ok þat með, at hér vóru skip komin við land eigi allfá ok af skipunum runnu vargar margir ok fyrir vörgunum var it óarga dýr ok þar með hvítabirnir tveir harðla miklir ok vænligr. Fóru þessi dýr öll jafnfram, en fram í milli dýrsins óarga ok annars bjarnarins hljóp fram göltr mikill. Hann var svá grimmigr ok illigr, at slíkt hefi ek ecki sétt, hann fór rótandi, sem hann mundi öllu umsnúa, etc." The two white bears are Ásmund and Ingjald, the formidable boar, Ketill. The more popular þv. knows as yet of no lion.

Finally, it may not be amiss to point out, without going into details, the general resemblance of these three sagas in the strictly víking stage of their heroes' careers. With Vts. chap. vii, especially p. 14, line 13—p. 15, line 11, compare þv. chaps.

xx-xxiii; which prolix series of episodes, again, is to be held against Hr. chaps. 10, and 16-18.—Though these scenes may, at first blush, seem general to the Fas., yet, on scanning their plots it will be found that this holds true for the several ingredients, but not for their combination as here found. Notwithstanding our far from satisfactory knowledge of the original contents, both of Vts. and þv., it is reasonable to suppose that the story in Vts.—wherever that may be from—was spun out and elaborated with other material, to suit the needs of Hr. and þv.

In the second part of this study I shall discuss the relation of the *Hrólfs saga* to the Gautland cycle.

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The University of Wisconsin, April, 1911.

NOTES ON OLD ENGLISH POEMS

I.

THE HOME OF THE JUDITH.

The sturdy old scholar, Giraldus Cambrensis, who, with all his faults, was, in many matters of the mind, that rare thing, a free man, thus has his fling at the sciolism of his day: "When I was a young man, studying at Paris, ambitious of distinction and carried away by the ardor of this new learning, an old man who was a frequenter of the schools often reproved me with the errors of my ways. * * * * I thought, in the pride of my youth, that such advice was childish, but afterwards I found how true it was. For the abuse of logic, since it does not open the locks, but rather hinders and hampers them, enervates and suffocates true learning."¹ With changed name, this story may be narrated concerning much of our new philology.

In a very recent article upon "The Philological Legend of Cynewulf"² I sought to show that "a lack of open-mindedness, a distortion of scant evidence too weak to bear the strain and an abuse of the syllogism in the perverted endeavor to adapt the false premises to a conclusion that admits of large doubt have combined to litter with worthless *debris* the field of Old English literary history." If this sweeping statement found its ample justification in the perversities and inconsistencies of Cynewulfian research, it receives hardly less striking illustration from the fallacies that cumber the student of the *Judith*.

Regarding the home of this admirable composition, literary historians seem of one mind—that its first form was Anglian. Professor Cook is so thoroughly convinced of its Northern origin that he offers a version of the poem in the Northumbrian dialect.³ Gregory Foster, in his interesting

¹ *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, D. II, Rolls Series, II (1862), 350-351.

² *Publications of Modern Language Association of America*, XXVI (1911), 235-279.

³ *Judith*, 2d edition, Boston, 1889; *Transactions of American Philological Association*, XX (1889), 172f.

"Studies" ⁴ asserts that several forms in the manuscript point to an Anglian original; Dieter, without a misgiving, supports this opinion; ⁵ and Brandl seeks to maintain it. ⁶ Imelmann, it is true, objects rightly ⁷ to much of the evidence adduced for an Anglian origin, but he nowhere dissents strongly from the general opinion that the poem is Anglian.

Now this general opinion rests upon fallacious reasoning that proceeds somewhat after this wise: "On the authority of this or that grammar—Sievers's or Bülbring's—certain forms are Anglian; the poem under consideration contains these forms; therefore the Anglian origin of the work may be safely proclaimed." This syllogism crumbles to pieces as soon as its major premise is carefully scrutinized. It is seldom claimed by the authorities cited that the forms in question, though they appear in Northumbrian and Mercian texts, are the exclusive possession of the Anglian dialects; indeed, even when the succinct statements of grammarians seem to justify such an inference, a short search through Southern compositions frequently reveals the presence there, in large numbers, of the supposed criteria of a Northern origin. If this ever recurring fallacy of a false assumption has vitiated much of the discussion of the sources of Cynewulfian poetry, it has certainly been fatal to any sound investigation of the earliest home of the *Judith*.

Ten Brink long since pointed out ⁸ that the second scribe of the *Beowulf*, to whom we owe the *Judith*, nowhere uses his favorite *io* for *eo* in his copy of the shorter poem, because this accurate transcriber did not find it in his original. We gain thus some ground for the belief that our West-Saxon version is copied from a West-Saxon version. What reasons are given for supposing that the poem was once transcribed from an original in one of the Anglian dialects? In Cook's most recent edition of the *Judith* ⁹ he thus summarizes the evidence

⁴ *Judith*, Strassburg, 1892.

⁵ *Anglia*, Beiblatt, IV, 321.

⁶ *Paul's Grundriss* ³, II, 1091.

⁷ *Anglia*, Bb, XIX, 1f.

⁸ *Beowulf Untersuchungen*, p. 238.

⁹ *Belles Lettres Series*, 1904, p. VIII.

of "Northern" origin: "Forms like *hēhsta* (4,94) and *nēhsta* (73), for example, point to the North, while such as *hȳhsta* (309) are clearly West Saxon; so *sēceð* (96), *hafað* (197), *medowērige* (229) seem distinctively Northern (Foster, *Judith*, pp. 50-51)." In the very pages that Cook cites, Foster, though also arguing for an Anglian original, has shown the worthlessness of the evidence of *hēhsta* and *nēhsta*, as "they are common in Late West Saxon;" and Imelmann (*l. c.*) points to their presence in both Alfred and Ælfric. Examples of this so-called "palatal umlaut," of course ¹⁰ a frequent phenomenon in LWS, may be multiplied from Southern poems. Sedgefield's "Glossary" to the Old English *Boethius* furnishes from the *Metres*, poems traceable probably to Alfred himself, many instances of *hēhsta*; and the later *Genesis* offers similar examples.¹¹

How persistent has been the fallacy into which both Cook and Foster have fallen, in their citation of unsyncopated verbal forms as a strong indication of an Anglian source, is shown by Sedgefield's inaccurate statement in the "Introduction" to his recent edition of the *Beowulf* (p. 5): "These forms (*sendest*, *sendeð*, *forsended*), which also occur in the text of other O. E. poems, are regarded by Professor Sievers as a sign of Anglian origin, as in the Southern texts the syncopated forms alone occur." Never was there a blinder, nor yet more prevalent, misunderstanding of a criterion of dialect. Sedgefield's last clause should of course read, "As only in Southern texts do the syncopated forms occur," for Sievers certainly never even implies that the texts of Wessex and Kent limit themselves to forms with syncope, inasmuch as he cites ¹² dozens of unsyncopated forms from the *Metres* and the *Menology*. In my recent *Publications* article (pp. 255-258), I have pointed out that Sievers's actual contention that an exclusive use of unsyncopated forms is Northern has no weight for poems of the earlier periods. Even if the *Judith* be of the late ninth or early tenth century, as many think with no very cogent grounds for their belief, the appearance of

¹⁰ See Sievers PBB. IX, 211; my article, *Publications*, XXVI, 251.

¹¹ Compare *Genesis* B. 254, *hēhstne*; 260, 300, *hēhsta(n)*; 536, *nēhst*.

¹² PBB. X, 465f.

but two longer present forms, *sēceð* and *hafað* and of¹³ a few unsynccopated participles has small value as an indication of source since *sēceð* and *hafað* are both found in the *Metres*,¹⁴ since *hafað* frequently appears in *Genesis B*,¹⁵ and since, in the 46 lines of the *Cura Pastoralis* poems, *hafað* is the only form of *habban*.

The unsynccopated forms, *medowērige* (229a) and *medowērigum* (245a), which, in each case, form a hemistich, admirably illustrate the type of witness,—summoned far too frequently in discussions of this kind—who, under cross-examination, yields evidence exactly counter to that which he is called to offer. So far from being “distinctively Northern,” the *Judith* forms seem suspiciously Southern, inasmuch as no less than fifteen of the eighteen other examples of this absence of syncope furnished by Sievers¹⁶ are drawn from Southern (and comparatively late) poems, the *Metres*, the *Menology*, the *Maldon*. On this easily discredited testimony Professor Cook rests his case.

Two other “Anglian characteristics” are cited by Foster. The first of these is the absence of breaking before *l*-combinations. The implied argument is worthless as such absence of breaking is extremely common in EWS. prose and verse;¹⁷ and yet this time-worn philological fallacy confronts us in P. G. Thomas’s review of the dialect forms in the *Beowulf*¹⁸ and in Sedgfield’s endorsement of his conclusions.¹⁹ The second “significant phenomenon” is “the Anglian *þēgon* (19), of which the West-Saxon form would be *þāgon*.” I have already minimized the force of this form as a criterion of

¹³ Moreover, Imelmann, *Anglia*, Bb. XIX, 3, shows that in *Judith*, 198 *haefð* would be equally metrical, and even Foster concedes (p. 51), that only in a single case, *ārēted*, (167), is an unsynccopated participle actually required by the metre.

¹⁴ See Sedgfield’s “Glossary,” s. v.

¹⁵ ll. 363, 384, 394, 635.

¹⁶ *PBB*. X, 461.

¹⁷ See the scores of Southern examples of lack of breaking before *l*+consonant cited in my *Publications* article (pp. 248-249).

¹⁸ *The Modern Language Review*, I, 206f.

¹⁹ *Beowulf*, p. 295 (Appendix I).

dialect;²⁰ but I may add that the form *gepāh* of the *Metres* (153) shows the preference of even Southern poems for the strong forms of *þicgan* over the weak preterite common in WS. prose. Does such evidence as this of Foster's make the balance of probabilities incline in the least to Mercia? Unfortunately so many Anglists seem to share the delusion that arguments individually valueless carry collectively conviction.

Brandl's discussion of the *Judith* in his indispensable sketch of our early literature²¹ contributes two arguments that certainly do not strengthen the case. "The poem contains many cases of the velarising of *a* (*heaðo*, *bealo*), which was especially common in Mercia." Unhappily for this argument, *heaðo* occurs, to the exclusion of other forms, fifty, and *bealo* at least sixty times in the poetry (which surely cannot all be Mercian); and, moreover, both forms appear in the South in the *Metres* and the historical poems.²² Little importance can be attached to the assumption of Mercian originals for the riming words, *gefeohste*; *geriht* (202), since similarly imperfect rimes, *dēað*; *bið* (*Christ*, 596), *hēah*; *fāh* (*Seafarer*, 98), *glengeð*; *bringeð* (*Lār*, 13), *hlēorum*; *tēarum* (*Dōmesdæg*, 128) are common in the poetry; and appear in the *Judith* itself, *þing*; *leng* (153).

Two Anglian usages are mentioned by Imelmann:²³ many cases of *in* instead of *on*, and *nympe* for *buton* (52). I have already pointed²⁴ to the frequent appearance of this *in* in the earliest WS. and to its persistence in the *Menology*,²⁵ undoubtedly Southern, as its many syncopated verbal forms declare. I find no instance of *nympe* in an unquestionably

²⁰ *Publications*, XXVI, 247-248.

²¹ *Paul's Grundriss*,² II, 1091.

²² *Heaporinc* and *beadurinc*, the very words of the *Judith* (179, 212, 276) appear in the *Metres* (9⁴⁵, 1²⁵); and both *bealu* and *beadu* in the historical poems (cf. *bealuēas*, *Eadweard*, 15; *beadu*, *Brunanburh*, 48, *Maldon*, 111, 185).

²³ *Anglia*, Bb, XIX, 3.

²⁴ *Publications*, XXVI, 260.

²⁵ ll. 39, 40, 75, 97, 117.

Southern poem; ²⁶ yet let us note the presence of the distinctively Anglian *giēn* (*gēn*) in *Genesis B* (413), of the Anglian *gelēoran* in the *Menology* (208), of the Anglian *tēogan*, worn and *mægwlite* in the *Metres*,²⁷ and of the Anglian *tōpas* in so Southern a line as *hē pā tungan tōtȳhþ ond pā tōpas þurh-smȳhð* in the Exeter text of *Body and Soul* (122).²⁸ No one can deny that the diction of Anglian poetry has exercised a strong influence upon that of the Southern.²⁹ A word so common as *nympe* in the older verse might easily be employed by a Wessex poet who drew very freely from all poetical sources. Professor Cook's interesting list of parallel passages shows that the writer of the *Judith* is a prince of borrowers.³⁰

By such means as have been employed to assign an Anglian home to the *Judith*, it would be easy to show that a West-Saxon poem is a philological impossibility. We are told by Imelmann ³¹ that the *Menology* is Anglian, by Crow ³² that the *Maldon* is Anglian, and by Brandl ³³ that the *Brunanburh* is Anglian. We are told by everyone that the *Judith* is Anglian. And when we ask for proof, we fail to receive a shred of con-

²⁶ In my article (*l. c.*), which I seem to be quoting *ad nauseam*, stress has been laid upon the appearance of *nymne* in ninth century Southern charters.

²⁷ See Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes*, 1906, pp. 63, 66.

²⁸ Why not argue that Chaucer was Northern, because he introduces into *The Book of the Duchesse* (l. 73) such a form as *telles*, riming with *elles*?

²⁹ See Jordan, *Id.*, p. 3.

³⁰ To attach large importance to arguments of *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* based upon verbal resemblances between the *Judith* and passages in Cynewulf's work and in the *Brunanburh* is to ignore entirely the existence of a stock vocabulary in the homogeneous Old English poetry and to disregard the vogue of the numerous poems now lost which all these writers may have plundered, though in complete ignorance of each other. The parallel column has very recently been invoked to sustain sweeping conclusion, which seem to me totally unwarranted; but more of that in another place.

³¹ *Das altenglische Menologium*, 1902.

³² *Maldon and Brunanburh*, 1897, pp. viii-ix.

³³ *Paul's Grundriss*, II, 1077.

vincing evidence. I submit with emphasis that the case is not proven.

Yet the camel is not swallowed without great straining. Cook is puzzled by the presence of the "Southern" preterite indicative, *funde* (not *fond*), not only in the second line of the poem, where it is firmly established by the rime, but also in line 278. Imelmann asks "how such a West-Saxon form can be reconciled with the theory of a Northern origin of the poem?" And both scholars cite the authority of Sievers's *Grammar*³ § 386, note 2, where we read that "the WS. preterite of *findan* is also *funde*, as if from a weak verb." In the interests of truth, let us go behind the record. I open the *Beowulf*, which no one regards as West-Saxon, and meet no less than five examples of the indicative *funde*, in each case sustained by the metre:—*sōna þæt onfunde* (751, 1498); *þā þæt onfunde* (810); *hleonian funde* (1416); *þæt ic gumcystum gōdne funde* (subj.?) *bēaga bryttan, brēac þonne mōste* (1487). Obviously the form is quite as possible in the North as in the South. *Hopian* (117), discussed at length by Dietrich,³⁴ seems, however, a Southern word. Its appearance in the poetry is limited to the *Judith* and the *Metres* (7⁴⁴), and in the prose to Saxon ground. Other words, too, may be Southern. Imelmann notes with surprise over sixty poetical nonce-usages recorded in Cook's "Glossary" of the poem; but he does not remark that quite four-fifths of these are compounds of very familiar members. Of the dozen *simplices*, all but three (*bēhð*, *cohhetan*, *gedyrsian*) are well known to Wessex prose. Three of these words occurring in the WS. *Gospels*, *beāftan* (*Luke*, XXII, 6), *behēafðian* (*Matt.* XIV, 10), *binnan* (*Matt.* II, 16; *John* XI, 30) do not appear in the corresponding passages of the Rushworth and Lindisfarne versions. But to attach great significance to this circumstance would be to follow the very methods that this article is strongly condemning. Of all arguments those based upon vocabulary are the most delusive. "The best in this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no worse if imagination amend them."

³⁴ *Haupts Zs.*, IX, 216-218.

There seems to be no good grounds for regarding the *Judith* as anything else than a West-Saxon poem. Certainly the champions of an Anglian origin have done little by their fallacious arguments, to remove the burden of proof that rests so heavily upon them.

II.

THE PHYSIOLOGUS OF THE EXETER BOOK.

In last year's April number of *Modern Philology* Miss Rose Jeffries Peebles passes in review various commentaries upon the *Physiologus poems* of the *Exeter MS.* Nothing could be more luminous than Miss Peebles's condensation of these discussions. On the other hand, nothing could be blinder than many of the essays which she cites. Here as elsewhere in the critical study of Old English there has been much futile fumbling, due largely to sheer inability to estimate evidence at its proper value.

Among *insolubilia* may be placed the question whether the Anglo-Saxon poems constitute a small complete cycle or are but the fragment of a longer series. Such evidence as we possess forbids a final answer. To quote Seneca, "Quid te torques et maceras in illa quæstione, quam subtilius est contempsisse quam solvere?" But the problem certainly becomes less dark in the light of any judicial consideration of the second question, "What bird is the subject of the third piece?" Of this bird the *Exeter Book* gives us only a little over a line of description, *Hyrde ic secgan gēn bi sumum fūgle wundorlicne*—Then the page ends, and the next leaf is occupied with religious application. Evidently something has been lost—a leaf or more.

No one denies that in those forms of *Physiologus* which the Anglo-Saxon most closely resembles in content—the Greek type in Pitra's Cod. A, the Bern MS. 233 and the Royal MS. 2 C XII—the order of creatures is Panther, Whale, Partridge. As the order in the Old English is Panther, Whale, and then a bird, scholars have usually accepted the Partridge as the bird of the fragment. An obfuscating objection was inevitable, and it came from Mann, who urged³⁵ that

³⁵ *Anglia*, Bb. XI, 334-335.

the common partridge is not "wonderful" and therefore cannot be the creature intended. Miss Peebles endorses this protest. Now let us hasten to protect our opinions against what Laurence Sterne calls so aptly "fuliginous matter." I am not prepared to admit that the eager wide-eyed early Englishman, who found wonder in such common things as the Sword, the Jay, the Onion, the Bagpipe,³⁶ and who chanted the story of that other foe to nests, the Cuckoo,³⁷ would not deem the Partridge, with its unnatural ways, a "wonderful bird." But all this is beside the mark, for in this case there is no mention whatever of a "wonderful bird." The noun, *fugle* is dative; the adjective, *wundorlicne* is accusative. The poet begins: "I heard recounted concerning a certain bird, a wonderful ———." If the missing word be "trait" or "habit" (*gewunan* or some other masc. acc.), the epithet might well apply to the Partridge's trick of nest-stealing. Mann's protest rests upon ignorance both of Old English modes of thought and of Old English grammar, and is therefore untenable on every count.

Now let us consider the gap in the manuscript. The chief adherent of the long cycle theory, Sokoll, who had never seen the *Exeter Book*, claims³⁸ that not a single leaf but a quire containing several *Bestiary* poems has been lost after fol. 97b. Against this view may be urged all the probabilities. In each of the five other like gaps in the manuscript not more than a single leaf seems to be gone.³⁹ Here at least is an indication that the Book has suffered no wholesale losses. A far stronger argument lies in the circumstance that the assumption of a single missing leaf with the usual quota of sixty-five or seventy

³⁶ *Riddles*, 21¹, 25¹, 26¹, 32⁷.

³⁷ *Riddle* 10.

³⁸ *Zum angelsächsischen Physiologus* (XXVII Jahresbericht d. K. K. Staats-Oberrealschule in Marburg, 1896-97).

³⁹ The story of the *Guthlac* and the sources of the *Juliana* clearly indicate that after fols. 37, 69 and 73 only one leaf in each case is missing; and the assumed absence of single leaves after fols. 105 and 111 easily accounts for the five missing riddles required to raise this collection of enigmas to the conventional hundred. Thorpe's assumption of lost leaves after fols. 8, 11 and 82 is not justified by any lack of continuity in the text.

lines of verse would allot to the Bird poem some eighty or eighty-five lines, as compared with the Panther's seventy-four and the Whale's eighty-nine. Finally the religious application in the Anglo-Saxon fragment has been shown by Ebert⁴⁰ to resemble in its *motif* of parental relationship the Hermeneia of the Partridge in the Bern *Physiologus*. Unlike Miss Peebles, I believe that this bird satisfies all necessary conditions.⁴¹

If the Bird of the fragment be the Partridge, as there is now no sufficient reason to doubt, the natural conclusion seems to be this—that our Old English poet finding in his Latin original, which was undeniably closely akin to the Bern type, land, water and air represented in sequence by the Panther, the Whale and the Partridge followed this order in a small cycle, which he prefaced with a few lines of general introduction and concluded with a *Finit*. We can hardly hope to come nearer than this to a solution of the problem of the cycles.

III.

A FIELD OF BLOOD.

A famous textual crux, furnishing a theme for suggestive discussion is found in the *Battle of Brunanburh*, 12-13:—
feld dennade

secga swāte.

So read MSS. B, C, D (*dennode*), but A (the Parker MS.) has *dænnede secgas hwate*, and MS. Otho B. XI, the victim of the Cottonian fire of 1731, reads, according to Wheloc, *dynede*.

Editors and critics have dealt with the passage in four ways: 1) They have followed the reading of the chief *Chronicle* MS. (A); 2) they have accepted the consensus of opinions of three good texts (B, C, D); 3) they have adopted the Wheloc form; 4) they have departed from all transmissions and proposed yet other readings. As the full history of these critical differences has apparently found no record in modern

⁴⁰ *Anglia*, VI, 246.

⁴¹ Personally I find little force in Mann's objection that the three creatures should typify God, devil, man—and not God, devil, devil. The argument is a legitimate one, but it is flatly contradicted by the evidence.† The poet's choice was not free but dictated by his sources.]

edition or commentary, we may range a little along these various ways.

1) In close adherence to the Parker MS. Zupitza stands almost alone.⁴² He connects the verb with Mod. Eng. *den* and ME. *dennien*, "to hide" and gives it the meaning, "to hide," "to cover." The passage must then be rendered, "The field covered brave men." But to this interpretation there are two sufficient objections. The sense is not congruous, as the burying of the dead would come much later (Plummer). Against *secgas hwate*, with a short stressed syllable in the second foot, the metre makes strong protest. The reading of MS. A must, therefore, be abandoned. It is evidently the blunder of a dull scribe writing from dictation.

2) The version of MSS. B. C. D, has had a far larger following. Ettmüller in his *Scōpas* (p. 557) and Grein in his *Sprachschatz* (I, 187) unite in translating, "the field became slippery with the blood of heroes." This rendering is accepted by Bosworth-Toller (p. 200), Plummer,⁴³ Bright,⁴⁴ Crow,⁴⁵ and by Anna Brown in her translation.⁴⁶ But as Dr. Bright says, "this interpretation of *dennode* is merely conjectural." Inasmuch as the word is a nonce-usage and has no sustaining cognates, it might just as properly receive a quite different rendering. The explanation is, therefore, far from convincing; and the reading itself, despite its strong manuscript support, is very doubtful.

3) The form, *dynede*, has the less potent authority of Wheloc's transmission of a single manuscript; but it gains weight from Henry of Huntingdon's Latin equivalent, "Colles resonuerunt. Sudaverunt armati"⁴⁷ and from Layamon's

⁴² See the various editions both German and English of his *Uebungsbuch*.

⁴³ *Two Saxon Chronicles*, 1892-1899, I, 322, II, 139.

⁴⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 1894, pp. 146, 223.

⁴⁵ *Maldon and Brunanburh*, 1897, p. 29.

⁴⁶ *Poet Lore*, Jan., 1891.

⁴⁷ The first translation of the *Brunanburh* in point of time is easily last in point of merit. Henry of Huntingdon's total misunderstandings of many poetic phrases and epic formulas are intensely significant as marking the complete decline of the older poetry before the middle of

parallels in battle-scenes, 21330, *þe eorðe dunede*, and 27441, *þa eorðen gon to dunien*.⁴⁸ Hence Sharon Turner,⁴⁹ and Ingram in his edition of the *Chronicle* (1823) render, "the field resounded," "mid the din of the field;" but "the field resounded with the blood of the fighters" is such an absurdity that we must seek some other meaning of the word. This has been done perhaps successfully by Price, who points to the Icelandic *dynja*, not in its usual sense of "resonare" but with the connotation "irruere" in a similar context, *blóðit dundi*,⁵⁰ and who renders, "the field flowed with warrior's blood." Price's conjecture has been confirmed by Rask,⁵¹ and by Guest,⁵² who in 1838 praises the suggestion, first made in 1824,

the twelfth century. This archdeacon, who rendered with fair success the prose of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (E) goes hopelessly astray in nearly every line of the war-poem which he found in another version. I mention a few of Henry's most stupendous blunders. To him *heoþolinde* meant "nobiles"; *hamora lāfum eaforan Eadweardes*, "domesticae reliquiae defuncti Edwardi"; *glād* ("glided"), "hilariter" (so Turner and Ingram); *sēo æpele gesceaft sāh tō setle* ("the sun set"), "nobilis ductor occasu se occuluit"; *hæleþa nānum*, "sanitas nulla"; *brego*, "tumor"; *feorh generede*, "intrinsicus gemebat"; *blandenfez*, "verbis blandus." The adjective *frōde* and the phrase *æt gūþe* sponsor two leaders unknown to history, "Froda ductor Normannus" and "Gude Dacus." To the beasts and birds of war Henry adds not only dogs but "the livid toad" ("buffo livens"), for so he, and Turner and Thorpe in his wake, render *hasopādan*. But the most amusing of all his blunders is in the very passage that we are considering. "Sudaverunt armati ex quo sol mane prodiit" offers us a glowing picture of warriors sweating from early morning under the sun's rays. Æthelstan's singer could never have foreseen that very sultry interpretation of his poetic conception. May I add that a detailed study of the large evidence presented by the Anglo-Latin Chroniclers of the passing of the older speech and literature would well repay the labor. [In the last moment of galley-proof, I chance upon Miss Rickert's discussion of Henry's rendering of *Brunanburh* in her paper on "The Old English Offa Saga," *Modern Philology*, II, 65-66.]

⁴⁸ See the excellent notes of Price and Taylor in the edition of the poem, Warton, *History of English Poetry*, 1840, I, 1xxi.

⁴⁹ *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Book IX, Chap. I.

⁵⁰ Note the instances of this meaning in Cleasby-Vigfusson's *Dictionary* s. v. *dynja*: e. g. *dundi þá blóðit um hann allan* (*Njála*, 176).

⁵¹ "Preface" to his *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, p. lviii (cited by Taylor, l. c.).

⁵² See *History of English Rhythms*, 2d edition, 1882, p. 359, note.

as a "happy piece of criticism" and translates, "streams." This rendering has been adopted by many translators, among them Thorpe, Morley and the Tennysons, and has much in its favor. It must, however, be remembered that the word, in this sense, occurs nowhere else in English.

4 We must now leave the solid ground of authoritative readings for the liberal air of surmise. Here as everywhere else in Old English texts, emendation has been busy. The stercoreary suggestion of Ten Brink,⁵³ "Das Feld wurde mit dem Blute der Männer gedüngt," and the violent substitution by Sedgefield⁵⁴ of *ðānode* ("became wet") for *dennade* have little to recommend them; but a correction proposed by Sir Frederic Madden opens up so long a vista of literary relations and poetical survivals that it must receive due consideration. This great editor believed⁵⁵ that "we find preserved in many passages of *Lajamon's* poem the spirit and style of the earlier Anglo-Saxon writers. No one can read his descriptions of battles and scenes of strife without being reminded of the Ode on *Æthelstan's* victory at *Brunanburh*." To the present writer, the connection does not seem very close. Far more intimate analogues to the Old English battle-clashes, with their attendant horrors, are found in those half-English Old-Norse compositions, the *Höfuðláusn* and the *Krákumál*, redolent of that grisly fellowship of wolf, eagle and raven, than in the stiffer poetical conventions of the priest of Severn's banks. But here or there in a phrase of the *Brut* is a reminiscence of the earlier and finer war-scenes. For instance, *fæie þer feollen*, so common in *Lajamon* (ll. 1742, 4162, 20075, etc.) exactly duplicates the first half-line of our *Brunanburh* *crux*, *fæge fēollen*. Madden therefore had some warrant for his translation of *dunede* (*Brut*, 20678), "became dun," not only in the *falewede* of *Brut*, 16414, 18318, but in his proposed reading, *dunnade*, "became dun" for *dennade* in the *Brunanburh* line.⁵⁶ Madden afterwards substituted the rendering "dinned" or "resounded" (as in ll. 21230, 27441)

⁵³ *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, I, 116.

⁵⁴ *Belles Lettres* edition of the *Battle of Maldon*, 1904, p. 39.

⁵⁵ *Lajamon's Brut*, 1847, "Preface," I, xxiii.

⁵⁶ *Id.*, III, 496-497.

for "became dun," believing rightly that a conjecture in the older speech gave but scanty support to a departure from a common connotation. But his conjecture for our Old English word has many things in its favor;⁵⁷ though his note has escaped the attention of all scholars. The emendation *dunnade* for the unsatisfactory *dennade* involves the change of but a single letter, and affords excellent sense: "The field was darkened (or "discolored") with the blood of warriors."⁵⁸ It receives strong support from the *falewede* passages of the *Brut*; compare particularly ll. 18318-9:—

"falewede felde
of fæie blode."

See also ll. 4162f, 16414f. In Anglo-Saxon, *dun* and *fealo* are exact synonyms, both glossing "fuscus"; indeed *dunfealo* is found. Finally both Bosworth-Toller (p. 219) and Sweet (*Dictionary*, p. 45) err in regarding OE. *dunnian* as transitive, since in its sole appearance, in a passage of the prose *Boethius* (IV, 6), the verb is clearly intransitive (as the *Brunanburh* lines demand): *pā beorhtan steorran dunniað on pām heofone*. Against *dunnade*, however, protest all the manuscripts and the strong claims of *dynede*.

Truly, here is food in God's plenty for all kinds of critical appetites.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ The same suggestion has been offered by Holthausen (*Anglia*, Bb, III, 1892, p. 239) apparently without knowledge of Madden's note and the *Lajamon* parallels.

⁵⁸ So Shakspeare drawing directly from Holinshed (*Henry V*, III, vi, 152):

"We shall your tawny ground with your red blood
Discolour."

⁵⁹ Since writing this article, I note that Erik Björkman, in an imperfect review of the readings and interpretations of our *Brunanburh* passage (*Herrig's Archiv*, CXVIII, 384-386), offers, in utter ignorance of Price's important chapter, the explanation of *dynede* proposed by the scholar of eighty years ago, approved by Rask and by Guest, and immortalized by Tennyson. More attention to the splendid work of our pioneers would lessen greatly the number of so-called "discoveries." Still Björkman's independent conclusion brings support to a plausible reading; and his suggestion that, in our lines the two meanings of *dyn(n)ede*, "resounded" and "flowed" have been confused is not unhappy.

IV.

TWO POETS OF THE NORTH SEA.

Nature merely takes notes through her poets; so why should we be surprised when two singers in widely differing ages derive from the same fount of beauty and wonder a common inspiration? Yet, though we all recognize this as a rather obvious truth, we are not a little startled when we hear the voice of the North Sea speaking in like tones through two interpreters, a thousand years apart. Thus, the eighth- or ninth-century Englishman in that splendid lyric, *The Wanderer* (*Bibliothek*, I, 286, ll. 45-47) :—

ðonne onwæcneð eft	winelēas guma,
gesihð him biforan	fealwe wāgas,
bapian brimfuglas,	brædan fepra,
hrēosan hrim and snāw	hagle gemenged.
þonne bēoð þȳ hefigran	heortan benne,
sāre æfter swāesne;	sorg bið geniwad,
þonne māga gemynd	mōd geondhweorfeð,
grēteð gliwstafum,	georne geondscēawað
seega geseldan :	swimmað eft on weg;
flēotendra ferð	nō þær fela bringeð
cūðra cwidegiedda;	cearo bið geniwad
þām þe sendan sceal	swiþe geneahhe
ofer waþema gebind	wērigne sefan.

Now compare this from a nineteenth-century German, Heine, in *Die Nordsee, Zweiter Cyclus*, 5 (*Der Gesang der Okeaniden*) :—

“Abendlich blasser wird es am Meer,
 Und einsam, mit seiner einsamen Seele,
 Sitzt dort ein Mann auf dem kahlen Strand,
 Und schaut todkalten Blickes hinauf
 Nach der weiten, todkalten Himmelswölbung,
 Und schaut auf das weite, wogende Meer—
 Und über das weite, wogende Meer,
 Lüftesegler, ziehn seine Seufzer,
 Und kehren zurück, trübselig,
 Und hatten verschlossen gefunden das Herz,
 Worin sie ankern wollten—

Und er stöhnt so laut, dass die weissen Möwen,
Aufgescheucht aus den sandigen Nestern,
Ihn herdenweis umflattern."

And this from the third poem of the same cycle:—

"Die Wogen murmeln, die Möwen schrillen,
Alte Erinnerungen wehen mich an,
Vergessene Träume, erloschene Bilder,
Qualvoll süsse, tauchen hervor."

In both the old and the new are the same motives, a lonely wanderer peering with sad eyes over cold and gloomy waters, recalling in his dreams the old familiar faces and sending forth over the waves dreary thoughts and sighs, while about him wild sea-mews shriek and flap their wings. Then the forgotten centuries assert themselves and each bard speaks after the manner of his age and race. But that flint-gray ocean has brought the two poets for a time very close together.

V.

HAND OFER HEAFOD.

One of the most significant phrases in all Anglo-Saxon poetry has hitherto failed to find satisfactory explanation. In the *Journey Spell*, 23f, (*Bibl.* I, 329) the traveller prays thus:—

hand ofer hēafod,

* * *

Biddu ealle bliþum mōde,
Matheus helm,

Sī mē wuldres hyht,

hāligra [h]rōf,

* * *

þæt mē bēo hand ofer hēafod,
Marcus byrne, etc., etc.

The early editor of the passage, Cockayne (*Leechdoms*, I, 391), modernizes the thought, "'Hand over head,' as in a game easily won." Bosworth-Toller (*Dictionary*, p. 508) thus translates: "'May there be to me a hope of glory, hand over head,' i. e. without difficulty ['hand over head,' thoughtlessly extravagant; careless; at random; plenty. Halliwell's *Dictionary*]." If this were the true definition, we should have a very early example of a phrase, of which the first use noted by the *Oxford Dictionary*, V, 66, s. v. "Hand over head," is some six or seven centuries later, 1440 A. D.: "Precipitately, hastily, rashly, without deliberation, indiscriminately." But

this meaning certainly does not fit our context without distortion of the thought. Grendon in his admirable edition of the *Charms*⁶⁰ frankly admits: "The passage is obscure. Can it refer to a lifting of the hand over the head, an attitude that might have traditionally accompanied certain prayers? Elevation of the hands while praying was common enough." This conjecture does not serve.

Now the best commentators upon the older poetry are the old poets themselves; and two lines from the *Exeter Gnomes*, 68-69 (*Bibl. I*, 344-5) flood our dark phrase with light:—

"Hond sceal hēafod inwyrcean, hord in strēonum bīdan,
Gifstōl gegierwed stōndan, hwonne hine guman gedælen."
Though the first clause puzzled Rieger and Strobl sadly, it is obvious from the accompanying gnomes that the reference is to some ceremony at the time of the dispensing of treasure by the lord to his men—some rite of the Comitatus. The chief's hand is evidently laid upon his retainer's head, but how and why? I believe that the answer to this question is plainly given in certain well-known verses of the *Wanderer*, 41-44, (*Bibl. I*, 286):—

pinceð him on mōde	þæt hē his mondryhten
clyppe and cysse,	and on cnēo lece
honda and hēafod,	swā hē hwīlum ær
in gēardagum	giefstōlas brēc.

Well-known verses surely, but always cited without any perception of their real meaning.⁶¹ I cannot think that the exile implies that, after long and loving embraces, the early Germanic warrior was wont to sit at his lord's feet with hands and head upon his master's knee; but I believe that, like the poets of the *Charms* and *Gnomes*, he is recalling the old custom of the "Commendation," by which, with time-honored forms, the vassal pledged his loyalty and trust in return for his chief's gold and protection. As Müllenhoff says:⁶² "Die

⁶⁰ *Journal of American Folk Lore*, XXII, (1909), pp. 179, 221.

⁶¹ See, for instance, Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 100), p. 83.

⁶² *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, IV, 266-267. Compare the many references in Du Cange's *Glossarium*, s. v. "Commendatus."

in das gefolge eintretenden leisteten dem fürsten einen eid, lex Sal. 42, 2, schwuren *trustem et fidelitatem*, wogegen der könig ihnen seinen schutz und ein höheres wergeld zusichert." This pledge of the clansman is the *præcipium sacramentum* of the *Germania* of Tacitus (chap. 14), the oath of fealty of the *Beowulf* (2634f), the "commendatio solenni more" of Eginhard's "Epistles" (XXVI-XXVIII) and of Nithard's "History" (Bk. I, chap. 8).

If my interpretation of the *Wanderer* passage be correct, we know the full ceremony of the gift-stool. Having received from his chieftain either treasure or promise of protection, the warrior embraced and kissed the bestower of honor, then kneeling he placed hands and head upon his lord's knee and vowed loyalty and devotion. This rite of "commendation," this Old English form of *mannræden*,⁶³ anticipates in all essential features the typical act of feudal homage of several centuries later. From the large number of references in Du Cange's *Glossarium* (s. v. "Hominium") we learn that the vassal bent his knees before his sitting lord, and placing hands between hands kissed the prince and made his vow.⁶⁴ The lines in the *Wanderer*, if read aright, acquire great historical significance as the earliest complete record of a most important ceremony.

⁶³ Karl von Amira's discussion (*Paul's Grundriss*,² III, 168) is pertinent. "As *vassus* or *vassallus* the follower 'commended' himself to his lord, when in taking service, he gave himself into the lord's protection and responsibility or *munt*. * * * * The lord was bound to reward this self-surrender by a gift in his turn. Through a kiss he received the follower into his *munt*. In the German laws of the Middle Ages, the 'Commendation' (*manschaft*, *homagium*) appears before the oath of fealty as a regular feature of the *hulde*, through which is established the personal tie between master and man." Fehr notes (*Die Sprache des Handels in Altengland*, 1909, p. 23) that "in the feudal sphere *homage* (*hominaticum*) had already in Anglo-Saxon its correlative in *mannræden* (*mann* + *ræden*, 'condition') and was surely an imitation of a like Germanic word (probably *manschaft*)". See *Oxford Dictionary* s. v. *homage* and *manred*.

⁶⁴ See the formula in the *Charta anno 1255 ex Regesto Tolosano*, fol. 55, cited by Du Cange: "Et inde ligium Homagium vobis facio manibus meis positis inter vestras et flexis genibus et dato vobis fidei osculo et recepto."

Whether my interpretation of the poor exile's words be correct or no, we are perfectly safe in inferring from the *gnome*, *hond sceal hēafod inwyrcean* that the chief placed his hand upon the warrior's head, when he dealt to him gifts or when he pledged him such guardianship as Beowulf asks of Hrothgar for his men (l. 1480): "Be thou the stay and strength to my stout companions." *Hand ofer hēafod* in the *Journey Spell* carries then the idea of "guardianship" and "protection" and finds its exact synonym in *mundbora*⁶⁵—which, it is interesting to note, is frequently applied to the Deity and to saints and angels. So we may render with confidence the lines from the Charm:—

"May mine be hope of glory,

* * * * *

Sovereign protection,⁶⁶ and the shelter of saints,
In sanguine mood I solicit, that mine be sovereign protection:
Matthew my helmet, and Mark my hauberk," etc., etc.

VI.

THE CURSE OF URSE.

Among the many striking instances of Saxon resistance to Norman aggression, none is more vivid than the famous "Curse of Urse." Not only the historian but the student of literature to whom even the last little gasps of the Old English verse are precious may well be grateful to William of Malmesbury for the wealth of circumstantial detail with which

⁶⁵ Karl von Amira remarks (*Grundriss*² III, 138, 150) that, on German as well as on West Gothic and Frankish ground, "das Schutzrecht oder die 'Hand' (*munt*) gab dem Schutzherrn eine Vertretungs- und Befehlsgewalt, leicht auch eine Obrigkeit über den Schützling * * * * Die Lehengerichtsbarkeit des Mittelalters scheint in der *munt* des Lehenherrs über seine Vassalen ihren Ausgangspunkt zu haben."

⁶⁶ Since this article was sent to the JOURNAL, A. R. Skemp has indorsed in the July (1911) number of the *Modern Language Review* Schlutter's rendering of *hand ofer hēafod*, "schützende hand über meinem haupte" (*Anglia*, xxxi, 60-61), which had escaped my notice; but neither scholar supports this interpretation. In connection with the religious application of the phrase in the Charm passage, I must note that my colleague, Professor A. B. Myrick, has gathered a large number of instances of the feudal conception of God in medieval writings, and intends to publish shortly the interesting results of his investigation.

he invests his story of Archbishop Ealdred's malediction upon the rapacious Norman officer.⁶⁷ "The sheriff of Worcester"—William is, of course, speaking of the years immediately following Senlac, for Ealdred died in September, 1069—"was Urse [of Abetot], who built his castle in the very jaws of the monks, so that the fosse encroached upon the monastic burying ground. Complaint was made to the Archbishop in his capacity as guardian of the diocese. Face to face with Urse, he rebuked the sheriff in these words: 'Hättest þū Urs, have þū Godes kurs'"—the rest of the imprecation is given in the narrator's Latin—" 'and mine and all consecrated heads,' unless thou movest hence thy castle. And know of a truth that thine offspring shall not long hold to their heritage the land of St. Mary.' He predicted that which we have ourselves seen come to pass. Not many years afterwards, Urse's son, Roger, the heir of his father's possessions, was smitten by the heavy indignation of King Henry, because in a fit of anger he caused to be slain one of the king's servants." In 1125, some sixty years after the Curse, William of Malmesbury thus tells the story.

Now let us mark the fading of this tale in the course of a century. It has not been remarked, I think, that Giraldus Cambrensis, who died about 1220, gives in his very latest work, the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, quite another and fainter version of

"Here is William's Latin, *Gesta Pontificum*, § 155, *Rolls Series*, p. 253: "Libertas animi ejus [i. e. Aldredi] in uno verbo enituit præclare, quod Anglice apponam quia Latina verba non sicut Anglica concinnitati respondent. Ursus [d' Abetot] erat vicecomes Wigorniae a rege constitutus, qui in ipsis pene faucibus castellum construxit, adeo ut fossatum cimiterii partem decideret. Querela ad archiepiscopum qui tutor esset episcopatus delata est. Ille cum vidisset Ursum his verbis adorsus est: 'Hättest þū Urs, have þū Godes kurs.' Eleganter in his verbis, sed dure nomen eufoniae alludens: 'Vocaris,' inquit, 'Ursus, habebas Dei maledictionem et,' quod Anglice non apposui, 'meam et omnium consecratorum caput, nisi castellum hinc amoveris. Et scias profecto quod progenies tua non diu de terra Sanctae Mariae hereditabitur.' Dixit ille implenda quae nos videmus impleta. Siquidem non multis annis filius ejus Rogerius, paternarum possessionum compos, gravi regis Henrici indignatione pulsus est, quod quandam ex ministris regis praecepti furore jussisset interemi. See Freeman's fine rendering, *Norman Conquest*, 1873, IV, 116, and note Brandl's discussion, *Paul's Grundriss*,² II, 1096.

the "Curse of Urse."⁶⁸ Gerald has been telling of the great wrongs done to Wulstan, the sainted Bishop of Worcester, by "a certain knight who was an officer of the king [William I] and very powerful in those days in that part of the country. This officer never ceased to heap upon Bishop Wulstan frequent losses and indignities, until at last that good man was provoked to great wrath, and playing upon the name of his enemy, 'Urs,' and fitting to it, in a rime of his own tongue, 'curs,' thus hurled upon the head of the knight a richly deserved malediction, which, through the power of divine vengeance, has been fulfilled in large measure against the officer himself, and, even to the present day, against those of his lineage."

There, in Gerald's account, is the incident exactly as it did not happen. Everything has paled, names have been changed, circumstances forgotten, the very jingle effaced. The story has been transferred from Archbishop Ealdred to the other great Saxon prelate of the Conquest, Bishop Wulstan. The reasons for the shift are obvious. The lesser in rank had waxed the greater in fame, and, as Saint of Worcester, naturally absorbed such a tradition of his see. Of the aggressive Urse d'Abetot, Giraldus evidently knew little more than the name preserved in the old rime, but, after the manner of his age, he conceals his ignorance by a bold stroke of fancy. In the passage preceding the story of the Curse, we are told to our great surprise, that "this powerful officer" was the person directly responsible for the attempted deposition of Wulstan, and that his wiles were brought to nothing by the famous miracle of the Bishop's staff. It is almost unnecessary to add

⁶⁸ Here is the *Speculum Ecclesiae* passage, chap. xxxiv (*Rolls Series*, IV, 343-344): "Verum quoniam intellectum dare vexatio solet et tribulatio merita bonorum augmentare, dictus miles ministerque [i. e. miles quidam minister regius et in partibus potentissimus ea tempestate] malignus Wulstanum episcopum damnis et injuriis crebris afficere non cessavit. Unde vir bonus quandoque commotus et tanquam ad iram provocatus, alludens vocabulo quo vocabatur ille, scilicet Urs, et adaptans atque subjungens lingua sua rythmice *curs* juste quam meruit in caput ejus maledictionem intorsit; quae proculdubio tam in ipsum quam in suos, propaginaliter ab ipso descendentes, usque in praesentem diem ultione divina non ineffaciter redundavit."

that the many chroniclers who record that marvel, Æthelred of Rievaulx, Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris,⁶⁹ give Urse no place in the story. The offense of the Sheriff against the monks of Worcester, so circumstantially recounted by the historian of Malmesbury, becomes, in Gerald's shadowy narrative, a series of personal insults to Wulstan himself. Even the old couplet is lost save for the rime, which must have lingered long. To William's story, which he of course did not know, Gerald seems to make one weighty addition—that the Curse was powerful for ill against Urse's descendants, even in the early thirteenth century. That were a contribution, indeed, could we but accept it as fact. *Credat Judaeus Apella!* Suspicion soon becomes conviction that this conclusion is dictated by Gerald's orthodox love of a moral rather than by any actual knowledge of the fate of the family of Urse.

The tradition of the "Curse of Urse," as we meet it in the pages of Giraldus Cambrensis, is surely a most interesting illustration of the gradual conversion of trustworthy history into irresponsible legend.

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⁶⁹ For the testimony of these, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, IV, 256.

SHADWELL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO *SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER* AND TO *THE TENDER HUSBAND*.

I.

Mr. G. A. Aitkin in the introduction to his edition of Steele's plays¹ says that Goldsmith was indebted to Steele's comedy *The Tender Husband* for the idea of his Tony Lumpkin.² This theory has been undisputed even since it was advanced. However, a much better candidate for the honor of being Tony Lumpkin's original than Steele's Humphrey Gubbin, and one who not improbably was Steele's own model besides, is Thomas Shadwell's Young Hartford, a character in his comedy *The Lancashire Witches*. There is not only a close resemblance between this personage and Goldsmith's, but there are some additional points which go to prove Goldsmith's knowledge and use of the old play.

In the first place, Young Hartford in Shadwell's *dramatis personae*³ is thus described: "a clownish, sordid, Country Fool, that loves nothing but drinking Ale, and Country Sports." As his father says, he

" delights

In Dogs and Horses, Peasants, Ale and Sloth."⁴

Sir Edward Hartford, his father, designs to marry him to his cousin, Theodosia, a beautiful and accomplished young woman. The younger Hartford, however, has no love for her, and pays her attentions only at his father's commands. He is "bashful, very indifferent and no Lover at all."⁵ Theodosia's brother, Sir Timothy Shacklehead⁶ is the suitor of Hartford's sister, Isabella. These two young women favor a pair of London gentlemen, Bellfort and Doubty. During

¹ The Complete Plays of Richard Steele. (The Mermaid Series.) Edited by . . . G. A. Aitken. London. 1894.

² Ibid. Introduction, p. XXVI.

³ The Works of Thomas Shadwell, Esq. London, 1720. Vol. III, p. 222.

⁴ Act I, Sc. I, (p. 227).

⁵ Act. I, Sc. I (p. 228).

⁶ "Sir Thomas Shacklehead" in the *dramatis personae*.

the course of the play the unwilling courtship of Young Hartford goes on until at its end, to his satisfaction, Theodosia marries Doubty and the proposed match is, of course, declared off.

The resemblance between Young Hartford and Tony Lumpkin is a very close one. Hardecastle says of his stepson, "The alehouse and the stables are the only schools he'll ever go to."⁷ Tony is introduced in an inn in Act I (cf. Young Hartford, Act IV, Sc. I, "Enter Young Hartford drunk.") His mother intends him to marry his cousin, Constance Neville, but this he is unwilling to do, and more or less openly shows his disapprobation of the project. He, indeed, takes an interest in assisting Hasting's courtship of Constance, so as to get her out of his way. Neither Hartford nor Tony dislikes his cousin, but neither has any desire for a nearer relationship.

A hint for Act I, Sc. 2 of *She Stoops to Conquer* is found in the latter part of the witch scene in Act I of *The Lancashire Witches*.⁸ Goldsmith's scene is laid in an inn. Marlowe and Hastings enter, having lost their way "upo' the forest." Tony directs them to his step-father's house as to an inn. In the other play Bellfort and Doubty enter to Clod who has been set in a tree by witches. They have lost their way in a sudden storm while seeking the means of seeing Isabella and Theodosia. Clod finally falls from his tree and after a time guides them to Sir Edward Hartford's house for shelter.

In Act II, Sc. I and in Act IV, of *She Stoops to Conquer* Goldsmith may have had in mind the courtship of Sir Timothy and Isabella. Tony and Constance make love in public but are distinctly cousinly in bearing in private. Shadwell's couple quarrel in private but are very peaceable when in company.⁹

⁷ The works of Oliver Goldsmith, Edited by Peter Cunningham. London. Vol. I, *She Stoops to Conquer*. Act I. Sc. I.

⁸ Pp. 238-241.

⁹ In Etherege's *The Man of Mode*, Act III, Sc. 1, and in Marmion's *A Fine Companion*, Act II, Sc. 4, and Act III, Sc. 5, are situations similar to those noted above. In each of these plays two young people who

Lady Shacklehead's praise of her son's accomplishments and appearance¹⁰ bears a slight resemblance to Mrs. Hardcastle's apologies for Tony's shortcomings in Act I, Sc. I of Goldsmith's play. The likeness is merely a general one.

The possible origin of Marlowe's bashfulness and of his taciturnity when in Miss Hardcastle's presence¹¹ may be found in Act II of Shadwell's play.¹² The two passages are alike in that they show the deepest embarrassment on the part of the male participant in the dialogue and a certain degree of maliciousness in each woman's attitude toward the other person.

The suggested qualities of Kate Hardcastle¹³ are much the same as those of Isabella (mentioned in Act I, Sc. I *The Lancashire Witches*). "Sense and discretion," the characteristics which are suggested as the former's, are Shadwell's heroine's, judging from the balanced lists of traits he gives her in an indirect way.

Sir Edward Hartford, too, may be the source of Hardcastle. Shadwell in his *dramatis personae* describes Sir Edward as "A worthy, hospitable, true *English* Gentleman, of good Understanding and honest Principles." The likeness of the two characters is very well shown by a comparison of Act I, Sc. I, *She Stoops to Conquer* and Act III, Sc. I, of *The Lancashire Witches*.

Practically the only likeness that there is between *The Tender Husband*—to return to Mr. Aitken's belief—and *She Stoops to Conquer* is the same as that which exists between the first play and *The Lancashire Witches*: that is to say, in Steele's play a country youth, Humphrey Gubbin, is designed by his father to marry his cousin who dislikes the match

are more or less indifferent to each other pretend affection for each other in public, but are cool to each other in private—by agreement between them. The same element occurs in De Musset's *Frédéric et Bernadette*, chap. 3.

¹⁰ Act II, Sc. I. *The Lancashire Witches* (pp. 248-249).

¹¹ *She Stoops to Conquer*, (Act II, Sc. I).

¹² Pp. 246-248.

¹³ Act I, Sc. I, *She Stoops to Conquer*.

as much as he. At the ends of the respective plays each has found a mate more to his fancy than the destined one.

It must be said though that Humphrey, like Tony Lumpkin, is kept in ignorance by his father of his having come of age, and also that he aids Clermont in his courtship of Biddy Tipkin in a way that recalls Tony's attempts at assisting Hastings and Constance. One can but conclude after comparing the three plays, however, that, although possibly Goldsmith drew on Steele for one or two ideas, yet he went to Shadwell's comedy for a much larger amount of material to be used by him after some pruning and rearrangement.

II.

In the preceding discussion I have mentioned an apparent relationship between *The Tender Husband* and *The Lancashire Witches*. Another of Shadwell's plays—*The Squire of Alsatia*—bears a certain resemblance to Steele's play.

The seeming debt of *The Tender Husband* to *The Lancashire Witches* lies chiefly in the characters of Young Hartford and Humphry Gubbin and in their courtships of Theodosia and Biddy. Young Hartford and his cousin Theodosia are to marry, not because of any desire on their part but because it is the wish of their families. Hartford, in fact, is to be disinherited by his father unless he pays his addresses to Theodosia.¹⁴ She is in love with Doubty, a London gentleman, and so she pretends to encourage her cousin only in the presence of the parents of one or the other. In private they make no secret of their coldness toward each other.

Humphry Gubbin, in Steele's play, is an ignorant country youth of the same type as Young Hartford. His father wishes him to marry his cousin Biddy. Her uncle and guardian, Old Tipkin, favors the match. In Act I, Sc. 2, Humphry is first introduced. Here he makes some objections to matrimony, but his father silences him by a reference to his cudgel, for although the boy is twenty-three his father still uses physical suasion with him. In Act III, Sc. 2, Humphry finally meets his cousin and the ensuing dialogue resembles slightly

¹⁴ Act II, Sc. 1 (p. 246).

that between Theodosia and Young Hartford.¹⁵ At the end of Steele's scene Humphry and Biddy vow eternal hatred, one for the other. The aunt, Mrs. Tipkin, enters unperceived and mistakes the mutual protestations for protestations of love. This resembles an incident in Act IV, Sc. I, of Shadwell's play.¹⁶ Theodosia enters from having confessed her love to Doubty and finds Isabella, her cousin and Hartford's sister, on the stage. Bellfort, her lover, has just left her. The two then compare notes upon their happiness. While each is praising the perfections of her lover, Theodosia's parents and her brother—Isabella's hated suitor—enter. They mistake the purport of the conversation and are confirmed in their mistake by the young women who discover them.¹⁷ A hint for the tone of the dialogue between Biddy and Humphry may be found in the scenes between Sir Timothy, Theodosia's brother, and Isabella. He is very anxious to marry her—unlike Humphry—but she despises him and treats him with great harshness when they are alone. In company, however, she simulates great affection for him. This same thing is done by Biddy with this difference—Humphry aids in her deception.

Sir Edward Hartford, the father of Young Hartford, and Sir Harry Gubbin, the father of Humphry, bear a certain likeness to each other. They are of the same general type—country gentlemen who are proud of that station. Another of Shadwell's characters to whom Sir Harry owes more than to Sir Edward will be discussed below.

This is Sir William Belfond in *The Squire of Alsatia*, "a Gentleman of above 3000 l. per Annum, who in his Youth had been a Spark of the Town, but married and retired into the Country; where he turned to the other Extream, rigid and morose, most sordidly covetous, clownish, obstinate, positive and forward."¹⁸ That Sir Harry's characteristics correspond

¹⁵ *The Lancashire Witches*, Act III, Sc. 1 (p. 266).

¹⁶ Pp. 292-93.

¹⁷ Cf. Sheridan, *The Rivals*, Act III, Sc. 3.

¹⁸ *The Squire of Alsatia*, *Dramatis personae*. Vol. IV. The Works of Thomas Shadwell.

with Sir William's can be seen after reading Act I, Sc. 2, of *The Tender Husband*.

The actions of Humphrey Gubbin while in London are similar to those of Belfond Senior, Sir William's elder son, but in a modified form. Belfond is thus described by Shadwell, "eldest Son to Sir William; bred after his Father's rustick, swinish manner, with great Rigour and Severity; upon whom his Father's Estate is entailed; the Confidence of which makes him break out into open Rebellion to his Father, and become leud, abominably vicious and obstinate."¹⁹

Belfond Senior is in London without his father's knowledge, the latter having come to London, also, for the purpose of negotiating the marriage of his son with the niece of Scrapeall,²⁰ a usurer—the same errand as Sir Harry Gubbin's.²¹ The young Belfond, who has been always under the very close surveillance of his father, has fallen into the hands of some residents of Whitefriars, or Alsatia, who set to work to make way with as much of their victim's money as possible.

Belfond and Humphrey have had virtually the same sort of education. Sir William says of his son, "I have a Son whom by my Strictness I have formed according to my Heart: He never puts on his Hat in my Presence; rises at second Course, takes away his Plate, says Grace, and saves me the charge of a Chaplain. Whenever he committed a Fault, I maul'd him with Correction; I'd fain see him once dare to be extravagant!"²² Sir Harry says of his son's education, "I never suffered him to have anything he liked in his life. . . . He has been trained up from his childhood under such a plant as this in my hand—I have taken pains in his education." "It has been the custom of the Gubbins to preserve severity and discipline in their families." "He has been bred up to respect and silence before his parents." "Observe his make, none of your lath-backed, wishy-washy breed."²³

¹⁹ *Dramatis personae*.

²⁰ Compare Scrapeall and Steele's Mr. Tipkin, Biddy's uncle.

²¹ It is worth noting that neither Belfond or Humphrey has seen his prospective wife before the play's opening. The former, indeed, is ignorant of his father's intentions.

²² *The Squire of Alsatia*. Act I, Sc. 1, (p. 28).

²³ *The Tender Husband*. Act I, Sc. 2.

Among other disreputable characters Belfond meets Cheatly, "a leud, impudent, debauch'd fellow," who plans to marry him to Mrs. Termagant, the cast-off mistress of Belfond's younger brother.²⁴ This is for the purpose of more easily gulling Belfond Senior, of revenging the woman, and also of providing for her. She is a vindictive individual, who, to secure the elder Belfond, plays the part of "a Town Lady of Quality."

In Act V, Sc. 2, this plot which has been going forward smoothly falls through. A company, including a parson, is gathered at Mrs. Termagant's lodgings to witness the marriage. But Belfond Junior and a posse break in, arrest the party on various charges, and lay bare the villainy of the entire assembly just in time to prevent the performing of the ceremony. At the end of the play—the next scene—the repentant Belfond admits his past folly, asks his father's pardon and has a settlement made upon him by his parents, who has modified his ideas of education of children to a considerable extent.

In Act I, Sc. 2, of *The Tender Husband*, immediately after Sir Harry Gubbin and Tipkin have left the stage "to take a whet" and to conclude the arrangements for the marriage, Pounce enters with his sister, Mrs. Fainlove, disguised as a man. Pounce is Sir Harry's attorney and Mrs. Fainlove is the mistress of Clerimont Senior, "the tender husband." The lawyer and Humphry fall into conversation in the course of which the younger Gubbin makes apparent his hate for, and fear of, his father. Pounce advises him to rebel against the parental authority since the estate is entailed. It may be remarked in passing that Pounce is a rather pleasing Cheatly; he uses, in addition, the same reasoning in regard to the entailed estate as does Shamwell in Act I, Sc. 1, of *Shadwell's* play. Pounce offers to introduce Humphry to a woman of prodigious fortune, a sister to the disguised Fainlove, by whom he means no other than her. The attorney gives

²⁴ Belfond Junior, who has been reared by his uncle, Sir Edward Belfond, is almost an exact opposite to his brother, judged by the standard of *Shadwell's* time, although their relationship is somewhat apparent to the present-day reader.

Humphry a purse for his present needs. This should be compared with Scrapeall's lending money to Belfond Senior.

Humphrey is introduced to Mrs. Clerimont, a fine lady, with whom the disguised Mrs. Fainlove pretends to be in love, and exhibits himself in various ways. His love-making with the attorney's sister is not shown. In the last scene of the play he and his newly-married wife come on the stage to sue for the forgiveness of Sir Harry. After a stormy scene this is granted and the play ends without Humphry's learning of his wife's having been Clerimont's mistress. Pounce, the equivalent of the many sharpers who prey on Belfond, is punished in no way.

It should be pointed out that both Mrs. Termagant and Mrs. Fainlove appear on the stage in male habits and succeed in passing themselves off as men. Furthermore, the germ, but nothing more, of Act II, Sc. 1, of *The Tender Husband* may be found in *The Squire of Alsatia*, Act III, Sc. 1, (pp. 97-98). These scenes introduce the books which Biddy has been reading—romances—and the sort of literature which the two heroines of the latter play indulge in when the opportunity offers—poetry and romances. Ruth, Shadwell's female gaoler, "a precise Governess," corresponds to a certain extent to Mrs. Tipkin, Biddy's aunt. Their criticisms of the favored kind of reading matter are very much alike.

Scrapeall's appearance in the last scene of *The Squire of Alsatia* is the source of Tipkin's quarrel with Sir Harry in the corresponding scene of Steele's play. The idea of the latter scene, however, is all that comes from Shadwell, as Steele has developed a very amusing dispute between Tipkin and Sir Harry over the settlements.

In the preceding discussion I have attempted to show that Steele for his comedy drew upon two of Shadwell's for characters, situations, and incidents. He has cut down the old plays, and reduced them into a compact and clean comedy; the resemblances to the sources remain, however, and are too obvious, it seems to me, to do anything else than to lead the reader to the conclusion which I have drawn—that of Steele's indebtedness to Shadwell.

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BASTIER, PAUL: LA NOUVELLE INDIVIDUALISTE EN ALLEMAGNE. De Goethe à Gottfried Keller. Essai de Technique Psychologique. Paris 1910. 452 pp. 8°.

The importance of this book resides in the fact that it is the first serious attempt on the part of a foreigner to describe and define the German *Novelle* as a distinct art-form.

The German *Novelle*, it may be well to state parenthetically, differs in principle from the novel (*Roman*) not only in length (in fact some *Novellen* are as long as short novels), but in its most essential nature. Nor is it like the American short-story, in which, through the influence of Poe, great stress is laid upon mere brevity. In the *Novelle*, the compactness derives from the peculiar angle from which the character or the situation is visualized. Some of the richest minds and greatest literary artists of Germany have expressed their interpretation of the world through their *Novellen*, and have created works of narrative art of the highest order. Of all this foreign criticism has so far been unaware.

Bastier's book is divided into three parts: I. "Étude objective de la Nouvelle." II. "Le Nouvelliste." III. "Conclusions." Of these, the first is the most valuable. Throughout the book the author aims to prove that the *Novelle* as a distinct type was established before the middle of the nineteenth century, i. e. before the advent of the great modern *Novellisten*, Heyse, Storm, Keller, Meyer, etc.

Ch. I, "La Nouvelle et la Littérature Allemande du XIX Siècle," shows that during the period of the Romantic School, the short narrative enjoyed enormous vogue. Hence the immense popularity of the *novellas* of the Italian Renaissance, of the French *nouvelles*, of the "Novelas Exemplares" of Cervantes. Much confusion prevailed and all sorts of prose works masqueraded as "Novellen."

In Ch. II, "La Définition essentielle de la Nouvelle," B., after considering various definitions of the *Novelle* offered by men like Goethe, Tieck, Heyse, Spielhagen, etc., concludes that Goethe, in a conversation with Eckermann in 1827, formulated the essentials. To Goethe a *Novelle* meant "eine sich ereignete, unerhörte Begebenheit" (an extraordinary but real event). From this B.—with what I feel to be rather too great liberality of interpretation—derives—thème unique; unité d'intérêt; singularité et vérité de l'action; aspect historique, périmé de cette action; et enfin sous-entendu: récit de cette action" (p. 41). (Heyse's demand for a turning-point—"Wendepunkt"—for every good *Novelle*, B. rejects as over-

dogmatic). It follows that the length or shortness is a matter of secondary importance. To quote B. (p. 46): "La longueur de la Nouvelle est contingente... Une nouvelle pourra être très longue, sans cesser d'être une, singulière..... Le volume, le nombre de pages n'a pas, pour la Nouvelle, plus d'importance spécifique que pour la peinture la grandeur de la toile."*

The preference for the idiosyncratic, the strange, the out-of-the-way, which lies at the root of the *Novelle*, was bound to attract the members of the Romantic School. Yet very few of their tales are true *Novellen* or may claim great importance. This B. lays to their love of mere mystification, and, as he brings out elsewhere, to their lack of artistic self-discipline. Students of German literature must regret that these tales (by Tieck, Fouqué, Hoffman, etc.) are the only ones which—mainly through the work of Carlyle—have been introduced to English readers.

The German *Novelle*, B. next shows, modified the original Renaissance type to a greater extent than has been the case in France or in Spain (p. 71).

*There is here more than a technical difference between the German *Novelle* and the short-story according to Poe. To Poe the short-story is essentially the vehicle for conveying a mood. He is, therefore, justified in demanding brevity in order that the mood of the reader be maintained unbroken. The German insists that the problem be viewed from a special visual angle, and demands concentration, but not necessarily brevity. The danger to which brevity may lead by impoverishing the content of the short-story appears from a remark by Professor Bliss Perry quoted with evident approval by Prof. Brander Matthews in his "The Short-Story. Specimens Illustrating its Development" p. 37: "Dealing only with a fleeting phase of existence, employing only a brief moment of time, the writer of the short-story 'need not be consistent; he need not think things through.' Herein we see where the short-story falls below the level of the larger novel. . . ." Moreover Professor Palmer Cobb's conclusions found in his essay "Edgar Allen Poe and Friedrich Spielhagen. Their Theory of the Short-Story" (Mod. Lang. Notes XXV, pp. 67ff.) are extremely misleading. He implies that Poe's theories as interpreted by Spielhagen (in books which appeared as late as 1883 and 1898) determined the nature of the German *Novelle*, and that Spielhagen became "the intermediary between Poe and those 'masters of the short-story' in Germany to whom Prof. Matthews refers" (p. 71). The only "masters" whom Prof. Matthews mentions by name are Auerbach ("Black Forest Tales") and Gustav Freytag ("the more sentimental tales") (see p. 399). The former are ranked low by German critics, and hardly pretend to be short-stories of the Poe type. And Freytag seems to have succeeded with infinite cunning in hiding his "sentimental tales." At least they are not to be found in his collected works nor, as far as I know, anywhere else. Moreover, it is to be noted, the German *Novelle*, as Bastier conclusively shows, was formulated before the advent of Poe. Kleist, the first powerful *Novellist*, died in 1811; Goethe's "Novelle" appeared in 1826; Droste-Hüllshoff published her "Judenbuche" in 1842, the very year in which Poe wrote his famous essay. Secondly, as we see above, the German *Novelle* is built on essentially different principles from Poe's.

In Ch. III, "Le sujet de la Nouvelle," the author, in order to prove how great a range of subjects the *Novelle* covered even before the middle of the century, discusses in detail and with fine literary sense ten genuine *Novellen* all written during this period: Goethe's "Prokurator," Kleist's "Marquise von O," and "Erdbeben," all akin, with variations, to the type of the Italian Renaissance novella; Goethe's "Novelle," which more than almost any other single work, symbolizes the author's whole philosophy of life; Droste-Hülshoff's "Judenbuche," in which for the first time is introduced a careful study of environment as a determining factor in character; Stifter's "Brigitta" and "Bergkristall" in which landscape plays an unprecedented part in the development of the story; Grillparzer's "Der arme Spielmann" and Mörike's "Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag," in both of which the striking element lies not in the events, but in the character of the heroes; and Ludwig's "Zwischen Himmel und Erde," which in length and complexity of problem far outstrips its predecessors.

This selection is on the whole very happy. These *Novellen* exhibit great range of subjects, variations of length, and, what is more important, a gradual shifting of interest from external action to psychological development, and are all obedient to those principles which, as Bastier has shown, are basic for the German *Novelle*.

In Ch. IV, "L'action de la Nouvelle," B. introduces a detailed comparison between Goethe's "Prokurator" and its source "Le sage Nicaise ou l'Amant vertueux," the last of the "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles." In opposition to other commentators, including the meticulous Düntzer, B. makes evident that Goethe, so far from contenting himself with a mere translation of his source, gives to the old tale by means of little touches and changes in almost every line, concentration and psychological motivation. Thus these two modern elements were introduced into the German *Novelle* as early as 1795 by its first powerful representative.

Ch. V, "Les Caractères et la Caractéristique dans la Nouvelle," insists that the *Novelle*, more than any other form of literary art, demands elimination and concentration. This demand necessitates technical short-cuts which neither the *Roman* (novel) nor the *Erzählung* (tale) requires. Some of these are: characteristic words ("mots-racines du caractère" p. 235), characteristic acts ("actes racines" p. 238), gestures (p. 239), and—he might have added—what the Germans call "stumme Rede" (significant silences), all tending to throw a strong lime-light on the center of the problem. More instances derived from the *Novellen* discussed in Chapter III

would have been helpful to the reader. B. emphasizes that the *Novelle* has only apparent similarity with the novel (*Roman*), whereas in structure it is intimately allied to the drama. For, while the object of the *Roman* is to show the character slowly developing as the result of the actions, both the drama and the *Novelle* show the reaction of the finished character upon stimuli from without. B. makes a very fine differentiation between the nature of the action called forth in the drama and that called forth in the *Novelle*. In the former, the hero responds with an habitual, characteristic act. (We need but think of "Macbeth," "Wallenstein," "Enemy of the People," etc.). In the *Novelle*, the unheard-of event takes the hero by surprise, and in the "sauve-qui-peut" (as B. aptly calls it) the response comes from some hitherto dormant trait ("Kohlhaas," "Schimmelreiter," "L' Arrabbiata," etc.). The only point of criticism on this suggestive passage would be that B. rather dogmatically attributes this characteristic to all German *Novellen*, while it is true essentially only of what we may call "dramatic" *Novellen*.

Ch. VI, "L'Idée dans la Nouvelle," and ch. VII, "La conception de la Nouvelle," though containing some interesting details, seem to me to offer little of striking importance.

In Ch. VIII, "La Composition de la Nouvelle," B. discusses with care the manner in which the concentration necessary to the *Novelle* is brought about. Significant instances of this concentration by means of elimination are to be found in Droste-Hülshoff's "Die Judenbuche" and Grillparzer's "Der arme Spielmann." As a lyricist, Droste-Hülshoff ranks among the most felicitous nature-poets. In her *Novelle* she omits all nature-painting not absolutely german to the action, and Grillparzer, in his "Arme Spielmann" makes but sparing use of that wealth of phrasing which lends glow to his dramas (pp. 382f.).

In Ch. IX, "L'Effet dans la Nouvelle," the author brings out that distinction between the *Novelle* and the *Roman* which resides in the fact that in the former the problem is carefully isolated, although thrown into relief against a larger background. However, B. seems to me to lay exaggerated emphasis upon the value of the unity of time and place for this purpose (p. 386).

Ch. X, "Conte et Nouvelle," contrasts the *Novelle* with the *Erzählung* (tale). The latter, though it may be admirable in its way, need not show the concentration of plot which marks the *Novelle*, or may be more loosely constructed, or may be merely a sketch. Instances of looseness are furnished by many of the "Romanticists," and exaggerated brevity, which gives us the skeleton of a *Novelle* rather than a finished work of

art, are found among the stories of the "Young Germans," for instance Laube, Gutzkow, etc.

Ch. XI, "La Valeur Ethnique de la Nouvelle Individualiste," sums up many of the results which B. has attained throughout the book. He once more emphasizes the fact that a good *Novelle*, so far from being merely an abbreviated *Roman*, or an enlarged episode thereof, is a highly specialized art-form, requiring of its author complete maturity of intellect and technique, and a serious conception of life. The most important development which the German *Novelle* shows during the nineteenth century is the gradual deflection of interest from the striking event to the striking personality.

Here B. seems to me to fail to furnish the explanation for the efflorescence and importance of the *Novelle* in Germany towards which his chapter-heading "ethnical" seems to point. The center of every *Novelle* worthy of the name is, as we have seen, a striking situation which calls out idiosyncrasy of character. *The Novelle* must, therefore, of necessity endear itself to a nation as fundamentally idiosyncratic as are the Germans. Moreover, the exuberance of the German character, which is so largely responsible for the richness of German culture, has, when unchecked, at times lead to artistic inadequacy. A striking illustration is furnished by the works of Jean Paul, those formless treasure-troves of fertile intuitions. When checked by severe and definite laws, as in the drama and especially in the *Novelle*, this same exuberance has helped to bring forth works of a very high order. Hence the *Novelle* would appear to be the organic literary expression of a people to whom laws governing the very details of domestic and civic life instinctively appeal as a necessary check to inherent exuberance, and ineradicable individualism.

This book, in spite of a certain lack of skill in arrangement, and on occasional tendency to dogmatize, is to be welcomed as giving valuable insight into the character and formation of the German *Novelle*. A historical treatment of the subject, dealing with all its important exponents, from Goethe to Schnitzler would help to call attention to the value of the German *Novelle* as a vital contribution to modern literature, and one with which English criticism has as yet dealt but scantily.

Following are a few details which suggest themselves in connection with points raised by the author. Pp. 15ff. The confusion between *Novelle* and *Roman* was encouraged, in my opinion, by the appearance of the German translations of Scott's "Waverly Novels." These were often called "Waverly Novellen." (See for instance Köpke, "Tieck," II, p. 44).

P. 17. An additional proof of the immense popularity of the *Novelle* in Germany before 1850 is furnished by a little publication entitled "Novellenkranz," Paris 1840, the purpose of which was to introduce Frenchmen to the spirit of German Literature.

P. 18. It would have been worth while to give a more detailed list of translations from the Italian, Spanish, and French tales, to show the close affinity between the early German *Novellen* and their models. As early as 1823, in other words more than ten years before Bülow, Rumohr put out his volume "Italienische Novellen von historischem Interesse." Furthermore, the Decamerone was used to an extraordinary extent at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. Miss F. N. Jones's pamphlet, "Boccaccio and his Imitators in German, English, French, Spanish, and Italian Literature. The Decameron." Chicago, 1910 and J. B. E. Jonas's review of it in "The Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Phil." Vol. X, pp. 105ff, would have furnished excellent material.

P. 35 (also pp. 313, 314). In commenting on the didactic element of the *Novelle*, a brief history of its development in the course of the centuries would have been helpful. In the Middle Ages, the short tale often pretended to a moralizing content. The same tendency appears all through the Renaissance; so for instance, Decamerone I, 5; X, 8, etc.; Sacchetti, Cervantes, etc.). In the eighteenth century, in consequence of the rise of the middle-class literature, which was to contribute not merely to amusement but to moral uplift, this didactic tendency became a passion. Instances are: Defoe's preface to "Moll Flanders," Lillo's "London Merchant," Richardson's novels: the "Moralische Wochenschriften," Gellert's works; Alfieri's insistence on "the literary tribunes forming the conscience of the nations" are cases in point. In France appeared "Poèmes moraux," "Discours moraux," "Bagatelles morales," etc., etc. In fields outside of literature the same trend comes to the surface, as appears from Hogarth's pictures, and, last but not least, from an utterance in Jonathan Richardson, the painter and art-critic's essay "On the Whole Art of Criticism in Relation to Painting" (1719). Here the author declares that he would not hesitate to pronounce a picture excellent, though faulty in drawing, if it filled the mind with noble and instructive ideas. In this atmosphere a "moral" element in the tale was bound to become prominent. Hence the immense sway of "moral" stories, the most famous of which are, of course, the "Contes moraux" of Marmontel. The German *Novelle* inherited this proclivity. In Goethe's "Unterhaltungen," in Brentano's

"Kasperl und Annerl" it remains unobstructive. In Kleist, who published his first *Novellen* as "moralische Erzählungen," it is not much more than a convention. Keller's exceedingly felicitous use of it shows us how the German *Novelle*, in the course of its evolution, managed to turn into an organic element what had so often been a pedantic accessory.

P. 41. Although I agree with B. in regarding Goethe's definition as on the whole the most satisfactory, I feel that care should be exercised in accepting it without criticism. After all, Goethe, like other critics of his day, bases his definition on the type of "novellas" found in the Italian Renaissance, especially in Boccaccio. A. W. Schlegel, for instance, expresses the idea of "unerhörte Begebenheit" in virtually the same terms. "In der Novelle musz etwas geschehen. Ein dreister energischer Charakter der Sitten ist ihr daher vorteilhaft, und es laesst sich mehr als bezweifeln, ob es in Zeiten, wo das Leben sich in lauter Kleinlichkeiten zerbroeckelt. . . . moeglich sein duerfte, eine solche Masse von Novellen aufzubringen, die in unsern Sitten gegrundet and der Denkart des Zeitalters angemessen waeren, als die unter den Boccazischen sind, welche einen historischen Grund haben und das damalige Zeitalter schildern." (Vorlesungen ueber schoene Litteratur und Kunst, 1803-4, Seufferts Litteraturdenkmale, Bd. 19, p. 245). B. furthermore, to my sense, underrated the contribution of Heyse, who by insisting on a firm technique ("scharfe Silhouette") has done much for the formal perfection of the German *Novelle*. On the other hand B. is right in rejecting Heyse's "Wendepunkt" as non-essential. Heyse, like everybody else—including Goethe and Hebbel—spoke pro domo.

P. 263. In connection with the discussion on the affinity between drama and *Novelle* it may not be amiss to recall that Tieck divided one of his *Novellen*—"Die Vogelscheuche"—into acts and scenes, and in the "Prolog" apologizes for not prefixing a "dramatis personae," "da diese Novelle zugleich ein Dramaist." Yet the difference in principle between this purely mechanical superimposition of the dramatic form upon a tale which is essentially undramatic, and the inherent dramatic quality of Kleist's closely-knit *Novellen*, like "Die Marquise von O," is obvious.

P. 414. In treating the difference between the *Novelle* and the tale on the one hand and the mere sketch on the other, B. might well have contrasted Laube's "Die Novelle," conspicuous for flimsiness and superficiality, with Goethe's "Novelle," distinguished for carefulness of workmanship and for "sens profond," and might have pointed out that in the "Deutsche Rundschau," for January, 1907, a great modern German narrator, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, in an article

entitled "Novellenstoffe" in delightful fashion illumines the difference between the raw material for a *Novelle* and the finished product.

Inasmuch as B. subconsciously conceives the *Novelle* in terms of the "dramatic" *Novelle*, it seems strange that he nowhere mentions the dissertation by H. Becker "Kleist and Hebbel. A comparative Study" Chicago, 1904, which in the discussion of the technique of that type of *Novelle* anticipates many of B.'s results.

A misleading typographical error occurs in note 2, p. 65. The passage from the "Farbenlehre" is to be found in "Abteilung" 2.

The usefulness of this book would have been greatly increased by an index.

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LUISE ZURLINDEN: GEDANKEN PLATONS IN DER DEUTSCHEN ROMANTIK. Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literatur-Geschichte, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Oskar F. Walzel. Neue Folge. VIII. Heft, pp. VIII + 292. H. Haessel Verlag in Leipzig. 1910.

Fräulein Zurlinden has undertaken a most interesting study, the influence direct or indirect of Plato upon the Romantic movement in Germany, and it comes out at a peculiarly apposite moment when three of the leading classical philologists of Germany and Russia, Crusius, Immisch and Zielinski have just announced a significant series of studies in the same general field, entitled "*Das Erbe der Alten*." From the viewpoint of *Kulturgeschichte* her essay would have had more significance had she been able to trace the channels through which Plato affected Romanticists, for it is only in a limited degree, of course, that any but a select few (such as Schleiermacher and the Schlegels particularly) could have come in direct contact with him through first hand knowledge of his own works. This she makes no attempt to do (cf. Vorw. p. VI) and we can hardly take it amiss, for such a study would indeed have involved a sketch of the whole intellectual development of Europe since the Renaissance.

Interesting as is the subject, it is even more elusive and difficult. It would be hard to find terms which more successfully defy scientific definition than just "Romanticism" and "Platonism." Almost anything may be postulated of Romanticism and be substantiated in some measure at least out of its manifold ramifications, and the same is to an even higher degree true to Platonism. The case is simpler if we restrict

ourselves (as Fräulein Zurlinden has done in *fact*, though not in *title*) to the "Romantic School," meaning thereby the group which gathered about the Schlegels, Tieck and Novalis (including the Heidelberg branch in a lesser degree), and it is to that alone that reference is henceforth made in this review; but even the limitation "*Gedanken Platons*" does not help in the second ambiguity. For Plato's has been ever amighty name to conjure with, and the principal source of the universality of his appeal lies in this that he is many men in one. Quite as wonderful as the quality of any one of his gifts is the diversity of them: he is himself the best example of "the One in the Many," or varying the figure, Plato is not so much *a* philosopher, as a veritable Platonic Idea of Philosophy itself. Artist and moralist, statesman and mystic, logician and prophet, representatives of the most diverse tendencies can find some nook in Plato's brain to nestle in and think from thence to use Emerson's quaint phrase. And it was so from the first. Pupils of Plato could be found, in the stormy half-century ushered in by Philip of Macedon, on any and all sides (and not always the most creditable) of every social or revolutionary activity. The same diversity of emphasis obtained likewise in the quieter precincts of the Academy itself. The scientific and the mystic spirit were ever at variance, now one in triumph with Karneades, now the other with Plotinos. And so in the progress of human thought logician and Sufi, Benthamite and transcendentalist, communist and aristocratic have discovered each his own solution of the world-riddle in the universality of Plato's thought. "There are few, if any, ancient authors" says Mill (and he might have added modern as well), "concerning whose mind and purpose so many demonstrably false opinions are current, as concerning Plato."

In this very difficult field then Fräulein Zurlinden has, granting the limitations she has herself set, done a creditable piece of work. Beginning with Fr. Schlegel she passes on to Schleiermacher and Novalis and concludes with Bettina. The last named has evidently the largest share in her sympathy, as indeed in her preface she admits that it was from loving study of Bettina she was led back to Schleiermacher and from him to Schlegel. Novalis is included doubtless as the most refined and spiritual of the whole circle, the only one who, all the "Romanticists" agreed, was in possession of Religion, however much they disputed at times one another's claims to it. After a brief but on the whole satisfactory sketch of Plato's theories of education, art, social ethics and politics, and philosophic religion, Friedrich Schlegel's works are considered from the same points of view and in the same order.

Not a few similarities are pointed out. Though we may dissent from so vigorous a metaphor as "Platon hatte die verwandte Saite in Fr. Schlegel geweckt, und so klingt Platon wie die Dominante aus dem Grundakkord seiner Arbeiten" (p. 17), and hesitate to accept Schlegel's own estimate of his work: "Die Romane sind die Sokratischen Dialoge unserer Zeit"—imagine *Lucinde* serving as a "Socratic dialogue"! We can conceive Plato's disgust at the "sittliche Bildung" of *Lucinde*, where a woman is considered "sittlich," "wenn sie die Sinne achtet und ehrt, die Natur, sich selbst und die Männlichkeit," or Schlegel's prerequisite of all morality "sein Herz höher zu ehren als seine Begriffe." And I for one can see no similarity between Schlegel's "beschränktem Ehekommunismus, wenigstens eine Ehe à quatre," and the firmly regulated pairings of the best fit which Plato demanded. Such instances as these might be multiplied easily, though it should not be inferred that Fräulein Zurlinden has overlooked all or even many differences; particularly well does she notice that Schlegel's *Freiheit* takes the place of Plato's *Gerechtigkeit*, though perhaps more might have been made of this fundamental divergence. The chapter on Schleiermacher, who, as his Platonic studies, and particularly his masterly translation would show, was permeated thoroughly with the mystical element of Platonism, is instructive, although now and then in the thin air of these metaphysical abstractions one has an uncomfortable feeling that the transcendental ego, beauty, good, etc. dissolve into one another, and words cease to have scientific, and take on emotional values. The ten commandments for marriage of which much is made, would doubtless have made entertaining, but quite as certainly surprising reading for Plato. Interesting is the comparison of Schleiermacher's *Eheversuch* with Plato's speculations, though one may doubt if Plato regarded his proposal as not an Endzweck, but only a "Mittel zur Herbeiführung besserer Zustände" (p. 117). Particularly good are the paragraphs entitled: "Platon's Philosophisch-religiöses" p. 119ff., with the illuminating observation: "Platons philosophische Liebe ist Schleiermacher's Religion," which is really the kernel of the whole matter.

The youthful favorites of Novalis were Plato and Hemsterhuis, and Fräulein Zurlinden has drawn many close parallels here, especially calling to mind what one does not generally think of first about Novalis, i. e. his political fragments (p. 203 ff.). The differences that here abound are perhaps mainly those of temperament and physique. It were difficult to imagine the sturdy Aristokles, nicknamed "Platon" by his gymnastic trainer for breadth of shoulders and physical vigor,

ever experiencing Novalis' fantastic adoration and despair for *Sophie*, so soon followed by his contentment with *Julie* as her reincarnation, and so Plato's eighty years of tireless and varied activity crowned with perfected labors contrast sharply with the frailty and incompleteness of Novalis' less than three decades, as indeed Fräulein Zurlinden expresses it herself gracefully: "Novalis Denken und Dichten neben Platons gigantischer Lebensarbeit verhalten sich zu einander wie Sehnsucht und Erfüllung." As frequently throughout the study the writer's enthusiasm would see likeness in details where none exists, there is also a tendency to emphasize similarities, which though true, are too general to show specific Platonic origin, as for example: "Platon und Novalis dürsten nach Verbindung der Seele mit Gott durch die Liebe"—a characteristic of any highly developed religion and not a peculiarly Platonic doctrine.

The last chapter, that on Bettina, is written with the greatest enthusiasm, and is a charming essay. Really striking skill is shown in marshalling the points of contact between this most non-hellenic figure and the great self-controlled philosopher. Direct influence to any great degree is out of the question here: Schleiermacher was the channel which led her to Plato (p. 229)—though in her youth she had been forced to read Hemsterhuis to her grandmother—and as she even refused to read Schleiermacher's own works, preferring merely the inspiration of personal contact, much exact knowledge of what Plato actually wrote was necessarily denied her. And again Bettina's yearning for vivacity that left her still a coquette at 60 years of age, for "Ursprünglichkeit" which led her, so soon as she heard of Sokrates, to long for a "*Daimon*," in her own bosom with which she also could converse (of course she heard it finally!), are traits of character as unplatonic as one could imagine. Yet it were ungenerous to dwell overmuch here on points of opposition and so spoil the effect of the spirited and well-written chapter which succeeds to the full in proving that with all her vivacity there was much more of a really serious purport about Bettina's life and work, especially her late political essay, than one had been accustomed to think from Brandes or Ricarda Huch.

And yet it is not enough in the well-proportioned study of the influence that a single genius has exerted upon a school of thought to select merely points of contact as is here done. Fräulein Zurlinden has written a very sizeable book to show that Plato did influence certain Romanticists in certain ways; quite as large a treatise might be written to evidence the striking disaccord between Plato and the general course of Romantic thought and life.

It would surely be difficult to extract much that was "Platonic" from Tieck—perhaps, all things considered, the most typical Romanticist—or Hofmann, Hölderlin, Clemens Brentano, Görres, or many another. In fact the surprising thing is not that these and other Romanticists were little influenced by Plato—for no European lives or ever can live totally unaffected by him, but rather that a few figures in this school of thought were consciously impressed by some of his ideas. For it should not remain unsaid that in many an important point Plato's philosophy and Plato's life were not *akin* to the ideals of the "Romantic School." To touch only a few of the most salient features: In the field of Ethics the dominance of instinct and the consequent admiration of man in the state of nature, the half-fanatical exaltation of love, the revelling in the refined pleasures of *sensibilité*, the passivity towards life as though it were a stringed instrument to be played upon by the hands of fate, disintegration of personality and partial justification of the same (i. e. duality of genius, "*Doppelgängerei*," "*Somnambulismus*," "*Magnetismus*," etc.), praise of the morbid (as that Jean Paul was greater than the stars because "*krankhafter*"), the avowed purpose of welding the emotions and the intellect, the insistence upon "*das Sinnliche*," a character "*faul und stolz auf seine Faulheit*" (Ricarda Huch)—these are all traits as alien as possible to the historical Plato, who all his life long maintained the paradox of the identity of virtue and knowledge, or perhaps rather that right conduct is but the immediate consequence of knowledge for the sound will. For Plato to listen to one's "*Trieb*"—the many-headed monster in man's belly (to use the vigorous figure of the Republic)—were to destroy the very possibility of ethics. And it was Plato who condemned the drama and even poetry in general because it "*relaxes the emotional fibre*," whose ideal was "*a quietness of soul bordering on rigidity*," for whom the chief virtues were justice, whose perfect realization demanded the complete reorganization of society, and *σωφροσύνη*, self discipline, "*a proud and dignified reserve*," *not* "*love*" and "*spontaneity*." Shorey has happily expressed the kernel of Plato's ethics as they are outlined on the broad canvass of the Republic, his greatest work: "*The dominance of the higher reason over undisciplined emotion and controlled appetite is the sole effective condition at once of the unity, harmony and health of spiritual life which is happiness, and of the unswerving fulfillment of obligation, which is the external manifestation of justice and virtue.*"

The anthropology of the Romantic School fares no better. Its constant assertion of the generic differences between men and women, the creative and the receptive, the

intellectual and the emotional, the rational and the intuitional, its consequent attempt to suffuse reason with emotion, its ideal of "sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit," "die Weiblichkeit soll wie die Männlichkeit zur höheren Menschlichkeit gereinigt werden," the false perspective into which the relation of the sexes was thus thrown, with the desperate absurdities to which romantic love led,—of all this it is hard to find any real traces in Plato. Surely the demand of the Republic that women share with men all social functions, even war, does not mean that men and women were to be fused into some higher "humankind." Woman is for Plato the "weaker," or the "lesser man"; "many women surpass many men in many ways" he says distinctly; whatever difference there be is one not of kind but of degree.¹ This common sense view should be borne in mind when talking of Plato's doctrine of *love*. We must here deal with a word which defies scientific definition, and any one who is accustomed to its transcendental connotations is proof against the reasonings of mere philology. Nevertheless the great mass of the openminded will, I believe, be willing to grant that, though Plato and St. Paul wrote much of love, they meant thereby something really very different not only from each other's conceptions, but also from the emotions glorified in *Lucinde*, or *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. "Platonic love" (if one may use the perilous phrase) was scarcely inspired by womankind at all, but rather by beautiful boys. Plato exalted it not as a "Naturtrieb," but for the purpose of encouraging and communicating virtue, and it was withal so soon transcendentized into a mystical love of the abstract ideas of the universal good and beautiful, and so involved in the search for philosophical truth, that it is manifestly an emotion which only the rarest spirits at the rarest moments could attain or even understand. Jewett pertinently observes: "The union of the greatest comprehension of knowledge and the burning intensity of love is a contradiction in nature, which may have existed in a far-off primeval age in the mind of some Hebrew prophet or other Eastern sage, but has now become an imagination only. There may be some few—perhaps one or two in a whole generation—in whom the light of truth may not lack the warmth of desire. And if there be such natures, no one will be disposed to deny that 'from them flow most of the benefits of individuals and states.'"

Hand in hand with romantic love goes the romantic nature-fallacy, that naïve delight at "discovering" in Nature the

¹ An excellent collection of the passages bearing on woman in Plato may be found in the Dissertation of Pantazides: Plato's philosophy of womankind (Modern Greek), Freiburg i. B. 1901.

very mood which you have just foisted upon her, of which it need hardly be said, there exists not the slightest trace in Plato, or for that matter in any of the sober-minded ancients.

Or again the whole philosophic attitude of Plato is utterly alien to that of the "Romantic School." No one can follow his brilliant dialectical achievements, his subtle discriminations, his insistence upon exactness of concept and expression, his demand that the Kosmos be subjected to a rational interpretation, without feeling that his life work, as well as that of his master and of his greatest pupil was to clarify, discriminate and order. An occasional overbelief may admit of statement for the time being only in myth or paradox, but Plato is never content to leave it thus. The noblest of such, the identity of virtue and happiness, he will not merely enunciate as in the *Gorgias*, with a wealth of emotional rhetoric, but he will support it with rational, if not entirely dispassionate arguments, throughout the whole course of the *Republic*: and the immortality of the soul is not merely posited in the myths, but debated pro and contra with the sharpest weapons of a conscientious dialectic in the *Phaedo*. Contrast with this the *Weltanschauung* of Romanticism, its basis in Fichte's subjective "Ich-Philosophie," as against Plato's well-nigh passionate insistence upon the objective reality of his general ideas, its exaltation of the occult and the obscure, that soon sent it running after the strange gods of pseudoscience, *Magnetismus*, *Rhabdomantie*, *Symphismus*, *Physiognomik*, *Cranioskopie*, *Symbolik*, *Astrologie*, etc. One cannot but feel that Plato, had he then lived, would have lamented as did the aging Goethe that he had been compelled to see the world "vermodern und in ihre Elemente zurückkehren," that he had sought "als Plastiker sich Natur und Welt klar zu machen, nun machte jene (the Romanticists) wieder einen Dunst darüber."

Or in character: The Romantic School produced no whole, four-square men, no single complete artistic achievement. All was partial, full of yearning, dreams unrealized. Their lives as their works were willful, inharmonious, incomplete; they strove beyond their powers, and in attempting all perfected nothing. How different the calm and dignified harmony of Plato and of the master he idealized, the seriousness, the self-control, and withal perfect success in the one chosen life-task. It is a fact not without significance that Sokrates had been tempted all his life long to write poetry, but had refrained, and that Plato threw into the fire a complete drama when first he came under the master's influence. If only the Romanticists had more often done the same!

And so though we owe a permanent debt of gratitude to the Romantic movement for recovering "wonder," that "great specific against aridity of heart and woodenness of intellect," we must guard against identifying its activity as a whole too closely with the philosophical system of Plato.

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VOLKMANN, O. F.: Wilhelm Busch der Poet. Seine Motive und seine Quellen. Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literatur-Geschichte, herausgegeben von O. F. Walzel. Neue Folge. V. Heft. Leipzig, Haessel, 1910. 8°, 85ss.

WINTHER, FRITZ: Wilhelm Busch als Dichter, Künstler, Psychologe und Philosoph. University of California Publications in Modern Philology. Vol. 2, No. 1. Berkeley, 1910. 8°, 79ss.

Diese zwei Abhandlungen beweisen, dass Wilhelm Busch, der bisher für die Meisten, wie Volkmann sich nicht gerade ganz glücklich ausgedrückt, immer noch als "ulkiges Literaturkaninchen" gilt (S. 1), endlich anfängt, als echter Künstler anerkannt zu werden. Die Schrift von V. weist nach, dass Busch, weit davon entfernt, neue Motive zu schaffen, sich fast überall an Vorlagen angelehnt hat. Wer seine Werke durchmustert, wird finden, "dass er sich auf Schritt und Tritt in bekanntem Gelände befindet, wenn es auch nicht immer möglich ist, die genauen Quellen anzugeben" (S. 64). Es zeigt sich also einmal wieder, dass die Originalität eines Künstlers fast lediglich in der Behandlung liegt. V. führt ferner aus, dass Busch wegen "seines innigen Verständnisses für alles Kleine und Enge, wie es dörfliche, bauerliche und kleinbürgerliche Verhältnisse mit sich bringen" (S. 8), naturgemäß großes Interesse hatte für Lieder, Sagen, und Märchen aller Art. So kommt es denn, dass alle möglichen längst bekannten Märchenmotive bei ihm auftreten, die er aus Grimm, aus Andersen, und aus anderen Quellen geschöpft hat. S. 34ff.). Ebenso findet sich der Einfluss des Volksliedes wiederholt bei ihm, besonders aber der der Fabel (S. 53ff.). Münchhausen, Lessing, Hagedorn, Aesop, Lafontaine und andere hat er in seiner Weise geplündert. Sehr hübsch verfolgt V., wie Busch des Gegebenen für seine Zwecke umzubiegen weisz, und oft aus etwas Unbedeutendem eine tief-sinnige Humoreske schafft; vgl. z. B. Busch's "Der alte Narr" mit der Fassung bei Pauli "Schimpf und Ernst." (S. 65). Literarische Vorbilder, die Busch vorgeschwebt haben mö-

gen, werden S. 12ff. behandelt. Unter ihnen wären besonders zu nennen: Kortum (S. 16), Reuter (S. 21), die Schwankliteratur, Fastnachtsspiele (S. 25), usw. Selbst Brehms "Tierleben" hat herhalten müssen. Es war ein glücklicher Gedanke, diesen Motiven nachzugehen. Zweifels- ohne liesze sich noch manches auffinden, das V. entgangen ist.

Winther will uns in des groszen Humoristen Denkweise und Arbeitsmethode einführen. Die Untersuchung zerfällt in zwei Teile. In anregender Weise zeigt uns W., wie scharf Busch beobachtet und wie er komponiert (S. 2ff.). Dann wird uns seine Weltanschauung vorgeführt. Als "fröhlichen Pessimisten" müssen wir ihn uns denken. "Die Welt ist schlecht, aber sie ist unendlich komisch." Daher sie ihm als Tragi-Komödie erscheint. (S. 23). Der Mensch aber ist von Haus aus konsequent grausam und egoistisch ("Denn der Mensch als Kreatur, Hat von Rücksicht nicht die Spur" S. 23). Und in diese schlechte und grausame Welt setzt er nun seinen hilflosen Philister (S. 26), der ihr schlechterdings nicht gewachsen ist. Denn kleine und kleinliche Verhältnisse reizen Busch am meisten. Seine Welt ist jenes Deutschland urgemütlicher, urkomischer, unweltläufiger, pedantischer Käutze, das unter dem Anprall moderner Anschauungen und Einrichtungen—ich hätte fast gesagt: leider—mehr und mehr verschwindet. Ein gut Stück Grausamkeit, das an der Qual dieser Seelchen Freude findet, fehlt Busch auch nicht und verleiht vielen seiner Einfälle eine ganz eigentümliche Würze (S. 18).

Statt fortwährend Shakespeare, Molière, Ibsen, Marlowe, Raphael, etc. heranzuziehen, wodurch in die Besprechung ein Element unwiderstehlicher Komik eingeführt wird, hätte W. besser getan, Busch mit Oliver Herford zu vergleichen. Auch dieser verbindet Wort und Bild in glücklichster Weise, und ist dabei doch in mancher Hinsicht der Antipode von Busch. Und wenn denn verglichen werden muszte, so wäre die Nebeneinanderstellung des Philisters beim Spätromantiker Busch und bei Brentano und Eichendorff anregend gewesen. Unserm Busch macht sein Philister doch schliesslich diebischen Spasz. Den Romantikern dagegen ist der Philister verhaszt. Er steht der Verbreitung ihrer neuen genialen Ideen überall im Wege. Daher nennt ihn Brentano "die komische Karikatur-Silhouette des Teufels," und Eichendorff lässt den Kritikus in "Krieg den Philistern" auf die Philister schlagen und rufen: "Wer nicht das Leben faszt, hat auch kein Recht darauf."

Der zweite Teil der Schrift fällt sehr gegen den ersten ab. Die langen Zitate und kurzen Besprechungen führen uns die

Wandlungen in den späteren Werken Buschs nicht mit genügender Klarheit vor.

Hoffentlich erscheint in Bälde eine erschöpfende Charakteristik des Künstlers, die ihm nach jeder Richtung hin gerecht wird. Vielleicht wird sie dann auch die fromme Sage entkräften helfen, die immer noch in England und Amerika umgeht, wonach "the Germans have no humor."

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CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Volume III. Renascence and Reformation. Cambridge, 1909. Volume IV. Prose and Poetry. Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton. Cambridge, 1910. (University Press).

In approaching the consideration of these rather ponderous volumes, at least three methods of treatment present themselves. The most tempting plan, already employed in one or two instances, is to select some half-dozen chapters, which for one reason or another appeal most to the reviewer, and deal with them carefully to the practical exclusion of all others. Another method would center our interest on minutiae, with the purpose of noting inaccuracy or omission of small but important details. This seems as inappropriate as the other is uneven; and, applied to so many diverse chapters, would be too scattering to carry much weight. Preferable to either of these, perhaps, is an attempt to consider the two volumes as composite wholes, or rather as one composite whole, for they are obviously complementary to each other; and to pass judgment upon them along the lines defined by the editors in the brief prefaces printed thus far with the series.

Such consideration will probably touch upon nothing not already anticipated by the able editors themselves, and most of the exceptions taken will no doubt be mere commentaries upon the difficulties involved in a coöperative undertaking of this character. With the appearance of Volume IV, however, the series has reached a point at which it may expect to stand upon its merits and to satisfy the expectations of the critical public. Experience has brought its lessons, various adjustments have been made, and the machinery is presumably in the best working order. Moreover, the literary expression of the aggressive and versatile Elizabethan and Jacobean periods is admirably calculated to test the ultimate possibilities of this approved modern system, foreshadowed even in that early day by the processes of Raphael Holinshed.

As a matter of fact, the most apparent and perhaps the greatest difficulty of this work, itself a refined product of system, lies in the systematizing of it; in the division and coördination of the masses of material, and the unifying of method and impression. The relations between the two volumes before us, for example, are by no means clear. At first glance their division is on the basis of time, Volume IV taking up the story with the appearance of North's *Plutarch* in 1579, a year peculiarly adapted to mark an epoch. In practice, however, most of the chapters in the earlier volume cover the entire reign of Elizabeth, while those of Volume IV concerned with pure literature begin with the new century. On the contrary, the initial chapter of Volume IV, on Translators, scarcely gets into the seventeenth century at all; while those presenting extra-literary matters—seafaring, philosophy, economics, etc.—make no division from the accession of Elizabeth to 1625. All chapters of this sort are in the later volume, and are so many in number as to give it the appearance of a mere collection of addenda to Volume III. This impression is borne out by the less careful arrangement of its literary material.

Within the volumes, problems of coördination conspire with those of division. To the ordinary reader many instances will appear where material may be shifted about with no little profit, even when certain chapters become superfluous in the process. Thus the matter of Vol. III, ch. iii, The Dissolution of the Religious Houses, might well be disposed of in the preceding chapter on Reformation Literature and in ch. xix, English Universities, Schools and Scholarship. By giving Sir Walter Raleigh his place in Vol. III, ch. xv, Chroniclers and Antiquaries, and in the treatment of seafaring literature in Vol. IV, there would be little left to justify Vol. IV, ch. iii. With Raleigh included, all this discussion of the literature of voyage and discovery could be easily condensed into one concise and well-knit chapter without reducing its relative importance. Of less significance is the suggestion of a transfer of the treatment of German influences (Vol. III, ch. iv) to Prof. Routh, for incorporation in his adjoining chapter on Social Literature. Prof. Routh suffers most by chapter-divisions, however, when the realistic fiction of Nashe and Deloney is reserved for the chapter on the Elizabethan novel. One wonders if his frequent references to that chapter are an indication of regret or an evidence of effective coöperation.

Volume IV seems particularly open to criticism, being much given to that confusion of categories which is to threaten this series all along the way. It is a matter of opinion whether

a history like this should distribute its material primarily in terms of men or in terms of literary types and tendencies. While the latter method seems better adapted to Elizabethan versatility, either one consistently pursued would serve; but there is little justification for deliberate confusion of them. Samuel Daniel, for example, after being considered among the sonneteers (Vol. III, ch. xii), in the chapter on criticism (III, xiv), and under the drama, shares a special chapter (IV, vii) with Southwell, with whom he has little in common. In this chapter the matter emphasized is Daniel's patriotic celebration of England and her history, in which he is recognized as paralleling Drayton; but Drayton, despite this and other lines of relationship, stands isolated in Vol. IV, ch. x.¹ Thomas Campion, after being discussed under criticism and in the chapter on Song-books and Miscellanies (IV, vi), has also a chapter to himself. This last adjustment may be in part a recognition of commendable editorial labor upon Campion's works, just as the Raleigh chapter, noted above, recalls an earlier piece of biographical writing.

In contrast with these chapters of "life and works," attention may be called to two divisions of Volume IV apparently falling under the other category, but really somewhat anomalous. In chapter ix, *The Successors of Spenser*, one might expect a careful study of the various lines of relationship between the harmonies of this master-poet and the attempts of his humble disciples. Instead there is a conventional series of hand-book sketches in the following order: Drummond of Hawthornden, Wither, William Browne, Fulke Greville, Sir John Davies, Wotton, Giles and Phineas Fletcher. The ardent discipleship manifest in several of these men receives little attention, the thesis of the author being found rather in this introductory statement: "There can be no doubt that the pamphlet of Sidney, and the poetry of Sidney and Spenser, gave impetus and direction to the work of succeeding poets. For through all the work of these men, varied as it is in subject and in value, runs the golden thread of sincerity" (p. 172). Chapter xiii, which arouses some curiosity as to the unifying principle under which Burton, John Barclay, and Owen the epigrammatist appear together, proves to be only a convenient receptacle for otherwise unattached authors who wrote in Latin or would have preferred to do so. It may be urged that such chapters are

¹Southwell might find a more logical place in a chapter on the religious poetry of the period, both Catholic and Protestant, the latter largely influenced by the Sidneys and by Joshua Sylvester. Under this, adequate treatment could be given to the spiritual sonnet, of which Mr. Lee makes but little in his chapter.

in line with the fundamental purpose of the editors, to throw light upon the more obscure and subsidiary figures in our literature. But the preface to Volume I, in emphasizing this feature, distinctly asserts that such writers are not to be regarded as isolated phenomena, but to have their places carefully defined in "the history of motives, causes, and ends" (Vol. I, p. iii).

This laudable intention to deal with motives, causes, and ends has had to contend, in these two volumes, against an equally laudable caution, the fear of unsupported generalization.² In many cases contributors have detoured so far about this latter pitfall as to avoid even the constructive critical interpretation essential to their task. The result has been whole chapters of chronological cataloguing, with obvious comment and tedious summaries. As a matter of fact, the strongest divisions of the work are those in which facts are massed and presented according to a vital but obviously unprejudiced interpretation. Among these may be noted the work of Prof. Routh, Prof. Cunliffe, and Mr. Whibley; the chapter on Reformation Literature by Prof. Whitney; and Mr. Wilson's discussion of the Marprelate Controversy. One is inclined to give equal place to the work of those experienced scholars who have frankly interpreted their portion of the field in the light of their favorite predisposition: notably Mr. Courthope in his study of Spenser (Vol. III, ch. xi) and Mr. Lee in his discussion of the Elizabethan Sonnet (Vol. III, ch. xii).³ Least satisfying are those perfectly safe chapters, content with outlining undisputed events in authors' lives and summarizing their works—without extracts—in a somewhat lifeless manner. The earlier chapters of Volume III are particularly at fault in this regard.

This confusion of method introduces a question which might well have been raised before: as to the particular class of readers for which these elaborate volumes are being prepared. A few of the summaries just mentioned would suggest a class having very little "literature," as Dr. Johnson would have said. In Volume III, for example, seven pages (140-146) are given to outlining Lyndsay's *Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, and ten pages (462-471) to the same service for the *Ecclesiastical Polity*.⁴ Similar evidence may be gathered from the attitude of many chapters toward ques-

² "Neither have we hesitated to limit the space devoted to generalisation rather than restrict unduly that required for bibliographies" (*Preface* to Vol. III, p. iii).

³ Prof. Cook's chapter on The "Authorized Version" and its Influence (Vol. IV, ch. ii) gives the impression of an independent study, not to be restricted to the general plan of the History.

⁴ Hooker's relations to literature are disposed of very briefly.

tions of scholarly controversy, which they either ignore entirely or view without comment from the conventional hand-book side. Yet it is difficult to believe that those who buy these books and consult their pages would profit by such summaries and fail to profit by a general knowledge of important matters of critical scholarship, imparted clearly with as little apparatus as possible. Such chapters as perform this function are decidedly the better for it, and lose nothing in interest. The general editors had the reading public in mind in advising contributors with regard to foot-notes and bibliographies, putting much stress on the latter and restricting the former. In most instances, the collaborators have interpreted bibliography to include critical bibliography, and have appended more or less complete lists of this kind. But such lists are unintelligible and valueless for the tyro, and inconvenient for the genuine student, without a moderate use of foot-notes to the text. The preference must be given again to such chapters as compromise with technical scholarship; as represented in the combination of notes and bibliography for Prof. Routh's two chapters, those on Prose Fiction and Language by Prof. Atkins (Vol. III, chs. xvi and xx) and the chapter on Drayton by Mr. Child.

In the preliminary statement of the editors it was particularly urged upon contributors that "note was to be taken of the influence of foreign literatures upon English" (*Preface* Vol. 1, p. iii). In contrast with the present activity in comparative studies, however, especially in the period of the Renaissance, the general tone of Volumes III and IV is strongly conservative, the element of foreign influence being usually minimized in treatment and at times ignored. The significance of this feature deserves somewhat detailed notice. In Volume III, chapters viii, *The New English Poetry*, and xii, *The Elizabethan Sonnet*, are perhaps most liberal in recognition of foreign models. Mr. Lee, at least, is disposed to go considerably farther in such recognition today than when his chapter was written, Mr. Kastner's articles in the *Modern Language Review* (Vols. II, III and IV) having since strengthened the case for France, and his own volume on French-English relations having set him to proselyting. Both chapters suffer from the tendency, carried to its last degree in Mr. Lee's recent book, to limit the possibility of Italian influence upon Elizabethan lyric to the sonnets of Petrarch. Not that the existence and extent of Italian Petrarchizing is not admitted. Indeed the probability that English poetry has been affected by this later product is noted at times, as in Mr. Child's recognition of Serafino's *strambotti* as the model of Wyatt's epigrams (p. 195). But in the gen-

eral reckoning of foreign influences, in the matter of verse-form, or conventional theme, or "Anacreontic note," this mass of suggestive material, freely available then in anthologies, receives little consideration.⁵

Two chapters, Mr. Courthope's on Spenser (III, xi) and the discussion of Language (III, xx), touch upon the relation of *Pléiade* activity to the Elizabethan attempts at enrichment of the vernacular. Mr. Courthope says:

"Spenser may very well have meant to emulate the neologizing tendency of the almost contemporary *Pléiade*; in which case, it is interesting to observe the opposite principle on which he proceeded; for, while the French reformers aimed mainly at coining new words from Latin and Greek, the English poet sought, in the first place, to revive old standard words which had fallen out of colloquial use" (p. 257).

Prof. Atkins compares conditions thus:

"In France, the reformers aimed at devising rules; but in England, the method adopted was the characteristic one of compromise" (p. 506). This purely English compromise, he goes on to explain, was between the desire of developing all the natural resources of the vernacular, old and new, and that of enlarging its possibilities by importations from other tongues. Both authors stress too much the united purpose of the *Pléiade* movement. There was about as much of compromise in one country as in the other, and in both the foreign influences promptly crowded back the patriotic archaizing. Ronsard from the first was fond of the old native words and the treatises of Henri Estienne argued vigorously for the national speech.

Mr. Saintsbury, in his chapter on Criticism, gives frank expression of the conservative point of view. He says of Sidney:

"Of late, considerable interest has been taken in the question whether he got his principles from specific or general sources; and there has been a tendency to regard him as specially echoing not merely Scaliger but the Italian critic Minturno. There are, no doubt, coincidences with these two, and, especially, with Minturno; but it is the opinion of the present writer that Sidney was rather familiar with the general drift of Italian criticism than following any special authority." (Vol. III, pp. 342-343).

Prof. Atkins, in discussing Prose Fiction (Vol. III, ch.

⁵ It may be noted that Mr. Child attributes without question Wyatt's much-discussed sonnet, "*Lyke unto these unmesurable mountaines*," to Melin de St. Gelay's (p. 193), although as early as 1904 Mr. Tilley had insisted that it is a direct translation from Sannazaro (*Literature of the French Renaissance*, I, p. 148 note).

xvi), loses no opportunity to interpret his data in a patriotic, if somewhat insular fashion; certain of his generalizations being left so equivocal as to suggest more than he would care to substantiate. Prose fiction "is one of the gifts of the Elizabethans to our literature" (p. 387); but they took the impulse from abroad and needed a later impulse of the same sort to make their gift increasingly effective. "The romance is an obvious continuation of a literary type familiar to medieval England" (p. 389); but the "modifications" of Sannazaro and Montemayor appealed more directly to the Elizabethans. Painter "supplies versions of a hundred and one tales, some forty of which are taken from Boccaccio and Bandello" (p. 390); but the others are as demonstrably translations (Cf. Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, p. 136). Nashe protested that his style called "no man father in England" (p. 416); but he also said: "Of all styles I most affect and strive to imitate Aretines" (*Lenten Stufte*, ed. McKerrow, III, p. 152), and Harvey twice taunts him with discipleship to "Aretine and Rabelays" (*Works*, ed. Grosart, I, pp. 218, 272). In certain important matters, however, such as the discussions of Euphuism and of the realistic novel, the tone of this chapter is entirely in line with contemporary criticism.

Volume IV offers less reason for objection in its comparative outlook, partly because of the different nature of its material. The opening chapter, on Translators, bears most significantly upon foreign relations, though one might wish for further interpretation of the data regarding such questions as the effect of French handling on the material transmitted, and the influence of various translations on English thought and expression. In chapter ix one is likely to recall that *The Cypress Grove*, which is justly pronounced the work in which "Drummond reaches his highest sustained level" (p. 177), borrows much of its material from the French, directly from Montaigne or by way of Charron's *La Sagesse*. Prof. Grierson, in his study of John Donne (ch. xi), might have found it profitable to consider his peculiarities in connection with the immense popularity of Sylvester and his master Du Bartas in the England of that day. Finally, the casual references to Montaigne in Prof. Routh's treatment of the early English essay (pp. 392, 393, 396) fall far short of defining the relations of this significant author to the English type to which he gave name.

In general there is much that may be said in sincere appreciation of these two volumes. A majority of the chapters in them are made up of the carefully-weighed and logically-grouped utterances of authoritative scholars. These men

have labored with particular pains and with notable success to adapt material and tone to the requirements of the higher type of general reader, actually desirous of trustworthy information. They have added to an accumulation of unusually pertinent matter a style that is pure, lucid, and commanding of sustained attention. Apart from irregularities of the sort noted, these earlier volumes of the general work may be pronounced a worthy contribution to the difficult problem of popularizing technical scholarship in literature. It is another matter to find them what the advertisements describe them as being: parts of "the one indispensable history of English literature for the scholar's library, and the best work of the kind for the reference library of the student; . . . [representing] the last results of scholarship and research."

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A. H. UPHAM.

ELKANAH SETTLE, HIS LIFE AND WORKS, by F. C. Brown. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

In one hundred and seventy pages devoted to the life and works of Elkanah Settle, Mr. F. C. Brown has given us what seems to be a well advised example of the doctoral dissertation. This he promises to supplement at a later time with an edition of Settle's most important play, *The Empress of Morocco*.

The drama of the Restoration period, while immeasurably inferior in interest to that of the Elizabethan era, has this important advantage for the young scholar seeking to win his spurs, that it has been far less subjected to modern methods of study. Thus, the task of rehabilitating Settle has furnished his historian with a wide bibliographical experience, with a limited number of characteristic biographical problems, with an interesting array of historical contacts, and with an ample supply of relatively unknown literary matter for the exercise of the critical faculty and for some investigation of sources and relations. The subject being judiciously chosen and on the whole competently treated—treated, we may add, with commendable condensation—the result is a useful supplement to our apparatus for the history of the drama.

The work is divided into two sections, arranged in the most systematic manner, though in a manner which entails some repetition and considerable cross-reference. "Section I. A., Biography," presents the narrative of Settle's life. "B., Quarrels and Controversies" deals in a more detailed manner with the main incidents of his career as a controver-

sialist. "Section II., An Account of Settle's Works," opens with a "List of the Plays" which presents in tabular form all of Settle's plays with statements of when and where each was first acted, when licensed, the date of the first, and of succeeding editions. There follows a "Discussion of the Plays" in which each of twenty plays is set forth, seriatim, with a brief criticism of each. The remainder of the volume, presenting lists of Settle's "Poems on Occasions," "City Pageants," "Controversial Works," etc., is almost exclusively bibliographical and represents a very considerable outlay of labor, on the part of the compiler and his correspondents, in the examination of records and of public and private libraries. The volume is equipped with an extensive general bibliography and an index and is illustrated by some eight photographic reproductions of title-pages, autographs, and original "sculptures."

So far as Settle himself is concerned, it may indeed be questioned whether he would not have fared as well to have rested permanently within the vague penumbra of ridicule which Dryden and Pope shed round him and which posterity, in the absence of editions of his works and in recognition of his misfortunes, has qualified with a mild infusion of pity. It has been rather the fashion for modern criticism, which is inclined to be soft-hearted toward mediocrity, to deprecate the malice of Dryden and Pope, assuming that their attacks upon the poetasters of their day were entirely due to personal jealousy. Something of this attitude of mind has crept into Mr. Brown's view of the case of Settle. The fact is, that the existence of such huge parasites as Settle is a reproach to literature in all ages. The ease with which these "conscienceless rogues" impose upon an ill-instructed public arouses in spirits like those of Ben Jonson, Dryden and Pope, a disdainful anger which, though not without its element of wounded vanity, is after all based upon a patriotic instinct to defend the realm of wit against the invasion of thick-skinned pretenders. Jonson was unfair to Dekker, Dryden to Shadwell, and Pope to many; but there is little or nothing in Mr. Brown's study to show that Settle got more than his just deserts from Dryden and Pope, or to disturb the reigning conviction that the exquisite fruit of his having lived and written was the latter's couplet:

Now Night descending the proud scene was o'er
But lived in Settle's numbers one day more.

Settle's shortcomings as a writer and as a man seem to excite no hostility in his critic. This is, no doubt, as it should be; but the reader will be less charitable. He will discover that Settle originated nothing and had no convictions; that

not a tolerable line is quoted from his works, though some are said to exist; that, as a dramatist, he "merely studied the prevailing style assiduously to become proficient in it, that he might produce that which would bring him success;" that his "businesslike turn of mind" made him "one of the earliest if not the first" to advance his interest by means of the "dramatic puff;" that the most interesting thing about his plays was their stage-setting and, about his poems, their bindings; that with him the art of the dramatist issued from the same talent which enabled him to turn his hand to the devising of Pope-burnings, City Pageants and Bartholomew Fair drolls, and that he made the most brazenly venal use of poetical eulogy that our literary history records; that he transferred his political services from party to party without scruple or blush; that he freely plagiarized both from others and from himself, so that, "in three of his wedding poems, two-thirds of the lines are common to all;" the reader will a little grudge, in fine, Mr. Brown's too frequent use of the term "poet" to avoid the repetition of Settle's name.

Settle, for his own sake, then, was hardly worth reviving; but, since we must know a great many things that are not worth knowing for the sake of those that are, and since this is especially so in theatrical history, many will be grateful for Mr. Brown's conscientious and capable study of a considerable purveyor to the Restoration stage. If one were to express any discontent, it must be that the writing should fall a little below the other excellences of the work,—a disparity which one has frequently to regret in the present day dissertation. The following paragraph, quoted for its estimate of Settle's contribution to the drama, is a fair example of the author's phrasing:

"In but one thing, the use of scenic display, can Settle be considered to have contributed anything material to the drama. The first dramatic productions after the Civil War were operas. The elements of music, dancing, and spectacle in the first plays influenced all succeeding dramatic productions, no doubt, and were introduced, as in the case of Settle, into both tragic and comic themes. Settle was impressed with the idea of scenic display, and believed, from the beginning of his career, that theatrical effectiveness had much to do with the success of a dramatic production. By the skilful introduction of spectacle into his second play he became, for six or seven years, the undisputed favorite of the court and the rival of Dryden; on account of his ability as an inventor of elaborate display, he was chosen designer and manager of the Pope-burning pageants and processions in 1679 and 1680, was later appointed "city poet," and given an annual salary

for many years for devising drolls for Bartholomew and Southwark fairs. There is little doubt, as he asserted, that nothing had ever been presented on an English stage so elaborate as *The World in the Moon*; and it is attested by Downes that *The Fairy Queen* 'was superior in ornaments' to *King Arthur* and *The Prophetess* and so expensive 'in setting it out' that the company made little by it although the piece was very popular. Moreover, I am persuaded that it was Settle's ability as a contriver of 'machinery' more than anything else that caused Betterton and Booth to continue their interest in the poet and to aid him in his last years, even when public condemnation of the aged playwright had become so general and fatal. It is not fanciful, therefore, to conclude that 'the best Contriver of *Machinery* in *England*,' who produced so many dramatic pieces with elaborate spectacle, should have contributed something in increasing the tendency to seek theatrical effectiveness in the drama, especially when many of the poets' own plays were successful."

University of Wisconsin.

J. F. A. PYRE.

DIE ROMANTISCHE BEWEGUNG IN DER AMERIKANISCHEN LITERATUR: BROWN, POE, HAWTHORNE. EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ROMANTIK. Von Dr. Walter Just. Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1910. 90pp.

Dr. Just's avowed purpose is to show that there was a Romantic Movement in American literature. He proceeds by applying certain tests of the romantic quality (drawn chiefly from Ricarda Huch's *Die Romantik*) to Charles Brockden Brown, Poe, and Hawthorne. The plan involves analysis and comparison of the lives and work of the three writers chosen, which, tho brief, is on the whole intelligently done. Incidentally, the author discusses their indebtedness to writers of the Old World, gathering up the results of previous studies in this field and adding some suggestions of his own.

It is an easy matter, of course, to show that Brown, Poe, and Hawthorne display romantic traits both in their lives and in their writings. They were more or less solitary in their tastes, more or less given to introspection and self-analysis, more or less ill-adjusted to the world in which they lived. Dr. Just's contention, however, that their romantic temperament is shown in their unwillingness to enter or remain in any of the recognized professions seems to resolve itself, in each case, into the fact that they desired to lead

the life of letters, and that the life of letters was not then in this country a profession that afforded a certain livelihood. Others besides these three showed a like desire and found like difficulties; Emerson, for instance, who had been but three years in the pastorate of the South Church when he abandoned the clerical profession for the life of the solitary thinker, only to give up this in turn for the irregular and unsatisfying, but money-getting, occupation of the public lecturer. The literary temperament, which is both older and younger than the Romantic Movement, seems to be always resentful of bread-and-butter claims; and a man determined to live for letters in America in the early part of the last century was assured of an uneasy existence. In this connection, be it remarked in passing, Dr. Just falls into the error, natural enough in one not thoroly conversant with our social history, of ascribing the hard-headed, materialistic temper of American society to its Puritan antecedents. As a matter of fact, at the time of which he treats New England was the home of idealism and spirituality in this country; the Southern and Middle States, just because of the lack of Puritan idealism in their founding, were far less propitious to the literary life, as the general history of our letters sufficiently shows.

The second chapter, on the love of the wonderful and mysterious as a mark of romanticism, discriminates successfully between the three writers in their use of this element; gathers up the work of previous students as to the indebtedness of Poe to E. T. A. Hoffman and Coleridge, of Hawthorne to Bunyan and Spenser, and of Brown to William Godwin; and gives some pretty good reasons for holding that Brown in *Wieland* (published in 1798) derived suggestions from Schiller's *Der Geisterseher*, of which an English translation was reprinted in New York in 1796.

The third chapter, under the caption *Die Nachtseite der Natur*, takes up the romantic interest in pseudo-science and mental and moral pathology. Brown here belongs to the earlier stage of romanticism, that of Horace Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe, in which the mysterious, after having afforded its appropriate shudder, is explained away quite rationalistically at the end. In Poe's and Hawthorne's time a more effective treatment of this material had been devised. The difference between Poe's use of it—analytical, precise, with the air of a laboratory note-book—and Hawthorne's more imaginative, ethereal, and human treatment is well brought out.

The fourth of the tests applied, interest in the past and in one's own people, fits but imperfectly two of the three authors considered. Brown's stories are of contemporary life; and tho in *Edgar Huntly* he seems to have been the first

to realize the possibilities of the American Indian in fiction, his stories generally fail to smack of the soil. Poe sought his romantic associations not in the past of his own country, but in the castles and palaces of the Old World, or, more characteristically, in a dream landscape "out of space, out of time," compounded of the impressions of his romantic reading—as he himself has said, he sought his effects "by novel combinations of those combinations which our predecessors, toiling in chase of the same phantom, have already set in order." The reason for this lack of native romantic background is the same in both Brown and Poe. Neither was the product of a strongly marked and homogeneous social tradition. Hawthorne alone fully meets this test of romanticism. Child of a strong and clearly defined society of two hundred years' standing, his works, like his life, are saturated with the consciousness of tradition. Dr. Just finds, on what seem pretty slight grounds, that Hawthorne was influenced in his narrative technique by Scott's novels; which of course is likely, and is rendered more likely by the very close resemblance, not mentioned by Dr. Just, between Hawthorne's first essay in fiction, the suppressed novel *Fanshawe*, and the work of Scott.

The last chapter deals very briefly with the romantic feeling for nature in the three authors considered. This amounts in Brown's case to hardly more than touches such as no writer fed upon Mrs. Radcliffe and her kind could well avoid. Poe had little sense of nature as such; his landscapes are either fantastic arabesques or mere calculated, decorative settings for his story. Here again Hawthorne alone of the three fully meets the requirements of romanticism. Poe, with all his details and air of precision, seems never really to have seen anything but the visions of his own brain; Hawthorne, with his eye upon the object in true romantic fashion, endeavored, sometimes with wonderful success, to transfuse it with the light of feeling and imagination. But he did not always succeed so well as he did in *The Scarlet Letter* and in *Ethan Brand* in making nature wear the colors of his theme.

On the whole, it does not appear that Dr. Just has added much to our understanding of romanticism in America. A movement, in the German or even in the English sense, there was not; there was no co-operation, no consciousness of a mission such as animated Wordsworth or Friedrich Schlegel, or the Transcendentalist leaders in this country. Romantic qualities of various sorts there were in these three writers—and in other American writers of the time, all of whom were under the influence of romantic ideals and methods in the literature of the Old World. The monograph may, however, be of value in drawing the attention of Dr. Just's compatriots

to the worth of our two chief romanticists, and especially of Hawthorne, whose quality was so acutely perceived and so admirably set forth by Professor Schönbach twenty odd years ago. The work would have profited by a more careful study of previous criticism, especially in regard to Poe. It is surprising to find the myth of Poe's eighteen months' journey in Europe (invented by himself and sent in the notes he furnished Lowell when the latter was to write his sketch of Poe for *Graham's*) still accepted as fact, in spite of Professor Woodberry's demonstration of its baselessness, with which Dr. Just seems to be acquainted. It is less surprising, perhaps, but certainly not less unfortunate, that he turns for critical comment upon Poe to the slight and decadent sketch of H. H. Ewers and seems not to be aware of the more significant studies of Hennequin and Robertson.

University of Missouri.

H. M. BELDEN.

ÜBER DIE ERZIEHUNG DER VORNEHMEN ANGEL-SÄCHSISCHEN JUGEND IN FREMDEN HÄUSERN.

Von Fritz Roeder. Halle, 1910. Max Niemeyer.

This is a lecture delivered before the Anglistic section of the assembly of German philologists which met at Graz in the year 1910. The problem discussed is that of "fosterage," the practice of placing children in the homes of friends or vassals to be brought up and educated. That fosterage was common in Ireland and extensively practiced in Scandinavia in the middle ages is well known; but its occurrence among the Anglo-Saxons has not been the subject of earlier investigation. The following are the chief conclusions presented in the lecture:

The custom was frequently practiced among the Anglo-Saxons; it may have been as general as among the Northern peoples.

Kings and chiefs made common use of this mode of education; "in der westsächsischen Dynastie entsprach es offenbar ziemlich fester Tradition."

The foster parents were near kinsfolk or vassals.

It is probable that fostering was undertaken as an act of friendship or through a desire to please the child's parents; but it might also be done for stipulated pay.

Evidence of various sorts is adduced to support these conclusions: the use of the term *foster* in its various forms, especially in compounds; a few allusions to such a custom in the literary sources; certain legal provisions that suggest fos-

terage; and a series of historical instances. The author, however, does not place much dependence on terminology, as the term *foster* seems to have possessed a very wide significance. Nor is the evidence drawn from literature very conclusive. His chief reliance is, therefore, on the legal provisions and the instances recorded in the history of the West Saxon dynasty.

Fosterage is alluded to only twice in the legal documents. In Alfred's legislation we find a heading that deals with the responsibility of a foster-father (?) in case the child entrusted to his care should die. The case is clearer in a document "Concerning the Betrothal of a Woman" where we find a provision for the payment of the foster-price (*foster-lean*) when the bride is a foster-child.

The cumulative force of the evidence produced seems to be such as to leave no doubt as to the existence of the institution in Old English society; but the author has scarcely proved his assertion that the custom was generally followed. To show this he depends much on the fact that four West Saxon princes were educated in the homes of subjects. These were the kings Edward the Elder, Athelstan, and Edgar and the etheling Athelstan, the son of Ethelred II.

William of Malmesbury tells us that once when on a journey Edward stopped to pay his respects to his *nutricem*, who is also spoken of as a *villica*, presumably the wife of a *villicus* or town-reeve. It is possible that this woman may have fostered the prince, but the evidence is not of the strongest. A town-reeve was scarcely of sufficient social importance to be entrusted with a royal child; *nutrix* does not necessarily mean foster-mother,—the woman may have been a servant of some sort, nurse, perhaps, in the royal palace; from the fact that she was married when Edward was a man, we are not to infer that she was a reeve's wife when he was still a child.

The case of Athelstan was very special: he was illegitimate, the son of a shepherd's daughter. It was therefore natural that he should be fostered by his grandfather Alfred and after his death by other near kinsfolk, his aunt Ethelfled and her husband, the Mercian ealdorman. In the same way Edgar, who had lost his mother at a tender age, found a home with the wife of the ealdorman of East Anglia, Athelstan the "Half-king."

Ethelred's son Athelstan was brought up in the house of his grandmother on his father's side. This fact strengthens the suspicion that several of Ethelred's children were illegitimate, and Athelstan may have been one of them. It would seem, then, that in three of the four instances the fosterage was inevitable from the circumstances and not voluntary, as it would have been in the case of true fosterage.

As practically all the evidence that the lecturer has discovered belongs to the period of Danish influence in England, it would seem worth while to consider the possibility of a Scandinavian origin of the institution among the Anglo-Saxons. The terminology surely has the appearance of having been influenced by Norse analogies: *fostorlean*, *fostorland*, and *fostorfæder* look strikingly like the Old Norse equivalents *fóstrlaun*, *fóstrland* and *fóstrfaðir*. But this is a matter that the author has not investigated.

University of Illinois.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

NOTES.

THE LATIN HISTORIA ASSENECH.

Dr. H. N. MacCracken has had the good fortune to discover in a manuscript in the Earl of Ellesmere's library a Middle-English verse translation of what he calls "a lost Latin version" of the *Historia Assenech*, in his edition of the poem.¹ He has printed under the English text the Latin form of the story found in the *Speculum historiale*, of Vincent de Beauvais, who cites the comments on the story of the *Historia scholastica* of Pierre le Mangeur, one of his principal authorities.² The English translator states (26-30) that he has translated "Asneth storie . . . fro latyn into englysh," and in doing this;

Utterali the latyn in englysh to transpose,

Hit is nuyus, but þe sentence I schal sue in trace";

and a comparison of his version with that of Vincent shows details for which the latter could not have been the source. MacCracken has pointed out that there is authority for some of these details in the Greek original and its oriental versions, but he has not made a very happy suggestion in regard to the immediate source of the English translation:

"Of this *Historia Assenech*, as Vincent calls his authority, I know no copy in existence; and leave the question to those more familiar than myself with the history of Hebrew literature."³

One does not need to be versed in Hebrew literature to be able to cast some light on the question; only a little knowledge of medieval Latin literature and its sources is necessary. Manuscripts of the *Historia Assenech* are noted in the catalogues of English monastic libraries,⁴ numerous manuscripts are found today in English libraries,⁵ and

¹ *Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.* X, 224. ff.

² P. Paris, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXVIII, 440-1.

³ *Op. cit.* 225.

⁴ E. g. M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 62, 117, 118; cf. 511; *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral* (Surtees Soc.) 5 "Putiphar."

⁵ E. g. Schenkl, *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Ak. Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 124, I, 11; 136, V, 6, 155, XII, 43, 73; *Reports of the Hist. MSS. Comm.* II, 105.

the text itself was published and commented on almost two centuries ago by Fabricius.⁶ A much abridged version of the form of the story as it appears in the *Speculum* is found in the fifteenth century English translation of the *Alphabetum narrationum*.⁷ If the Latin original of this collection is to be attributed to a certain Arnold, who made his compilation in the early years of the fourteenth century,⁸ it is chronologically possible that he made use of the work of Vincent, written between 1244 and 1254.⁹ But as the great encyclopedist is not cited in the course of a work, which makes a rule of naming its sources, it is more probable that the compiler made use of the same abridgement as Vincent, who in this case, was not responsible for the omission of details in the version of the *Speculum*. An examination of the different manuscripts would probably show their distribution into two classes, of which one would contain the full text represented by the English verse translation, and the other the abridged text used in the two continental Latin compilations.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Cornell University.

THE CRITICAL EDITION OF CHARLES SEALSFIELD'S WORKS.

EDITOR JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY,

SIR:

Will you grant me the privilege of explaining through your valued journal the present situation with regard to the promised historical and critical edition of the works of Charles Sealsfield, a situation which for a considerable time now has been for me the cause of much embarrassment and anxiety.

In the spring of 1907, the *Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen*, upon the initiative of Professor Jacob Minor of Vienna, resolved to publish, in seventeen volumes of the *Bibliothek deutscher Schriftsteller aus Böhmen*, a standard edition of the complete works of the great German-American novelist. Professor August Sauer, on behalf of the Society, entrusted me with the editorship-in-chief of that portion of the *Bibliothek*, and I was authorized to select among American scholars the requisite number of collaborators.

As is well known to those interested in the subject, no small amount of work has already been performed in the service of the enterprise.

⁶ *Codex pseudepigraphus veteris Testamenti*, Hamburgi 1722, I. 775-784; II, 85.

⁷ *An Alphabet of Tales*, ed. M. M. Banks, 61-4.

⁸ J. A. Herbert, *Library*, N. S. VI, 99-101; *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 423-430; P. Toldo, *Herrigs Archiv*, CXVII, 68-9.

⁹ *Hist. litt. de la France*, XVIII, 456.

Yet while numerous articles have been published in the periodicals, no part of the edition itself, to the very great disappointment of its promoters, has yet made its appearance. To a certain extent the slowness of our initial procedure will be readily understood and extenuated by persons in any degree familiar with the peculiar difficulties of my task. Hardly any great writer of the nineteenth century holds such bewildering riddles for the judgment of an editor as this reckless polyglot whose motley diction was an almost indissoluble mixture between pre-meditated imitation and his own linguistic confusion. A supervenient difficulty was encountered in the glaring textual discrepancies between the extant editions, doubly serious in the absence of manuscripts.

At last, in 1909, I was able to announce to Professor Sauer my readiness to send a volume of the *Lebensbilder* to the press. It had seemed best to check the progress on other volumes until that first installment had appeared, so that it might serve as a pattern for the make-up of the set and also furnish a textual canon and a key in questions of "office style" and many other cases of editorial dilemma. Then a quite unexpected hindrance to our plans arose out of the wretched political situation in the Austrian monarchy; or, to be precise, out of the crisis that had broken out in the Bohemian parliament. The eternal struggle between the German and the Czech elements culminated about that time in a complete paralysis of the activity of the *Landtag* when the German factions retorted upon the tyranny of the Slavic majority by the desperate measure of "Secession," i. e. concerted absenteeism. The Diet being thus without the possibility of a quorum, an extra-parliamentary government had to be instituted, under a constitutional provision.

The unfortunate connection between these great affairs of state and my humble literary venture requires an explanation. It consists simply in this: The *Gesellschaft zur Förderung* etc., like a number of other similar scientific societies, is the recipient of a subsidy from the public exchequer. The grant in its case had for a long series of years amounted to 42,000 crowns (about \$8,000) per annum. During the deadlock of the *Landtag*, under a temporary government by commission, the subsidies, for a variety of economic and political reasons, were discontinued. Through the withdrawal of its public stipend the Society fell at once into the utmost stringency, and some of its most important enterprises had to be suspended. The stagnation of our enterprise was at first regarded by Professor Sauer as being probably of but short duration. He wrote to me: (translated) "Our nearest concern is to get over this year (1910), since the crisis has overtaken us unexpectedly.... I cannot put aside, in favor of new work, those volumes of the *Bibliothek* already in course of printing. But so soon as these are disposed of, the Sealsfield edition will have precedence over everything else, and I shall not bring in anything that might interfere with its regular appearance. So I think that if you will kindly consent to

the unavoidable delay of the beginning, you need have no anxiety about the undertaking as a whole."

The current year, however, has witnessed no decided change for the better in Bohemian self-misgovernment; nor has there been any perceptible abatement of the financial distress by which all public and semi-public institutions and enterprises are crippled. In order to save its several activities from inanition, the *Gesellschaft zur Förderung* etc. has lately determined to swerve to what has always appeared as a characteristically American policy. Some of the work, notably the publication of the periodical *Deutsche Arbeit* and the propaganda for German art industry, is being carried on with private means. As concerns the Sealsfield edition, the suggestion is now advanced by Professor Sauer that the expenses involved in its publication might in part be raised in this country as one of whose foremost writers Charles Sealsfield is more and more being acknowledged. In a recent letter Professor Sauer concludes his argument as follows: (translated) "Even if the amount of the subsidy might possibly not be large, yet it would facilitate our enterprise, moreover we should be under a certain moral compulsion to put off, for the present, any other, not separately subsidized, piece of work. . . . Another way would be to find some American publisher who would be willing to join with us in the venture and to assume a share of the expense."

Despite the unforeseen and extremely serious obstacles by which our progress is for the time effectually blocked, Professor Sauer and myself are far from pessimistic about the fruition of the work in the near future. Even in the event of an appeal for financial succour proving futile we trust the edition will finally be brought out. Nor am I for my part ready to invoke American help without first ascertaining in some general way the presumable attitude of the profession. I need not say that any sign of moral support will be highly appreciated; but I shall be likewise grateful for any frank statement of reasons against the inauguration of a campaign for our cause. I also trust that the foregoing candid revelation of our troubles will exculpate me from a possible charge of procrastination, particularly in the eyes of those scholars who have generously promised their collaboration. Finally I must say that a relinquishment of the project, should it come to that pass, would entail a loss to the prestige of German-American, nay American letters (I am referring to the position of Charles Sealsfield as our most conspicuous international encomiast as well as our greatest novelist)—a loss of infinitely greater consequence than would be my own personal loss and mortification over a fruitless expenditure of years of energy.

Faithfully yours,

Washington University, Saint Louis.

OTTO HELLER.

December, 1911.

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FRIEDRICH SPE AND THE THÉODICÉE OF LEIBNIZ

I. INTRODUCTORY

The purpose of this study is to show the relation between the Jesuit priest Friedrich Spe and the great philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. This relation can best be seen by a study of two works—the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* of Spe and the *Théodicée* of Leibniz. Nor will this relation prove to be merely incidental—a reference here and there in Leibniz's letters and works to Spe and the latter's achievements. It was Leibniz who seemed to take such a delight in calling the attention of the world at large to the fact that Spe was the author of the anonymously published *Cautio Criminalis*, the attack upon witch persecution which marked the beginning of the end of that folly in Europe; it was Leibniz who emphasized frequently and consistently in his works and letters the importance of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*; it was due to Leibniz more than to anyone else that Spe's name has come down to us as that of a man of some interest and importance. It may seem bold to state that Leibniz found in the work of the comparatively unknown Spe an inspiration for some of his own work, yet this fact can, I think, be established without much difficulty.

It will be my purpose to show that Leibniz's *Théodicée*, the work in which he developed those principles which helped to make up that spirit of optimism which prevailed in the eighteenth century, owes not a little to the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* of Friedrich Spe.

My method, briefly outlined, is as follows: To point out the opportunities which Leibniz had for becoming acquainted with the work of Spe; to cite letters of Leibniz and other extracts which prove that Leibniz had intense admiration for Spe and his works, particularly the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*; to show that the *Tugendbuch*, which seems hitherto to have been considered as an entirely original work, is based largely on the philosophical and theological system of Thomas Aquinas, whose fundamental principles appear also in the system of Leibniz; to point out that Aquinas's direct influ-

ence upon Leibniz was slight, at all events no more pronounced than the influence of scores of other philosophers; to indicate that those doctrines of Thomas Aquinas which are present in Leibniz may have been borrowed not directly from Thomas Aquinas but through the medium and with the modification of Spe's *Güldenes Tugendbuch*; and, finally, by reviewing the importance of Leibniz and his *Théodicée* in the history of German philosophy and literature, to call attention to the importance of Spe's book.

Rarely, as will be seen, has a man been so thoroughly enthusiastic about a work as was Leibniz about Spe's *Tugendbuch*. The thought of calling it to the attention of friends seems to have been often uppermost in Leibniz's mind. So frequently does he reiterate its praises, so bent is he upon acknowledging his indebtedness to it, that one wonders whether any other book had so firm a hold upon his mind. We are certain, moreover, that Leibniz's admiration was sincere; we feel that Spe's precepts became living truths for him.

Leibniz was born in Leipzig in 1646, eleven years after the death of Spe (1591-1635), and three years before the publication of the latter's *Trutz Nachtigal* and *Güldenes Tugendbuch* (1649). He was not, therefore, a contemporary of the Jesuit priest and poet; his admiration for Spe must have come not from contact with his charming and sympathetic personality, but solely from a study of his works and of his life as related by friends of both men. What Leibniz says about Spe's works must, consequently, be his honest opinion unbiased by ties of friendship. I dwell particularly upon this point because Leibniz is so profuse in his praise. Had he known Spe personally, one could not but draw the conclusion that Leibniz was interested most in Spe the man, and that his admiration for the man had been reflected in his admiration for the man's works.

In determining the influence exerted by Spe upon Leibniz, we must pay particular attention to Leibniz's letters. Leibniz the scholar and philosopher was a great planner, a dreamer at times. His own studies had led him into philosophy, theology, mathematics, history, philology—in fact into almost every branch of learning. Few of his works are systematically written. In his letters and short essays he de-

veloped most of his important plans—that of establishing at Berlin an academy of sciences, of inventing a universal language, of uniting the Protestant and Catholic churches, and many others. Even his *Théodicée* is a great collection¹ of opinions, citations, and arguments which he had advanced in many of his letters. Leibniz wrote thousands of letters, and in these we may find practically all the fundamental principles which he utilized in putting together his *Théodicée*. The importance of Leibniz's correspondence for one who is interested in tracing the influence of earlier writers upon Leibniz can hardly be overestimated.

A complete edition of Leibniz's letters has not yet been published.² The letters referring to Spe are scattered through a number of editions³ not all of which are supplied with indexes. One of the letters has never before appeared in print. To facilitate the comparisons between Spe and Leibniz, I have, in this study, given a list of those letters and passages which refer to Spe.

The question may arise why the relation between Spe and Leibniz has not long since been emphasized, inasmuch as Leibniz has been studied from so many points of view. At least three answers may be given. The first has already been pointed out: Leibniz's correspondence has not been readily accessible.⁴

¹ He himself calls it "un tissu." See his letter to Hugony (Gerhardt, IV, 11).

² A complete edition of Leibniz's writings is being planned by the Prussian Academy in conjunction with the French Academy.

³ Among the editors are Placcius, Dutens, Feller, Erdmann, Rommel, Klopp, Gerhardt, Foucher de Careil, Bodemann.

⁴ The earliest reference I have been able to find on the relation between Spe and Leibniz is in Michael De la Roche, *Memoirs of Literature*, 2nd ed., London, 1772, vol. IV, Art. LXIII, pp. 387, 388. A fuller commentary, upon which most of the later writers have based their knowledge, is given in E. D. Hauber, *Bibliotheca Acta et Scriptora Magica*, Lemgo, 1741, vol. II, p. 10; vol. III, pp. 15, 512. Cf. also Ciemens Brentano's edition of Spe's *Trutz Nachtigal*, Berlin, 1817; Onno Klopp's edition of Leibniz's writings, vol. VIII, pp. XIV, XV; Alois Pichler, *Die Theologie des Leibniz*, Munich, 1869 & 1870, vol. I, p. 441; Edmund Pfeiderer, *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz als Patriot, Staatsman und Bildungsträger*, Leipzig, 1870, p. 472 ff.; J. B. M. Diel, *Friedrich von Spee*, Freiburg i. B., 1872; Gustav Balke's edition of *Trutz Nachtigal*,

In the second place, the *Théodicée*, important as it is, is not often read through by the student of philosophy.¹ It is long and straggling, covering more than four hundred large pages of French, with frequent digressions and many citations. Spe is treated in two whole paragraphs, but his name is only one of hundreds that are mentioned in the book. Although Leibniz's sentence "Et maintenant, sans alleguer beaucoup d'autres Auteurs des plus considerables, je me conteray de nommer le Pere Frederic Spee" is significant enough, its importance is appreciated only when it is reinforced by the many references in Leibniz's letters and other writings. These letters, however, are scattered through many collections; their value is lost sight of in the mass of other letters.

In the third place, the *Göldenes Tugendbuch* does not seem to be generally known. It is purely a book of worship, and is of little interest to the student of literature except in so far as it influenced Leibniz. Spe is mentioned in histories of German literature because he wrote the *Trutz Nachtigal*, a collection of poems in which he expresses in verse many of the ideas presented in the *Göldenes Tugendbuch*. The *Tugendbuch* itself, however, is hardly known even by name. It is not contained, for instance, in any of the larger libraries of the United States. Hattler, in the edition of 1887, states that

Leipzig, 1879, pp. XXXVII, LVI; W. G. Soldan, *Geschichte der Hexenprocesse* neu bearbeitet von H. Heppe, Stuttgart, 1880, vol. II, p. 187ff.; J. Diefenbach, *Der Hexenwahn vor und nach der Glaubensspaltung in Deutschland*, Mainz, 1886, p. 111; Georg Längin, *Religion und Hexenprocesse*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 270; Jules Baissac, *Les Grands Jours de Sorcellerie*, Paris, 1890, p. 613; De Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris & Brussels, 1896, vol. II, p. 1430; Friedrich Spee von Johannes Diel, zweite umgearbeitete Ausgabe von Bernhard Duhr, Freiburg i. B., 1901; L. Couturat, *La Logique de Leibniz*, Paris, 1901, pp. 505, 568, 599; Anon., *A Jesuit Philanthropist. Friedrich von Spee and the Würzburg Witches* (*Church Quarterly Review*, vol. 57, pp. 318-337); J. Vahlen, *Erinnerungen an Leibniz* (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXII, 29 Juni 1905, p. 653); M. Kaufmann, *Latitudinarianism and Pietism* (*Cambridge Modern History*, vol. V. Chapter XXIV, p. 758, New York, 1908).

¹ Cf. Guhrauer, *Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibniz*, Breslau, 1842, vol. II, p. 255. "Gegenwärtig wird die *Théodicée* vielleicht nirgends mehr in Ehren gehalten."

when he looked for copies of the 1850 edition he was able, after a trying search through Germany, to find only two.

We are to bear in mind also, that even the accessible copies are to be looked upon primarily as books of worship, not as reprints of a significant piece of literature. Regular editions of the *Tugendbuch* appeared in 1649, 1656, 1666, 1688, 1748, 1749. In 1829 Clemens Brentano, at the request of Bishop Sailer, arranged for the publication of a new edition by securing Fräulein von Hertling of Koblenz to put the prose into a form readily understood by nineteenth-century readers. This edition was reprinted in 1850, and is the basis for Hattler's edition of 1887. All three editions (1829, 1850, 1887) were brought out at the request of authorities in the Catholic Church, and were intended chiefly for pious communicants of Catholicism. The book has not found its way into many libraries, nor has it appealed to many people as of any particular importance. The *Tugendbuch* is not, therefore, widely known.

These three causes—the apparent lack of interest for the *Théodicée* (as compared for instance with the *Monadologie*), the inaccessibility of Leibniz's correspondence, and the scarcity of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*—explain why the relation between the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* and the *Théodicée* has not hitherto been emphasized.

II. THE GÜLDENES TUGENDBUCH

In speaking of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* we should not forget that it is the basis of the *Trutz Nachtigal*—the collection of poems through which Spe has gained a place in the history of German literature. Many of the poems of *Trutz Nachtigal* appear also in the *Tugendbuch*. At present, a brief summary of the contents of the *Tugendbuch* is necessary before its influence upon Leibniz can be determined. By far the most important part of the *Tugendbuch* and the one that appealed most to Leibniz is its introduction.

This introduction to Spe's *Güldenes Tugendbuch* presents briefly the themes which are developed in detail in the book proper—the nature of the three divine virtues (*göttliche Tugenden*), Faith, Hope, and Love. “Dan durch den Glauben

glaube ich in Gott; durch die Hoffnung hoffe ich auf Gott; durch die Liebe lieb ich Gott."

Faith clears the way for the other two virtues. It is, in a way, the foundation of the whole system. "Durch den Glauben halten wir festiglich dass ein Gott seye (Heb. 11), und dass er in seinen reden warhafftig seye; der weder betrogen werden noch auch betriegen kann..... Ohne den Glauben seind (Eph. 5) wis in finsternuss und wissen nicht sonders von Gott: aber da der Glaub im hertzen scheinet (1 Pet.) da wird es liecht und wir erkennen alsbald das Gott ein allmächtiger ewiger unbegreiflicher allwissender Herr sey; ein Schöpffer himmels und der erden."

Hope is the second step. Having taken for granted through Faith that there is a God, one is able to hope for intimate contact with him. "Durch die Hoffnung seind wir Gottes als unsers guts begierig; wir warten, verlangen, seufftzen nach ihm (Psal. 41), wir hoffen und begehren auch alles guts von ihm; wir trawen und bawen auff ihn, verlassen uns gantz und gar auff ihn; wir dencken oft ja steths tag und nacht auff ihn: wir seind immer unrühig (S. Aug. lib 1 conf. cap. 1), biss wir endlich ihn erlangen und in ihm ruhen mögen. Da schmecket uns sonst anders nichts also sehr auff erden als nur Gott allein vor allen dingen". God, in other words, is the fountain head of all bliss, and joy, and beauty. Our whole existence yearns for Him.

Love is a further development of Hope and Faith—a complete resignation to God. "Durch die Liebe wöllen und wünschen wir ihme alles guts auss einer hertzlichen neigung zu ihm: Wir erfrewen uns dass er ein solcher Gott unnd Herr ist; wir wolten gern dass doch alle creatures ihne recht lieben und loben möchten: Und wan solches geschicht da frolocken wir, da springet uns das hertz vor frewden, da seind wir wol zufriednen. Was wir ihme zu lieb thun mögen, und was wir vermainen das sein will sey und ihm gefalle, das thun wir gern von hertzen (Joan. 14).

Of these three virtues, Love is naturally the most important, because it includes the other two; Hope contains Faith; but Faith can exist without the other two. By deeds merely of Faith or of Hope one secures from God no forgiveness of

one's sins. Only deeds of Love, the third of the virtues, will immediately clear the sinner.

Of great importance, therefore, is the distinction between the three. Faith, according to Spe, consists mainly in the reason; Hope and Love, on the other hand, in the will. "Erstlich stehet der Glaub furnemblich in dem verstandt: die Hoffnung aber unnd Liebe stehen eigentlich im willen." No one can have Hope and Love without first having Faith; conversely, if one loses Faith, one immediately loses Hope and Love. The three are thus closely connected.

A sinner who merely performs deeds of Faith and Hope is not cleared of his sins. So great, however, is the value of Love, that if a sinner were loaded down with all the sins of the world, he would be cleared as soon as Love was manifested, even if he had no chance to confess his sins to a priest.

Spe now develops clearly the difference between Hope and Love, the two virtues which, according to the explanation given above, originate through the will, and seem to be one and the same. This difference is, according to Spe, of greatest importance, though it has not hitherto been carefully explained. "Will es derowegen etwas gründlicher erörtern ob du unnd andere es eigentlich begreifen möchtet: dan das ist was ich dir droben verheissen habe dich etwas sehr schönes zu lehren, dass du sonst in andern geistlichen büchern nicht bald aussgelegt finden wirst....Es seind zweyerley Liebe: die eine wird genennet *eine Lieb der begierlichkeit*, die andere wird genent *eine Lieb der Guttwilligkeit oder der freundschaft*."

The Love of Desire (*Begierlichkeit*) is that attitude of mind in which one wishes something for oneself, or in which one is delighted with something which one possesses and which proves to be useful, pleasant, good, and beautiful. For example, with the Love of Desire, one loves a clear, cool drink when one is thirsty, because this drink is pleasant and refreshing. Thus also one loves a good horse, a beautiful picture, a comfortable house; thus also a lover loves his sweetheart because she is friendly, charming, and beautiful. If, however, that which one desires is not at hand, so that one cannot derive joy from it, and if one is obliged to expect in

the future that which one desires, then this love or passion is called a Hope or a Desire. In this manner, therefore, Hope is nothing but a Love of Desire, when that which one desires has not yet been attained. In other words, the difference between *Hoffnung* and *Liebe der Begierlichkeit* is this: if that which we love is not yet in our possession, we experience Hope; if it is in our possession, we experience Love of Desire.

The Love of Benevolence¹ (*Gutwilligkeit*) or the Love of Friendship (*Freundschaft*) is that love with which one loves him for whom one desires things, for whom one wishes everything good. If I wish or desire for myself or for someone else anything good, then I love that thing which I desire or wish with a Love of Desire. Myself, however, or that one for whom I wish these things, I love with the Love of Benevolence or Friendship. A lover loves his sweetheart with both kinds of love, since he loves her for her own sake (*Liebe der Begierlichkeit*), and at the same time wishes for her everything that is good (*Liebe der Gutwilligkeit* oder *Freundschaft*.) We love our food, for instance, only with the Love of Desire, for we wish it only for the enjoyment it affords us. One loves a monarch, on the other hand, only with the Love of Benevolence; one wishes him all happiness and success but does not wish to possess him.

Let us now come back to the three divine virtues. Faith makes one believe that there is a God, an all-powerful master who is endowed with all good qualities and who commands the respect and obedience of all. No sooner have we learned about God through Faith than we begin to love Him, first with the Love of Desire (which is the second virtue, Hope), and finally with the third of the virtues, the Love of Benevolence or Friendship.

Everything centres in Love (the Love of Benevolence or Friendship). Hitherto the distinction between the two kinds of love had not been especially emphasized. "Dann das were mein begehren, dass du es einmal recht auss dem verstündest,

¹ In the 1850 edition, in which Spe's language has been modernized, we find the terms 'Liebe der Begierde', 'Liebe des Wohlwollens', 'Liebe der Freundschaft'. Thomas Aquinas, from whom, as will be shown later, Spe probably borrowed the terms, uses the forms 'amor concupiscentiae', 'amor benevolentiae seu amicitiae'.

sintemahl es dir hernacher dein gantzes lebenlang sehr oft zu nutz kommen wird, und ist ihme selber schön zu wissen, sonderlich weil auch etliche Geistliche Bücher (wie ich vermercke) diese beide Liebe nicht recht unterscheiden, sondern fast durch einander werffen." As soon as one loves God with the Love of Benevolence one's sins are forgiven even without a formal confession, because repentance and sorrow for one's sins are really the results of Love, the Love of Benevolence. "Also dass es noch war bleibet, was gesagt ist, dass sonst keine einzige andere Tugend den Sünder gerecht mache, als allein die liebe der gutwilligkeit, oder der freundschaftt. Unnd zwar im alten Testament haben die Menschen kein ander mittel zur gerechtfertigung gehabt, als eben die Rew und Lieb, welch über die begangene Sünde auss Gottes Liebe herührte."

These are Spe's closing words in his introduction to the *Güldenenes Tugendbuch*. Leibniz, in order to make the point a little more clear, adds in brackets, in his French translation¹ of Spe's introduction: "Ils falloit toujours cependant que la grace que le Messie nous devoit obtenir y entrât. Car si Dieu n'exerçoit pas une benignité gratuite envers nous, nostre foy ou dilection ne nous obtiendrait pas la beatitude qu'il a bien voulu nous promettre en consideration de son fils."

The body of the *Güldenenes Tugendbuch* is merely an elaborate development of the introduction. The book is divided into three parts, the first being devoted to a discussion of "Der Glaube," the second to "Hoffnung oder Liebe der Begierlichkeit," and the third to "Liebe der Gutwilligkeit oder Freundschaftt." Spe has skilfully divided his material into chapters, and by this division has indicated the importance to be attached to each of the three virtues. Twelve chapters are required for his exposition and explanation of Faith, twenty-two for Hope, and thirty-five for Love. That Love is the main theme, and that Faith and Hope are analyzed primarily to show their relation to Love is indicated by the number of

¹ This translation was sent with the letter to the Electress Sophie. How greatly Leibniz was interested in Spe's introduction will be shown in a later chapter.

chapters devoted to the third virtue—more than the sum of those devoted to Faith and Hope. As for the amount of actual material in the three parts, the ratio indicated in the number of chapters remains almost the same.¹ About one-seventh of the book is devoted to Faith, two-sevenths to Hope, and four-sevenths to Love.

Of the utmost importance for our study is one fact: Spe's *Güldenes Tugendbuch* is a carefully planned work with the prime object of demonstrating to the world that in the power of divine love is to be found all happiness and all salvation. Everything else is subordinated to this guiding principle. This divine love, this "Liebe der Gutwilligkeit," this "amor dei," as we shall see, appealed strongly to Leibniz; upon this principle he built his *Théodicée*.

Not the detailed chapters of the *Tugendbuch* but the spirit of the whole appeals to us as it did to Leibniz. As might be expected from the title and from the headings of the chapters, the *Tugendbuch* is essentially an "Erbauungsbuch," a book written to exalt the reader, to instil in him some of the religious fervor with which its author was inspired. The *Tugendbuch*, naive and light as some of its chapters might seem, accomplishes its object. When one has read it through, one understands the goal that the author has in mind, one understands the effect it must have had upon its readers, most of whom were living in the midst of a country torn by religious dissension and prostrated by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. The *Tugendbuch* held out hopes for a brighter future. And by what method?

In the first place, the *Tugendbuch* breathes the spirit of cheerfulness, of hopefulness, of optimism. Throughout its hundreds of pages the reader is constantly reminded of the inherent goodness of God, of His love for fellow men, His efforts

¹ In the original edition of 1649 the division is as follows: Introduction 32 pages; Faith, 132; Hope, 218; Love, 424;—total, 806

In the 1850 edition: Introduction, 18; Faith, 76; Hope, 157; Love, 296;—total, 547. This edition (as also that of 1887) actually divides the material in that it has a separate title page and independent pagination for "Love."

In the 1887 edition: Introduction, 17; Faith, 77; Hope, 148; Love, 294;—total 536.

and constant desire to make men better. In striking contrast is this spirit to that of some of Spe's contemporaries who emphasized the wrath of God, His determination to exterminate all who thwarted His will, His day of judgment when all sins would be punished. Spe says practically nothing about hereditary sin, he disregards almost entirely the part played by Satan, he is concerned chiefly with the three golden virtues, and of these three the greatest is Love.

Spe dwells (as did Leibniz) upon the all-embracing power (*Vollkommenheit*) of God; consequently God must be infinitely good and kind and merciful. "Und wir erkennen alsbald, das Gott ein allmächtiger, ewiger, unbegreiflicher, allwissender Herr sey."¹ Everything we possess comes from God. "Ist bewust, dass weil der mensch alles von Gott hat, und also Leib und Seel und vil mehr schuldig ist, es gewiss gar gering und gleichsam nichts sein muss was solcher Leibeigner zahlen wird." (p. 664). In other words, man is entirely dependent upon God; but God extends His divine love to all, consequently in a simple act of love we can find salvation and forgiveness for all transgressions. How eagerly such a whole-souled philosophy was accepted by the readers can only be imagined; that it appealed to Leibniz we shall soon see.

The *Tugendbuch* emphasizes, finally, the greatness of God, the splendor of his creations, the harmony of the universe. The idea of an all-embracing harmony is brought out again and again. A scene is represented in Heaven, for instance, with God on the throne and the twelve apostles singing His praises, first individually, then in chorus. Another represents the virgins in the same way, another the angels, and so on. Again and again Spe enumerates names of flowers, trees, animals, races of men, classes of nobles—all to indicate that everybody and everything is subject to God, who is responsible for the existence of all. In many cases poems are introduced (afterwards included in the *Trutz Nachtigal*) to lend a musical and artistic touch to the descriptions.

With a definite goal always in mind—the glorification of God and of His divine Love—Spe was able to make upon his readers a profound impression. The absence of pessimistic

¹ Cf. Spe's introduction to the *Tugendbuch*.

strains, the constant stimulus toward higher aims, the emphasis upon God's goodness—these were the fundamental principles which impressed Leibniz as they would impress every reader of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*.

As to the relation between the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* and the *Trutz Nachtigal*, little need be added. In summing up the contents of *Trutz Nachtigal*, every literary history of Germany emphasizes Spe's interest for nature, his delight in the beauties of the world, his eye for harmony, his delicate ear for melodious tones, his all-embracing love for humanity. The poems of *Trutz Nachtigal*, as can be seen from a hasty perusal of their titles, are merely poetic versions of the principles laid down by the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*. In fact, the extant manuscripts of *Trutz Nachtigal* and *Güldenes Tugendbuch* show that many poems were included in both works. In the *Tugendbuch* we find thirty-nine poems of varying length. The Paris manuscript of *Trutz Nachtigal*, for instance, cites only the opening lines of twenty-three of the poems, and refers to the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* for the complete versions. (Cf. Balke, XXXIX). The Düsseldorf manuscript of the *Tugendbuch* contains twenty of the poems that are in *Trutz Nachtigal*.

Thus we see that *Trutz Nachtigal* and *Güldenes Tugendbuch* are merely different versions of the same underlying thoughts. Leibniz knew the *Trutz Nachtigal*; he was chiefly interested, however, in the *Tugendbuch*. It is the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* therefore, which concerns us chiefly in tracing the relation between Spe and Leibniz.

III. THE GÜLDENES TUGENDBUCH AND THE THÉODICÉE

A brief review of the circumstances surrounding the appearance of Leibniz's *Théodicée* will not be out of place. The seventeenth century which had brought upon Europe the terrible Thirty Years' War, the War of the Spanish Succession, the War for Dutch independence, the bitter internal religious dissensions resulting from the Counter-Reformation, witnessed at its very end (in 1697) the publication of Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*.

Bayle (1647-1706)¹ was one of the foremost thinkers of

¹ For accounts of Bayle cf. W. Windelband, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, Tübingen, 1903, p. 405; J. T. Merz, *Leibniz*, Philadelphia, 1884, pp. 99-102.

his day. Born a Protestant, he changed to Catholicism at the age of twenty-two, only to be won back to Protestantism the next year. Although born in France, he had received much of his training in Geneva, had taught philosophy at the academy at Sedan, and in 1681, when the Reformed universities and academies in France were discontinued, had migrated to Rotterdam. Here he began that fruitful activity which won for him the name "the philosopher of Rotterdam."

In a series of remarkable pamphlets, culminating in the epoch-making *Dictionnaire*, Bayle emphasized the weakness of human reason, the necessity of an attitude of reserve toward those matters which were really doubtful. He pointed out that many a universally accepted theological truth was in reality only a hypothesis; he seemed to take grim pleasure in calling upon theologians to prove conclusively what they had formerly accepted without the slightest question. Whether Bayle himself merely wished to throw doubt on the methods of proving theological truths, or whether he really depended more on faith and revelation than on reason, need not concern us here. He became a sceptic, and his *Dictionnaire* became the so-called "bible of scepticism."

Bayle exerted an important influence on the eighteenth century. His *Dictionnaire* became the weapon of many in the fight against metaphysics, against religion, against all dogmatism. He was the first to use a comprehensive scholarship and carefully trained logical mind to point out the irreconcilable contrast between reason and faith, although by so doing he recognized that reason was a force no less powerful than faith, a force which in the course of the following centuries was to be victorious over blind faith. "His most violent opponents," says Voltaire in the *Siècle de Louis XIV*, "must admit that in his works not a single line occurs which contains a blasphemy against the Christian religion, but even his most zealous defenders will concede that in his controversial articles not a single page occurs which does not lead the reader to doubt and often to incredulity."¹

Bayle's works were widely read. His *Dictionnaire* was hailed with approval; a second and enlarged edition was pub-

¹ R. Habs, *Die Théodicée von G. W. Leibniz* (Reclam edition), p. 31.

lished in 1702. Two years later Bayle began to publish his *Response aux questions d'un Provinzial*, in which he defends the views originally propounded in the *Dictionnaire*. At the royal court in Berlin, Bayle's works, particularly the *Dictionnaire*, were carefully studied. Queen Sophie Charlotte discussed with her friend Leibniz the propositions advanced by Bayle. As a result of these discussions, Leibniz was requested by the Queen to put his thoughts into writing. Sophie Charlotte died in 1705, Bayle in 1706. After the death of the Queen, Leibniz began to collect the material for his *Théodicée*, which appeared first in 1710.

It has been said, and with reason, that the appearance of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* was responsible for the *Théodicée*. This statement is in the main correct. If the *Dictionnaire* had not appeared, and if the Queen of Prussia had not requested Leibniz to put into writing the arguments which he used against Bayle in his conversations with her, the *Théodicée* might not have been written. It must be remembered, however, that Leibniz's position against the scepticism championed by Bayle had been decided upon long before the appearance of the *Dictionnaire*. Leibniz's earlier works and particularly his letters reveal his fundamental principles, which are in harmony with those advanced in his *Théodicée*. If the *Dictionnaire* of Bayle had never appeared, Leibniz's philosophy would probably be just as well known, although perhaps not so clearly stated as in the *Théodicée*. In other words, the *Théodicée* must not be looked upon solely as an answer to Bayle. In studying the *Théodicée* therefore, we should be concerned not so much in emphasizing the immediate circumstances which brought about the publication of the work as in studying the origins of those principles which were the foundations of Leibniz's optimism.

Briefly described, the *Théodicée* is a vindication or justification of God, a treatise concerning faith and absolute knowledge, an exposition of the spirit of optimism, or, in Leibniz's own words, a collection of essays concerning the goodness and the grace and the love of God, the freedom of man, and the origin of evil. The whole work has a deeply religious character; the arguments seem to centre about one main thesis,

namely that the system of the universe depends upon the wisdom, justice, love of God.¹

By first presupposing this all-powerful love, he goes on to prove that the freedom of man and the existence of evil are by no means contradictory, inasmuch as God can allow this freedom even though He know how man will act. The world contains evil because evil is necessarily contained in a finite world. We are by nature finite beings; evil merely proves our original limitations. The actual presence of evil in the world does not reflect upon the work of an all-powerful, beneficent creator. Finiteness and limitation are part of the nature of all creatures since all finite things are imperfect. Limitation involves sin, sin involves sorrow. We can not imagine a world without sin. But this great love and goodness and grace, which are a part of God, guarantees that this world of ours contains as few evils as possible, that this world is the best among possible worlds, in other words, that the evil which is necessarily a part of us on account of our limitations is offset by the goodness of God. This is the great Leibnizian theory of optimism; this supreme optimism depends upon the goodness, the love of God.

The three parts into which the *Théodicée* is divided deal respectively with the goodness of God, the liberty of man, and the origin of evil. Naturally the second and third divisions depend upon the first. By proving God's infinite goodness, Leibniz shows that man can exercise his free will even though evil does exist, that evil exists only because according to the nature of finite things it must exist, and that God through His infinite goodness has created the best of possible worlds. Everything, therefore, centres about God's goodness and love, just as everything in Spe's *Güldenes Tugendbuch* centres about this same goodness and love of God. It is interesting to note that Leibniz's reference in the *Théodicée* to Spe appears in this first general division "Sur la bonté de Dieu." This in itself indicates that Spe's influence upon Leibniz, so far as the *Théodicée* was concerned, was felt mainly in this first

¹ Cf. letter of Leibniz to Jablonski, Jan. 23, 1700 (Gerhardt, vol. VI, p. 3): "Ich hatte mir einmahls vorgenommen eine Theodicaeum zu schreiben und darinnen Gottes Güteigkeit, Weisheit und Gerechtigkeit, so wohl als höchste Macht und unverhinderliche Influentz zu vindiciren."

phase of the problem. That the principle of the importance of divine love, as emphasized by Spe in the *Tugendbuch*, made a particularly profound impression upon Leibniz is admitted by the latter's significant sentence "je me conteray de nommer le Pere Frederic Spee Jesuite, un de plus excellens hommes de sa Societé, qui a aussi été de ce sentiment commun de l'efficace de l'amour de Dieu, comme il paroît par la Preface du beau livre, qu'il a fait en Allemand sur les vertus Chretien-nes." ¹ It is this "sentiment commun de l'efficace de l'amour de Dieu" which is emphasized on almost every page both of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* and of the *Théodicée*.

The development of Leibniz's interest in this principle of divine love can be followed in his writings referring to Spe. In 1667, as a young man of twenty-one, he arrived in Mainz, where he met the Archbishop Johann Philipp Schönborn. About two years later, in 1669 or 1670, he wrote the first of the famous memorials which many years later led to the establishment of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. This first comprehensive outline is entitled *Grundriss eines Bedenkens von Aufrichtung einer Societät in Teutschland zu Aufnehmen der Künste und Wissenschaften*.

The argument followed in the *Grundriss* is of special interest, for it shows the unmistakable influence of the introduction to Spe's *Tugendbuch*. The academy should be established, says Leibniz, first for the sake of one's conscience, secondly for the purpose of bringing immortal fame to the founders, and thirdly for the common good. A good conscience is a joyful disposition in consequence of a hope for eternal bliss. Hope is faith in the future, faith is a hope in the past, both hope and faith depend on love, and all three are based on knowledge. Love is the all-important prerequisite in understanding the power of God and the beauty of the universe. The more a person knows about the world, the more he appreciates the harmony in the world and the more he respects the wisdom and love of the Creator. An academy, therefore, which collects facts and advances knowledge will also accomplish much for the glory of God. When the French Academy was founded by Cardinal Richelieu, some one proposed that

¹ *Théodicée*, § 96.

every member be obliged to compose something every year in praise of God; this proposition was unfortunately never carried out. But, as Leibniz adds, the words of Friedrich Spe are to be particularly praised, for he stated that nothing should be done without considering the glory and honor due to God.

The *Grundriss* mentions practically only two names—Richelieu, as the founder of the French Academy, and Spe as the exponent of those ideas which Leibniz lays as the foundation of the proposed academy in Germany. Spe's *Tugendbuch* emphasized the power of divine love; Leibniz's *Théodicée* is foreshadowed in the *Grundriss* in which is strongly emphasized the importance of Spe's views.

Closely related to the *Grundriss* is Leibniz's letter to the Electress Sophie, written in 1697—the letter in which he enclosed his French translation of Spe's introduction to the *Tugendbuch*. Here we have the same principles as Spe sets forth; these principles, moreover, are developed by Leibniz in the body of the letter, and must by no means be confused with the remarks which he enclosed in brackets in the translation proper. If we keep in mind the great part played by the Electress Sophie in Leibniz's life and the importance of his correspondence with her, we can understand how much value is to be attached to the statements contained in this letter and how valuable this letter will be in tracing a connection between Spe's *Tugendbuch* and Leibniz's *Théodicée*.

First of all, Leibniz draws a distinction between two kinds of love—*aimer* and *aimer sur toutes choses*, corresponding to Spe's division. To love, he says, is to find satisfaction in the perfections and advantages, particularly in the happiness, of another. To love beyond all things is to find such pleasure in the happiness of another so that one regards all other pleasures as nothing when compared with this. He distinguishes, moreover, between "l'amour de la bienveillance" (which corresponds to Spe's "Liebe der Gutwilligkeit") and "l'amour de cupidité" or "l'amour de concupiscence" (which corresponds to Spe's "Liebe der Begierlichkeit"). Then follows the all-important sentence: "Ils rapportent l'amour de la premiere espece [de bienveillance] a la vertu de la Charité,

et l'amour de la second espece [de cupidite] a la vertu de l'Esperance." This, of course, follows the method of Spe who differentiates "Hoffnung" and "Liebe" by calling the former "Liebe der Begierlichkeit" (Leibniz's "l'amour de cupidité" or "l'Esperance"), and the latter "Liebe der Gutwilligkeit" (Leibniz's "l'amour de bienveillance" or "Charité").

Leibniz regarded a clear definition of love as of great importance. Curiously enough, we have a direct confession from Leibniz that he owed to Spe many of his ideas concerning this love. In the *Codex juris gentium diplomaticum* (1693) we find the following statement: "*Justitiam* . . . definiemus caritatem sapientis . . . *Caritas* est benevolentia universalis, et benevolentia amandi sive diligendi habitus. *Amare* autem sive *diligere* est felicitate alterius delectari, vel, quod eodem redit, felicitatem alienam adsciscere in suam." Here Leibniz's definition of "love" corresponds practically to Spe's "Liebe der Gutwilligkeit" as distinguished from "Liebe der Begierlichkeit." But in the letter to the Electress Sophie, Leibniz expresses his debt to Spe. Toward the end of the letter occurs this paragraph: "C'est la le sens de ce que j'avois fait imprimer en latin en 1693 [in the *Codex* referred to above]. Mes, c'est dès ma jeunesse que j'avois formé ces idées [concerning the two kinds of love. etc.]. Un grand prince qui estoit en même temps un grand prelat me recommandant le livre Allemand du P. Spee, sur les trois vertus Chrestiennes, imprimé et reimprimé plus d'une fois à Cologne, y contribua beaucoup."

In these final words—"y contribua beaucoup"—we find the key to the whole problem. From his youth, Leibniz says, he had these ideas which, as I shall try to show, dominated the *Théodicée*. Both Spe and Leibniz begin their respective works with an introduction, both men sum up in the introduction the main argument in the work that follows. Spe, as we have seen, traces everything to the power of divine love. Leibniz, as we shall see, does the same.

In one of the opening paragraphs of the introduction to the *Théodicée*, Leibniz has this to say of love and its power: "Car il n'y a rien si agreable que d'aimer ce qui est digne

d'amour. L'Amour est cette affection qui nous fait trouver du plaisir dans les perfections de ce qu'on aime, et il n'y a rien de plus parfait que Dieu, n'y rien de plus charmant. Pour l'aimer il suffit d'en envisager les perfections, ce qui est aisé, parce que nous trouvons en nous leurs idées. Les perfections de Dieu sont celles de nos âmes, mais il les possède sans bornes : il est un Ocean, dont nous n'avons reçu que des gouttes : il y a en nous quelque puissance, quelque connoissance, quelque bonté, mais elles sont toutes entières en Dieu. L'ordre, les proportions, l'harmonie nous enchantent, la peinture et la musique en sont des échantillons ; Dieu est tout ordre, il garde toujours la justesse des proportions, il fait l'harmonie universelle : toute la beauté est un épanchement de ses rayons.

"Il s'ensuit manifestement que la véritable piété, et même la véritable félicité, consiste dans l'armour de Dieu, mais dans un amour éclairé, dont l'ardeur soit accompagnée de lumière...."

Upon this principle of divine love, therefore, Leibniz lays great stress. He goes so far as to state that one cannot even love God without recognizing His completeness, His perfections. I quote from another of the opening paragraphs of Leibniz's introduction. "*On ne sauroit aimer Dieu, sans en connoître les perfections, et cette connoissance renferme les principes de la véritable piété.*" Throughout the rest of the introduction and in the essay proper all the essential Leibnizian principles—preestablished harmony, the necessity of evil in a finite world, the theory that this is the best of all possible worlds—are subordinated to the great principle of divine love.

It is important to note that practically every time Leibniz refers to Spe, he speaks of the divine love which Spe so successfully emphasized in the *Tugendbuch*; again and again he expresses his indebtedness to Spe. The following selections will make clear the consistency with which Leibniz reiterates the importance of the divine love advocated by Spe in the *Göldenes Tugendbuch*.

In the *Grundriss* (1669-70), as we have seen, Leibniz argues that the great academy should be established to prove the glory of God and the harmony of the universe. The *Tu-*

gendbuch is not mentioned by name, but Spe is praised for emphasizing the necessity of divine love.¹

From the *Elogium Patris Friderici Spee* (1677): "Nescio enim, an quisquam unquam autorum, qui in populi usum scripsere, rem tantum, uno nostro autore excepto, pro dignitate attigerit. Ostendit enim, in quo vera consistat natura contritionis et amoris Deo debiti, idque familiari sermone et ad commovendos homines apto. Viam quin etiam subinducat per quam unusquisque ad contritionem pervenire possit, ne sibi imaginentur homines, veram contritionem et actum amoris Dei super omnia esse rem, ad quam post omnem conatum adhibitum non semper liceat pervenire. Quin inoclare edisserit, qui hunc amorem non habeat, eum esse in statu mortalis peccati, ut scilicet tacite innueret (nam totidem verbis effere, credo, ausus non est) attritionem solam etiam cum poenitentiae sacramento non sufficere ad remissionem peccati et justificationem: contra vulgarem scholasticorum opinionem, nuper in Gallica recte impugnatam."

From the letter to the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1693): "Und wird man wenig Practicos Autores finden, darinn die rechte Natur einer unverfälschten und nicht auf Hoffnung oder Furcht, sondern einzig und allein auff die Schönheit und Vollkommenheit Gottes gegründeten, und also uninteressirten Liebe zu Gott, so wohl ercläret und dargestellt. Wie denn, seiner Lehre nach, solche Liebe den wahren glauben in sich beschliesset und also nichts anders ist, als wir den Lebendigen oder durch die Liebe thätigen glauben nennen. Da er dann trefflich weiset, dass in der that alles darauf ankomme."

From the letter to Morell (1696): "Il a sur tout reconnu et recommadé ce grand secret de l'effect du veritable amour de Dieu."

From the letter to tre Electress Sophie (1697): "mais tous les amours sont surpassés par celuy qui a Dieu pour object, et il n'y que Dieu qui puisse estre aimé avec raison sur toutes choses."

From Leibniz's review of the book by the Archbishop of Cambray (1697): "Cependant il [Spe] faut avouer qu'on

¹ Cf. § 16 of the *Grundriss*.

donne pas toujours des preceptes suffisants pour exciter le pur amour de Dieu sur toutes choses et la véritable contrition, et lors même qu'on fonde l'amour de Dieu sur ses bienfaits, considérés d'une manière que ne marque pas en même temps ses perfections, c'est un amour d'un degré inférieur utile sans doute et louable, mais qui ne laisse pas d'être intéressé et n'a pas toutes les conditions du pur amour divin; et selon les principes du P. Spee, etc."

From the letter to Placcius (1697): "Usque adeo, ut me etiam suggarente a nonnullis in praxin traductam fuerit elegans, quod proponit, et Mathematica ratione demonstrat, artificium, indefinenter laudandi Deum."

From the letter to Mlle. Scudéry (1698): "Il a sur tout reconnu et recommandé le grand secret de l'effect du véritable amour de Dieu."

Finally the much quoted passage from the *Théodicée* (1710): "Et maintenant, sans alleguer beaucoup d'autres Auteurs des plus considerables, je me contenteray de nommer le Pere Frederic Spee Jesuite, un de plus excellens hommes de sa Societé, qui a aussi été de ce sentiment commun de l'efficace de l'amour de Dieu, comme il paroît par le Preface du beau livre qu'il a fait en Allemand sur les vertus Chretiennes." (§ 96).

That this principle of divine love is the guiding principle both of Spee's *Tugendbuch* and of Leibniz's *Théodicée* will hardly be denied in view of the passages quoted from both texts. It would, of course, be an exaggeration to state that Leibniz got this principle of divine love from Spee and only from Spee. It is, however, apparent that the principle as brought out by Spee appealed strongly to Leibniz. The great philosopher never hesitated to express his debt to the Jesuit priest. It is of interest also that, according to a thorough student of Leibniz's philosophy, the principle of divine love is the guiding principle of all of Leibniz's philosophy:¹

"The more reasonable a man is, the less can he find his happiness in selfish isolation, the more will he rejoice in the happiness of others as well as his own, i. e. *love* men. The

¹ Otto Pfeleiderer, *The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History*, translated from the German by Alexander Stewart and Allen Menzies, London, 1886, vol. I, pp. 85, 86.

more love, then, the more happiness, the more perfection, the more life. Hence Leibniz gives us that final saying, which we should in vain seek in Spinoza, 'Our life is to be esteemed in so far as we do good in it.'

"Leibniz is, however, quite at one with Spinoza in holding that the moral perfection, the happiness, and the freedom of man cannot be dis severed from true *piety*. And this he defines just as Spinoza does, as *love* to God springing out of the knowledge of the divine perfection. He recognizes the distinctive superiority of the Christian religion over that of the Jews and the heathen, in that it makes the Deity the object, not of our fear and awe, but of our love. Religion thereby satisfies the innermost requirement of our nature, and gives us a foretaste of the future felicity. For nothing brings so great happiness as to love what is worthy to be loved. Love rejoices in the perfection of the beloved; but there is nothing more perfect than God; hence love to him is the natural consequence of contemplating his perfections; and this contemplation is easy to us because we possess the reflections of those perfections in ourselves."

Why did the *Tugendbuch* make so great an impression upon Leibniz? Aside from the fact that it strongly emphasized the principle of divine love, it was written in a style that appealed directly to the *masses*. Leibniz, we must remember, was one of the first German scholars to recommend the use of the vernacular. During his residence in Mainz (1667-1672) he had brought out a new edition of a work by Marius Nizolius entitled *Antibarbarus, seu de veris principiis et vera ratione philosophandi contra Pseudophilosophos*. At the request of Boineburg, the Archbishop's minister of state, Leibniz also wrote a dissertation on the philosophical style of Nizolius. Here he emphasizes the use of popular words, points out that philosophy has advanced more rapidly in England and France because in those countries the vernacular was introduced early as the language of literature, and refers to the peculiar aptness of the German language for philosophical expression.¹ He tells us that in Leipzig he had learned to write

¹ Cf. T. Merz, *Leibniz*, pp. 32, 33; Paul Pietsch, *Leibniz und die deutsche Sprache*, Berlin, 1907-08 (*Wissenschaftliche Beihefte zur Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins*, 4te Reihe, Hefte 29, 30).

German well. In a tract on Roman law he recommends that young jurists be trained to speak German, and picks out as a model the language of the law courts of Leipzig and of Saxony. Like Luther, therefore, he used German in many of his tracts. Of special importance are his *Ermahnung an die Teutsche, ihren verstand und sprache besser zu üben, sammt beygefügtten vorschlag einer Teutsch gesintten Gesellschaft* and his *Unvorgreiffliche Gedanken betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der Teutschen Sprache*.¹

Leibniz advocated the use of German twenty years before Christian Thomasius delivered at Leipzig his first university lecture in German. Leibniz often used Latin and French, but only because he wished for his philosophical works a popularity and universality which could not be attained through the German. He begs forgiveness in the last sentences of the introduction to the *Théodicée*, which he wrote in French mainly because Bayle had used French in the *Dictionnaire*.

In the *Tugendbuch* Leibniz found a direct and popular German vernacular; in his remarks on Spee's style we may find an additional and important reason for his interest in Spee and his admiration for the *Güldenenes Tugendbuch*. In the *Elogium* (1667) Leibniz says of Spee: "Nescio enim, an quisquam unquam autorum, qui *in populi usu* [the italics are mine] scripsere, rem tantam, uno nostro autore excepto, pro dignitate attigerit." In the letter to Landgraf Ernst (1680): "Entre les ouvrages de devotion, qui meritoient d'estre mis en usage *parmy le peuple* je n'en trouve gueres de la force du livre du P. Frederic Spee Jesuite, intitulé: 'Güldenenes Tugendbuch.' " In the letter to Morell (1696): "Mais il y a des pensées si belles et si profondes, et en meme temps, si bien proposees pour toucher meme *les ames populaires*, et en foncées dans le monde, que j'en ay este charmé." In the address to the Archbishop of Cambray (1697): "Et j'ai surtout trouvé de la satisfaction dans les excellents ouvrages du P. Spee Jesuite, dont le merite a été infiniment au-dessus de la reputation qu'il a acquise." In the letter to Mlle. de Scudéry (1698): "Mais il y a des pensées si belles proposés pour

¹ Cf. Pietsch; also Couturat, *La Logique de Leibniz*, p. 515; E. Pfeiderer, pp. 689 ff.

toucher même *les ames populaires* et enfoncées dans le monde, que j'en ay este charmé."¹

In Spe, therefore, Leibniz found a model. The ideals advanced in the *Tugendbuch* by the Jesuit priest appealed to a liberal Protestant like Leibniz; the book was written in the popular vein advocated so consistently by Leibniz.

Of the letters and extracts listed later on, more than two-thirds were written during or after 1697, the date of the appearance of Bayle's *Dictionnaire*. In fact some of the most important letters and works—those to the Electress Sophie, to the Archbishop of Cambray, to Placcius, to Mlle. de Scudéry, to the Abbé Nicaise—fall in the years 1697 and 1698 when the excitement about Bayle's work was at its height. We can understand Leibniz's method of going about his task. When Bayle's work appeared and Europe was stirred up about its contents, when the skepticism expressed by Bayle threatened to sweep everything before it, when the Queen of Prussia called upon Leibniz to put into writing the arguments used against Bayle, it was necessary for the philosopher merely to systematize the basic principle which he thoroughly believed and which he had admired so greatly in Spe's *Tugendbuch*. Leibniz's *Grundriss* and his *Elogium* foreshadow his more serious *Théodicée*. In the chapter to follow I shall show in more detail the connection between the *Tugendbuch* and the *Théodicée*.

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(To be continued.)

¹ The similarity in the phrases used by Leibniz in his letter to Morell (1696) and in his letter to Mlle. de Scudéry (1698) is of interest.

THE SO-CALLED PROSPECTIVE OR ANTICIPATORY SUBJUNCTIVE IN GOTHIC

“Notgedrungene Beiträge,” I should like to call this contribution, if I dared on Lessing’s account. At the last Michigan School Masters’ Club Professor Hale, under the wider head of “Unification in Grammatical Nomenclature,” presented a paper on the subjunctive, in which he contended that the general categories of that mood, called for by the facts of chiefly Greek and Latin, and, less imperatively, by other Idg. languages, are applicable to German grammar also. I was asked to discuss this paper, from the view point of the German grammarian. Hale’s paper is essentially the same as that printed in the Proceedings of the Modern Lang. Ass., vol. xxvi. The discussions called forth in Ann Arbor at the School Master’s Club are printed, with a final reply by Hale, in the School Review for November. In my part of the discussion I picked out two uses of the subjunctive.

First: The Subjunctive of Anticipation, so called by Hale. I endeavored to show, and, it seems to me, to any one at all willing to be led by the logic of the facts, even after Hale’s strictures in the School Review of November, I did show, that the subjunctive which *for us now* may *sometimes* seem to have anticipatory force, had *for our ancestors* a different meaning, if it had any meaning at all.

In the second place I called attention to the metamorphosis of the subjunctive in indirect discourse in German, from presumably an optative subjunctive to one with potential, and finally to one without much if any meaning at all.

Though I see no difference in the bearing of the two points I made, Hale calls the part of the discussion dealing with the anticipatory subjunctive the more important, and proceeds to invalidate my argument by making it appear as if I had distorted or misinterpreted the facts. I should not deem it of any great importance to answer, if it had not been decided in the Michigan School Masters’ Club to ask the Philological Association and the Modern Language Association to appoint a joint committee for the purpose of establishing some sort of

uniform nomenclature. They are not likely to look into the matter with any care, Professor Hale, a member of the committee, having declared that the results of my method of procedure, upon my exhibition of the facts, seem weighty, but that he does not, in Gothic at least, the only language whose evidence he has time to control, find the facts to be exactly reported.

I beg leave to report the facts more accurately, at least with some greater detail. They will serve two purposes at the same time. In the first place, I think, they will incontrovertibly show, what I started out to show in my former paper, now published with a part of the symposium in the *School Review*, namely that the subjunctive in clauses with a particle equivalent to *until*, *before*, is in Gothic not the rule, and where it is found it is often probably not an anticipatory subjunctive. Incidentally a comparison of the Gothic sentences with the corresponding Greek shows Wulfila's independence as a translator.

1. *Faurpizei* is used in the sense of "before" with reference to either a time future or present relatively to the time of the speaker, or to a time relatively past to this time. Only in the former case could we possibly speak of a subjunctive of anticipation. But with *faurpizei* we find the subjunctive in all cases, also in clauses which, as Hale would say, could under no theory have a subjunctive. I called attention to the fact that after comparatives in the main clause, a subjunctive in subordinate clauses is quite common in the older Germanic dialects, and suggested that, *faurpizei* having in itself comparative force, its subjunctive might be of the same origin as the subjunctive after comparatives generally. Schulze's *Gotisches Glossar*, which was probably one of Hale's sources of information also, cites nine instances in all, and I did not look long for any others. But these nine are instructive. Of them four passages have a subjunctive which I, for one, could not call anticipatory. Not to be misunderstood again, I will designate the passages: John 17:4; Gal. 2:12; John 8:58; Luke 2:26. In four other cases the subjunctive might have the function claimed by Hale, Matth. 6:8; John 13:19; John 14:29; Mark 14:72; and possibly in a fifth case: Luke 2:21.

2. *unte*, in the sense of *while*, *as long as*, *until*, is found according to Schulze, with whose numbers Hale agrees, 22 times; in twenty instances in clauses with verbs relatively present or future, in two instances in clauses whose verbs are relatively past to the time of the main verb. These two, John 9:18, and Mark 14:54, may be left out of the consideration as irrelevant. I wish Hale might have specified the *four* cases which he wishes to be subtracted as under no theory admitting of an anticipatory subjunctive. If Wulfla were not in so many other instances independent of his Greek, as we shall see presently, I might be tempted to reject, along with the two passages cited, also John 9:4; and I Tim. 4:13. For in these four cases the *Greek* has an indicative. Could that be the reason why Hale selects four for rejection? I can well conceive how John 9:4, e. g., "We must work, while it is day," might have a subjunctive. I am sure I have heard: "Let us work while it *shall* be called to-day," which "shall" Hale claims to be the English scion of the old anticipatory subjunctive. (In looking through Erdmann's "Deutsche Syntax" for some parallel form of German literature I find that he also explains the subjunctive after *faurpizei* as probably due to the comparative tinge of the particle). On the same ground I Tim. 4:13 must, or can be retained. We have then, in all, twenty, or, according to Hale, eighteen, instances in which Wulfla might have used an anticipatory subjunctive after *unte*. He does use it according to my count, just five times.¹ But the proportions 5:15 would by no means be fair in view of some other considerations, as we shall see presently.

3. *und patei*, in the same sense as *unte*, is cited six times; in every case the time is relatively present or future. In four instances we have the indicative, in two the subjunctive. In two instances the Greek has an indicative, and two of the Gothic instances Hale wants counted out as irrelevant. Presumably they are the same, Matth. 5:25, and Mark 2:19. If I could only be sure that Wulfla's feeling in the matter was the same as Hale's. Under the circumstances, I but reluctantly yield to Hale. But again the proportion 2:2 does not exactly record the facts. It records only the appearance, as we shall see.

¹ Hale says six times, which does not seem exactly to record the facts.

The foregoing statement briefly shows the statistics of the facts as they *appear* in Gothic. A comparison with the Greek original will show them more nearly as they really are. Proceeding to this comparison, I start out once more with

1. *Faurpizeī*, which, it will be remembered always, no matter in what clause, is followed by the subjunctive. *Faurpizeī*, with the subjunctive, represents:

a) in *five* cases a Greek $\pi\rho\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ e.$ Acc. c. Inf.: Matth. 6:8; Luke 2:21; John 13:19; John 17:5; Gal. 2:12.

b) in *three* cases Greek $\pi\rho\iota\nu\ e.$ Acc. c. Inf.: John 8:58; John 14:29; Mark 14:72.

c) in but one case it represents a Greek $\pi\rho\iota\nu\ \eta\ c.$ Conj.; Luke 2:26.

That might look as if the feeling for the anticipatory subjunctive had been pretty well alive in Wulfila, rather than the opposite, inasmuch as he seems to use it even in spite of the diverting influence of his original. But wait; this time *I* should like to resort to a little counting. For an *anticipatory* subjunctive four cases can not count, as I said before. That leaves of the nine but five, and of these the last one cited above does not have full weight because of the subjunctive in Greek as its model. If the subjunctive could be put on a level with other subjunctives after comparatives, the four cases to be rejected under Hale's theory are of equal if not greater weight than the others, because under no theory which Hale proposes could they be called for. Besides, the theory of an anticipatory subjunctive in Gothic will be rather badly shaken by the other evidence also. Let us make

2) a comparison of *unte* with the Greek models. Leaving out the two irrelevant cases, we have

a) *unte* with the *Indicative* represents

2 $\xi\omega\varsigma\ c.$ Ind. Praes.: John 9:4; I Tim. 4:13.

1 $\dot{\alpha}\nu\ \tilde{\epsilon}\ c.$ Ind. Praes.: Luke 5:34; but

10 $\xi\omega\varsigma\ \tilde{\alpha}\nu\ c.$ Conj. Aor.: Matth. 5:18; 5:26; 10:23; Mark 6:10; 9:1; 12:26; Luke 9:27; 15:4; 17:8; 20:43.

1 $\xi\omega\varsigma\ \tilde{\sigma}\tau\omicron\nu\ c.$ Conj. Aor.: Luke 15:8.

1 $\xi\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ c.$ Conj.: Aor.: John 13:38.

That means: *unte* stands with an indicative, where, according to my interpretation, Hale's theory would call for, or at

least admit a subjunctive, in three cases where also the Greek has an indicative, and where, accordingly, the writer may have looked at his passage from some angle from which a subjunctive seemed out of place. But in twelve other cases not only the inherent sense, but also the Greek original would have led Wulfila to use a subjunctive, if this mode had had prospective force for him.

b) In five cases we find *unte* with the subjunctive; but in all but one also the Greek has a subjunctive in these instances; namely: I Cor. 4:5; Ephes. 4:13; I Cor. 11:26; Gal. 4:19; in Luke 19:13 the Greek has an indicative. I do not want to ask as to the meaning of the subjunctive in these five instances. Inherently they do not seem to differ from the other fifteen. Even to remind that in the Germanic language, our so-called subjunctive is almost altogether made up of optative forms might suggest more than I should wish to suggest. But, at any rate, it would hardly do for Hale to claim these instances as proof, for the existence of an anticipatory subjunctive in Gothic, the oldest accessible Germanic monument. Whatever literary tradition was behind Wulfila was Greek and Latin, and that this tradition was strong, though not strong enough to make him a slave, was admirably shown by Stolzenburg Zfd. Ph. 37, p. 145 ff., and 352 ff. If, with this tradition upon him, his Greek original could in but five cases induce him to use a subjunctive, but was counteracted in twelve cases by a stronger native tendency of the Gothic, it must be considered established that the particular force calling for a subjunctive in Greek was not felt in Gothic.

3. *und patei*, with the meaning, *until, while*, is found six times, four times with the indicative: Matth. 5:18, 5:25; I Cor. 15:25; and Mark 2:19. Twice it is followed by a subjunctive clause: Neh. 7:3; and Rom. 11:25. Two of the clauses with the indicative Hale wants to strike out as irrelevant: presumably Matth. 5:25, and Mark 2:19. Though I do not see any inherent reason for rejecting any one, in order to establish my contention I can well afford to do so. For in these two cases also the Greek has an indicative, whereas the Gothic indicative in the other two cases again represents Greek subjunctives.

Considering all these facts, we are safe in claiming that there was no anticipatory subjunctive in Gothic after particles meaning "before, until, as long as."

Whether the subjunctive, which is afterwards often found after some of the particles with this meaning in other Germanic languages, had anticipatory force, I am not prepared to assert with any great definiteness. It looks very much as if it had been of the same *origin* as that often found after comparatives in a main clause. Be that as it may. I made the claim, however, that in "modern German," for which I would better have said in the German of to-day, the subjunctive after *his*, *bevor*, usually has optative force. And that claim I uphold, in spite of Hale's quotation from Luther. Since Luther's day, usage has changed once more. Just that fact I wanted to impress. And the same process of change in meaning I illustrated in my discussion of the subjunctive in indirect discourse in German. Hale calls that of less importance, though I do not see the reason. He grants in his original paper that the meaning of form, changes in any language in the course of time. He even declares himself in substantial agreement with Professor Scott's theory of the original meaning and the greater antiquity of the subjunctive and optative, as over against the indicative; and he must therefore assume that the Idg. mother tongue, with the categories which he assumes for it, was a good ways removed in time and development from the language of Professor Scott's "homunculus," if we might appropriate that name for the prototype of man. And yet he is rather insistent to identify modern English and German, as well as Romance usages with the speech habits of the ancients, without investigating, and without paying much heed to the investigation of the various special treatises at hand as to the possible development of a given construction within the individual history of any language.

I trust that this time my method of procedure is no less sound, and that at the same time Professor Hale will find the facts exactly reported. In the few hours allotted me for preparing my first reply I had to rely for the *facts* upon the statements of Streitberg and other grammarians. Nor do I think that their statements really misrepresent the facts.

Finally, in reply to Professor Hale's "Finally" in the School Review of November: To me, as a *German* grammarian it matters little whether Brugmann's categories of the subjunctive are adopted by comparative grammarians as the more nearly adequate, or whether they would rather choose Hale's. It is as easy to understand, e. g., that the negative participle $\mu\eta$ should in some special cases be drawn to an anticipatory subjunctive and help to delimit a so-called deiiberative subjunctive clause, as it is to understand how a deliberative subjunctive can develop from a subjunctive with volitive force. Either is possible; and I suppose also Brugmann would admit Hale's explanation as possible. He simply claims, in the note quoted by Hale from his Greek grammar, that the comparative grammarian must, or should, or can posit a category which would well be called the deliberative subjunctive. Its origin he leaves unsettled.

As a *German* grammarian I do not have any need of *all* the categories of the comparative student. The facts with which *I* have to deal lead me to think that in German the subjunctive, in a very general way, can be divided into two categories, one containing, as its general characteristic, a volitional element; this I call the Optative Subjunctive. The other group of subjunctives seems to correspond to a more purely intellectual factor in speech, being expressive of some sort of doubt, or intellectual uncertainty. This I call the Potential Subjunctive. And when I look at Hale's categories of the optative and the Idg. subjunctive, some under the optative and some under the subjunctive seem naturally to fall under my optative and the rest under my potential. The same is true of Brugmann's divisions. For this reason I made bold to state that fundamentally these two eminent scholars seem to agree. If they prefer to differ, I am sure, a German grammarian can well afford to let them.

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A HISTORY OF ENGLISH RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

(Continued)

We turn now to the study of this construction as found in these glosses. In "monigo witgo and soðfaesto gewillnadon gesea ða ilco ge seas" (Matth. 13.17) "multi prophetae et iusti cupierunt uidere *quae* nidetis" "Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the same things you see," we have a clear case. A mere glance at the Latin shows at once that the glossarist has made an idiomatic English rendering. The modern English translation is exactly like it. In the original the words "ða ilco" are written over the Latin word "*quae*." The glossarist has not made the slightest attempt to give the English word corresponding to the Latin, but he has rendered the thought by giving a *free* translation. Likewise in "alle mæhtiga ðæm gelefes" (Mark 9.23) "omnia possibilia credenti" "all things are possible to him that believes." The antecedent in both of these cases is a pronominal form, but it is often a *noun*, a construction which was carefully avoided in the literary language of the South: "and sægdon him ða uundra dyde se hælend" (John 11.46) "et dixerunt eis *quae* fecit iesus" "they told him the wonders Jesus did." "Saegcas iohanne ða ðing gie gesego" (Luke 7.22) "nuntiate iohanni *quae* uidistis" "tell John the things you have seen." The omitted pronoun in all the preceding cases but one is in the accusative, but this construction is just as common in the nominative relation: "ongann him cuoeða da ðingo woeren him toweardo" (Mark 10.32) "coepit illis dicere *quae* essent ei euentura" "he began to tell them the things that would happen to him." The glossarist is often very desirous of rendering the *meaning* of the original and gives two or three renderings connecting them by the Latin word "vel": "and alle yfle hæfdon vel mishæbbende vel unhale [gehælde]" (Matth. 8.16) "et omnes male habentes curauit" "and healed all that were sick." The first of the renderings "yfle hæfdon" is an asyndetic relative clause. The glossarist here gives first a free English rendering and then one closer to the Latin. He

more commonly follows first the Latin and then renders in freer English by the asyndetic relative construction: "geurnon him tuoeg hæbbende vel *hæfdon* diobles" (Matth. 8.28) "occurrerunt ei duo habentes *daemonia*" "there met him two who were possessed with devils."

Any one who will study carefully the many double and triple renderings in these glosses will see how conscientiously the glossarist has endeavored to be true to both the Latin and his native tongue. It may be true that glosses in general afford little opportunity to glean knowledge of syntactical structure, but these glosses form a noteworthy exception. It was difficult for an Englishman used to asyndetic structure in general to render faithfully the conjunctions of the highly hypotactical Latin. Our glossarist does not slavishly imitate the original but often takes great pains to render Latin connectives by good English expressions that clearly indicate the meaning: "wið vel oðð ða hwil geendad sie" (Luke 12.50) "*usque dum perficiatur*" "up to the moment that it is accomplished," literally "up to that moment, [it] is accomplished." Altho he has here endeavored to render the Latin clearly by a paraphrase he has not hesitated to employ the asyndetic construction, for this is a common construction in his English. He has not employed after "hwil" the so-called relative particle "ðe" found in the literary language of the South. In his language there is no absolute need of any particle that would create the impression of a relative, for the demonstrative "ða" points to the following asyndetic relative clause. Similarly in "embihta me ða hwile ic eto" (Luke 17.8) "*Ministra mihi donec manducem*" "serve me while I eat," literally "the while I eat." The so-called particle "ðe" is used in the corresponding passage in the Corpus MS., which is written in the literary language of the South: "*pēna me þa hwile þe ic eta.*" Time and again our glossarist avoids the Latin present participle and replaces it by an asyndetic relative clause: "tuoeg biðon getimbras" (Luke 17.35) "*duae erunt molentes*" "two women will be grinding," literally "there will be two (women) who grind." He also translates by the present participle after Latin fashion and then employs an asyndetic relative clause: "blind sum gesætt

at ðæm woegē giornde vel bæd" (Luke 18.35) "caecus quidam sedebat secus viam mendicans" "a certain blind man sat by the wayside begging," or "who was begging."

In spite of the fact that this language is glossed from the Latin which requires a formal expression for the hypotactic idea in relative clauses the glossarist does not hesitate to employ asyndesis. The construction is not infrequent and corresponds closely to usage in Otfrid, Wolfram, and Shakspeare. It is of course not as common as it would be in an original work as the hypotactic form was ever before the glossarist and he usually himself employs the English relative "seðe." He is especially given to use the proper form of "seðe" after a preposition as the native English asyndetic construction, as in "that is the man I spoke of," with the preposition at the end of the relative clause did not suggest itself as an appropriate rendering of the Latin with the preposition in the first place in the clause. In a few cases, however, as in Matth. 26:24, he has departed from his usual custom and has employed the fuller asyndetic construction described below, the one with "ðe," modern "that." The simple asyndetic form, tho' fairly common in the Lindisfarne Ms., is not a characteristic of these glosses, but is found thruout the North. The next northern manuscript in point of age is the Rushworth Glosses for Mark, Luke and John, written a short time after the glossing of the Lindisfarne MS. It is evident that the author has used the older glosses, but he has nevertheless observed a certain dignified independence in syntactical structure. The dialect represented is also northern but more to the South. It is quite evident that the glossarist does not employ asyndesis as much as the author of the Lindisfarne MS. After a careful study of the entire early literature of the North the writer finds that the use of asyndesis decreases as we go South from Durham. It does not seem natural to ascribe this difference to a difference in dialect. The difference was one of literary tradition. Not a single dialect of the South is entirely free from asyndesis in early Middle English. Most of the peculiar forms of the North occur also in the South, but the examples are often quite rare. It seems evident that this construction was suppressed in the South as a

form of colloquial speech unworthy of a place in the written language. Older tradition was here preserved. In reading these southern works we are everywhere reminded of the older literary language. As in the oldest literary usage of the South the employment of asyndesis, tho' carefully avoided after a noun antecedent is not infrequently used where the antecedent is a demonstrative, as the demonstrative is felt as corresponding in a measure to the Latin relative. If the use of asyndesis also after a noun antecedent were actually unknown in the spoken language of the South it would be impossible to account for its occasional use in the manuscripts that have come down to us.

On the other hand, every work that was written near Durham shows the freest use of asyndesis. The next oldest work after the Rushworth Glosses is the northern version of the "Rule of St. Benet" as found in the Lansdowne MS. 378 British Museum. The manuscript belongs to the beginning of the fifteenth century, but the original document was written much earlier, perhaps in the thirteenth century, as attested by its older phonology and its long uncontracted forms. It is the oldest northern Middle English work that has been preserved. The asyndetic structure appears in exactly the same types as are found in the older period: "do þat scho bidis" (p. 10, 1.6) "do what she bids," þe sauls he havis at yeme" (p. 7, 11.9-10) "the souls (which) he has to guard." Altho asyndesis is familiar to the author of this work he does not use it as much as we would expect from one who lived near Durham, which leads us to think that he lived further to the South. As this document is short we cannot found safe conclusions upon it, but in larger works the frequency of asyndesis is in early Middle English a safe guide as to the home of the author. Asyndesis decreases as we go south from Durham. The slight evidence of a more southerly origin of "Rule of St. Benet" as furnished by this rule is confirmed by the use of the personal pronoun "þam" or "þaim" corresponding to modern English "them." The form "þam" seems to the writer to be a cross between northern "þaim" and midland "ham." It has the þ of the northern form and the *am* of the midland. The northern form "þaim" is of

Danish origin while the midland "ham" is native English. The use of "þam" indicates a territory where northern and southern speech meet. It is a good criterion by which to locate speech forms. The use of "þaim" points to the North, while the employment of "þam" points to the southern part of the northern territory where it meets the midland. In this document both forms "þaim" and "þam" are frequent, indicating that the home of the author, or perhaps scribe, was somewhat to the north of the southern boundary of the northern territory, as the pure northern form "þaim" is very common, perhaps, the prevailing one. The absence of the demonstrative and relative form "the which" also points to a place south of Durham, for as we shall see later this form was very common at this time in the North.

We can study asyndetic hypotaxis of the early Middle English period best in Durham authors. One of the earliest and largest works originating in this section "The Cursor o the World," belonging to the early part of the fourteenth century, affords an excellent field of study for this construction. On account of its great length and its preservation in a number of manuscripts we can study this usage thoroly and also comparatively as the different scribes have left the impression of their native dialects upon their copies. On account of the size of the document every possible type of this construction known appears again and again, also the prepositional type that does not occur in the earlier glosses: "þis balk i tald of ar" (Cotton MS. 8865) "this beam [which] I spoke of before." Also with the verb in the infinitive form: "a luuesum land at lengir in" (ib., 604) "a lovely land to linger in." The construction is very common here where it is little used today, namely where the omitted pronoun is in the nominative relation: "þis es þe loue bes neuer gan" (ib. 82) "this is the love that will never pass away," literally "This is the love, [it] is never gone." This usage remained common thruout the Middle English and the early Modern English period. It still survives, but is rare: "There was a woman [who] called this afternoon."

We also find the form with the pronoun in the asyndetic relative clause expressed as illustrated above from Hans

Sachs and King Alfred: "i þam ledd þai luued me" (ib. 5758) "I led those who loved me," literally "I led them, they loved me." In the Trinity MS., which originated further to the South, this line runs: "i hem led þat loued me." The simple asyndetic construction is here replaced by the fuller form with "that," which is described at length below. This fuller form with "that," which corresponds to the Old English form with "ðe," was very widely used in the South as "ðe," later "that," corresponded in form somewhat to the Latin relative "qui" and seemed more like a real relative clause. The extensive use of the fuller asyndetic form with "that" in the Trinity MS. instead of the simple asyndetic type which stood in the original North English document shows very plainly that the literary language of the South was averse to the employment of the simple asyndetic construction.

The English of the northern Midland under the influence of the North favored the simple asyndetic construction more than did its southern boundary. A comparison of the Middle English period has convinced the writer that northern literary usage of this construction made headway thru the Midland slowly but gradually southward until it received recognition generally in the Midland and South. After Shakespeare's time, however, the old attitude hostile to its employment in choice literature revived. This old hostility ought to be fostered only so far as the thought is impaired by its use. Elsewhere it ought to be encouraged by scholars who look deeper into the nature of language and know that simplicity and terseness are sources of power and beauty in speech.

Alongside of this simple type of asyndesis there is another of similar construction. The demonstrative particle "ðær" or "ðe" is placed after the pronominal or substantive antecedent as a sort of a hand pointing to the following asyndetic relative clause: "Him was bam samod / on ðam leodscipe lond gecynde / ... oðrum swidor, / ... þam ðær selra wæs" ("Beowulf," 2196-9) "The land belonged to these two among all the people, to one of them rather more, the one who was nobler," or literally "that one there, [he] was nobler," The "ðær" is not absolutely necessary, it might be omitted. It represents, however, a desire to be a little more definite. It

is a clumsy first step toward a closer grammatical relation between the two propositions. As we shall see below there will be many clumsy movements before a highly developed hypotaxis is reached. The use of this adverbial particle is not common in English where as here the omitted pronoun in the asyndetic relative clause is in the subject or object relation, while in German the corresponding adverb "dar" is here widely employed. Where, however, the omitted pronoun may be construed as the object of a preposition with the idea of place "ðær" is common also in English: "Hwearf þa bi henc þær hyre byre wæron" ("Beowulf," 1188) "She turned then to the bench *on which* or *where* her boys sat," literally "to the bench there, her boys were [on it]."

On the other hand, the particle "ðe" tho unknown in German is widely used in oldest English. It seems to have the same meaning as "ðær," namely the force of the adverb "there": "monig oft gecwæð, / þætte (= þæt ðe) . . . oþer nænig / under swegles begong selra nære" ("Beowulf" 857-60) "Many a one said that no one under the expanse of the heavens was better," literally "Many a one said *that there*: no one was better." The function of "ðe" is to point to a following clause. As can be seen by this example the clause is not of necessity a relative clause and hence it is evident that "ðe" is not a relative pronoun. Here "ðe" points to a following object clause. It is also used in various kinds of adverbial clauses: "þa sceap him fyligeað forþam þe hig geenawað his stefne" (John 10.4, Corpus MS.) "The sheep follow him, for they know his voice," literally "for that there: they know his voice." It is also used in adjective clauses, where it stands after the demonstrative "se" or a noun pointing to a following asyndetic relative clause: "ðær gelyfan sceal / dryhtnes dome seðe hine deað nimeð" ("Beowulf," 441) "There to God's judgment must bow the one death seizes," or literally "that one there, death seizes him." "Swa bið eac þam treowum þe him gecynde bið up heah to standanne" (King Alfred's "Boethius," Sedgefield's ed. p. 57, ll.20-1 "So is it also with the trees to which it is natural to stand up straight," or literally "So it is also with the trees there, [it] is natural for them to stand up straight." "Cume

to me *seðe hine þyrste*" (John 7.37, Corpus MS.) "Let that one who may thirst come to me," literally "Let come to me that one there, he may thirst." Those who call "*ðe*" a relative particle must have studied the grammatical relations very superficially. In these sentences "*ðe*" cannot be a pronoun used as subject or object of the verb in the relative clause. In the sentence from "*Beowulf*" "*deað*" is subject and "*hine*" is object. In the second and third sentences the construction in the asyndetic relative clause is impersonal with no subject expressed. The only objects are the indirect object "*him*" in the second sentence and the direct object "*hine*" in third sentence. The form "*ðe*" is evidently not a pronoun here at all, but an adverb as indicated by the literal translations given above. This construction is also freely used in prepositional expressions where the preposition stands near the end, while in real relative clauses it introduces the clause: "*þæt bed þe se lama on læg*" (Mark 2.4. Corpus MS.) "the bed the palsied man lay on." "*Hwæt is seðe he hyt big segð*" (ib. John 13.24 "Who is the one he speaks of?", literally, "who is that one there, he says it of?" The Lindisfarne glossarist in both of these passages has employed the real relative and has placed the prepositions before the relative pronoun as in the Latin: "*þæt ber on ðæm se eord-cryppel læg*" "*grauatum in quo paralyticus iacebat*" (Mark); "*hwæle is of ðæm cuæð*" "*quis est de quo dicit*" (John). The glossarist evidently felt that "*ðe*" is not a relative pronoun and in order to approach the Latin model more closely than by the use of "*ðe*" rendered here and also uniformly elsewhere the prepositional phrase by the relative pronoun "*seðe*" or "*se*" preceded by the preposition. This uniform procedure is not at all confined to the Lindisfarne Glosses or to prepositional phrases. Everywhere in all parts of England the glossarists avoided carefully the use of "*ðe*" after a noun where the Latin employs a relative pronoun. They usually employ "*se*" or "*seðe*" where the "*se*" of each form has the case demanded by the verb of the relative clause and is thus a real relative pronoun: "*eadig wer ðæm ne geteleð dryhten synne*" (Vespasian Psalter, 31.2) "Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity." "*Beatus vir cui non*

imputabit Dominus peccatum." The writer regards this uniform usage of the glossarists as an absolute proof that they did not regard the "ðe" after a noun as a relative for the usual form found here in original English writings is "ðe." Also in the West Saxon Gospels in the Corpus MS. quoted above we find almost uniformly "ðe" altho the work is a translation. The language is characterized by idiomatic structure and great simplicity as if it were the intention of the unknown author to bring his words close to the thought and feeling of the common people. The glossarists, on the other hand, must have had some good reason for departing thus from common usage. This reason lay in the nature of "ðe." The construction with "ðe" is asyndetic just as the simpler form without the "ðe," which has been discussed at length above. Thus it did not seem to the glossarist adapted to a close formal rendering of the hypotactic Latin. The asyndetic construction with "ðe" was more common in the more natural literary language of original works than the relative type because it was felt as a more natural expression and at the same time resembled the Latin construction somewhat in that the "ðe" like "qui" stood between the two propositions. Sometimes the asyndetic form with "ðe" is given as a second rendering by the glossarist of the Lindisfarne MS., who had as we have seen above a fine feeling for his native language and often thus put a more natural expression after the one that was in a mere formal sense nearer the Latin: "Wæ ðæm men *derh ðone* vel *ðe dork hine* sunu monnes gesald bið (Matth. 26.24) "Woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed" "Uae homini illi per *quem* filius hominis traditus."

The asyndetic construction with "ðe" was undoubtedly idiomatic English, but it is difficult for us today to determine how common it was in plain colloquial speech in comparison with the simpler type without "ðe." The only test known to the writer is early northern English as in "The Cursur o the world," which makes upon us the impression of great simplicity and was probably not very far from colloquial speech. The ordinary relative here is "that." This is the Middle English form corresponding to Old English "ðe." The other relative construction, the simple asyndetic construction with-

out "that," tho common is not as frequent as the form with "that."

It looks to the superficial observer as if the simple asyndetic type were the usual relative construction with "that" omitted. To the student who has studied the history of the language the construction *with* "that" and the form *without* "that" are distinct types, the modern representatives of the Old English simple asyndetic form and the fuller more definite type with "ðe." There is nothing whatever in the language to indicate that the form with "ðe" is older and that the simpler type is a careless sloven form of it with "ðe" omitted. The "ðe" is not even found in the closely related German, while the simpler type is common to both languages. The few data that we have indicate rather the greater age of the simpler form. The simple type was perhaps originally the normal form, while the fuller form with "ðe" was employed occasionally to make some particular reference more definite. In course of time it was felt as a better formal expression of hypotaxis and under Latin influence extended its boundaries at the expense of the simpler type, while in German the commonest relative construction, the one with "der," is a development of the older simple type.

The common conception that "that" is a relative pronoun will be quickly dispelled upon a close study of its use. In "Therynne woneþ a wyȝt þat wrong is his name" ("Piers Plowman," C. II.59) it is quite evident that "þat" is not a relative pronoun. A literal translation brings out the true relation: "Therein lives a fellow, that one, Wrong is his name." The "þat" corresponds exactly to older "ðe" and is evidently a demonstrative pointing to the following asyndetic relative clause as in Old English: "Ælmær hi becyrde Cantwaraburh ðe se arce-biscop Ælfeah ær generede his life" (Saxon Chronicle for the year 1011) "Canterbury was betrayed to them by Aelmaer whose life Archbishop Aelfeah had rescued," literally "Aelmaer, that one there, Archbishop Aelfeah rescued his life." In "until the day *that* Noe entered into the Ark" (Luke 17.27, King James version) the form "that" cannot possibly be a relative pronoun. The passage runs in the Corpus MS., our oldest English version:

“oð þane dæg þe noe on erke eode.” Corresponding to the “that” of King James version is “ðe” in the Corpus MS. The literal meaning as nearly as we can get at it is: “until that day there, Noe went into the Ark.” The force is evidently demonstrative. The writer believes this meaning still dwells in “that.” In “the man *that* I spoke of” the “that” is still a demonstrative, but in “the man of *whom* I spoke” the form “whom” is a relative. We cannot place a preposition before “that” because “that” points to a following *asyndetic clause* as a whole and has nothing to do with a preposition or any other *single* word in the clause. Of course, a preposition can stand before a “that” which is not a relative, but a *demonstrative* pointing to a following *asyndetic relative clause*: “I am possess’d of *that* (= modern “that which” or “what”) is mine” (Shakespeare’s “Titus A.,” I, 408). We also hear: “the man *whom* (often *who* in careless language) I spoke of.” Here “who,” which is usually a relative, has followed the old *asyndetic* construction of “that,” but “that” never stands as a relative after a preposition after the example of “whom,” for “that” is not yet felt as a relative pronoun. Our feeling that it is a demonstrative is deeper than our school training which has taught us that it is a relative. In spite of this lingering feeling for the original meaning of “that,” it has been drawn into relations to the real relatives “which” and “who” and after their example is now sometimes employed as a real relative. “*Thát* book that I bought yesterday is very interesting.” The second “that” here does not stand at the end of the principal proposition pointing to a following *asyndetic relative clause*, but it is a relative pronoun, the correlative to the demonstrative “that.” The pointing in this sentence is performed by the strongly stressed demonstrative. This is a new *hypotactic* type not found in Old English. It originated in early Middle English as will be explained below.

Altho the older *asyndetic* construction after “ðe” in its modern representative “that” has been preserved, the *asyndetic* construction after “ðær” is no longer used. There was a tendency here in early Middle English to use “war” *where* instead of “þar” *there* and thus employ a real relative con-

struction: "ear hii come ride anon to þe tealdes dore / war ine was þe caisere" (Layamon's "Brut," 26336-7, second version about A. D. 1250) "ere they came riding to the door of the tent in which the emperor was." In the first version written about fifty years earlier the wording is: "þar inne wis þe kaisere." The first version is asyndetic, the second hypotactic. The original meaning was: "ere they came riding to the door, there, within was the emperor." The "þar" and the adverb "inne" became intimately associated and gradually came together, "þarinne" and later in the hypotactic form "warinne," still later "wherein." In our own period the adverbial form was replaced by "in which." The change from demonstrative "þar" to relative "war" was closely related to the use of the kindred forms "who" and "which" as relatives. The use of "where" instead of "there" resulted from the use of "where" and "which" in a general relative sense: "Heo miȝte speke *hwar* heo wolde" (Nicholas de Guilford's "The Owl and the Nightingale" l. 1727, about A. D. 1246-50) "She might speak *wherever* she would." This use of "hwar" in a general sense is found in Old English in the form "swa hwar swa." In early Middle English "war" as also "which" gradually acquired also definite meaning and relative force with reference to a definite antecedent as in the example from "Brut." This development of meaning from the general to the definite is explained in detail below in connection with the development of "which." Where there was no noun antecedent the relative force was indicated by doubling "there": "And min þen bið þær þær ic eom" (John 12.26, Corpus MS.) "And my servant will be there where I am." Thus this development belongs to the Old English period. The two "there's" were of course originally two demonstratives as described above in the case of the double pronominal forms which developed into the well-known correlative relative type. Later the second "there" was felt as a relative and still later was replaced by "where," which was felt as a clearer relative form. Instead of this double form we now use more commonly a single "where": "He now stands *where* I stood yesterday." This type is not new but was in use in Oldest English. Formerly, however, it had general meaning. Later it

gradually developed also the power of definite reference. We now differentiate the form to keep distinct the general and the definite idea. Simple "where" denotes the definite idea and "wherever" the general meaning. The new forms in all these cases did not at once supplant the older ones. They long existed side by side.

Although Old English "se" and "seðe" were originally demonstratives they had already in this oldest period developed into real relatives as shown by the fact that they took the case required by the verb of the relative clause: "Wa þam menn þurh þone þe byþ mannes sunu belæwed" (Matth. 26.24, Corpus MS.) "Woe unto that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed." Here "þone þe" must be a relative pronoun as it is in the case required by the construction of the subordinate clause. The Lindisfarne glossarist uses the simple relative "ðone" in the same passage. Both forms were used without an essential difference of meaning. In the North the double form was much more common than the single one, and perhaps this had something to do with the later north English double form "the which" where the South employed simple "which."

In oldest English any case form of "seðe" or "se" could be used, but in early Middle English the construction disappeared entirely except in the genitive and after prepositions, where this relative construction survived but with the pronouns in the external form of the indefinite "who" (genitive "whas," "quas," dative "wham," "wam," "quam," etc.): "Belyn and Brenne / of *wam* we beoþ of-spronge" (Layamon's "Brut," l.26417, 2nd version, about A. D. 1250) "Belyn and Brenne from whom we have sprung." Why does the relative assume here the form of the indefinite "who"? The old relative "se" had lost its inflection and there was an especial need felt for inflection in the genitive and after prepositions. The uninflected "se" borrowed the forms of the closely related inflected "who." The indefinite "who" had already in oldest English the meaning of a general relative *any one who, whoever* in the form of "swa hwa swa," which appears in Middle English as "wha sam," "who so," "who that," etc. or often simple "who," "qua," etc.: "*Qua* trous in me, or man or wijf, / þof þai was ded yeit sal þai lijf"

("Cursur," 14265-7) "Whoever believes in me, be he man or woman, even tho he were dead yet shall he live." As we shall see below in connection with the development of "which" a general meaning easily goes over into a particular one with definite reference. Thus the meaning of the general relative could often assume almost the same force as the definite relative "se" or "seðe." Moreover, the forms were similar: "ðæs," "hwæs;" "ðam," "hwæm." The interchange of the initial consonant was very natural. We see the influence of the form also between personal and relative pronouns, as in "Rule of St. Benet," p. 19, l. 27, where we find the relative "whaim" after the analogy of the personal pronoun "þaim." Here the vowels have been conformed. Above attention has been directed to the mingling of northern "þaim" and midland "ham" in the form "þam" found on the border of the North and Midland. It is difficult here to say whether "whose" and "whom" are the definite relatives "ðæs" and "þæm" influenced by the form of the general relatives "hwæs" and "hwæm," or whether the old relatives "ðæs" and "ðæm" have been supplanted by the general relatives "hwæs" and "hwæm." The former theory seems to the writer more probable for early Middle English, because the nominative "who" did not become established as a definite relative until the sixteenth century. If "who" were felt as a definite relative it surely would have been used also in the nominative as subject and also in the accusative as the object of a verb. Another indication that "whom" is the modified form of the old relative "ðæm" is that it in early Middle English refers to things as well as persons: "his fleſc and his blod, durh hwan ich ilieue," etc. ("Virtues and Vices," p. 21, l. 8, about A. D. 1200.) "his fleſh and blood thru which I believe"; ðessere hali mihte wið-uten hwam non mai bien wið-healden" (ib. p. 47, l. 29) "This holy virtue without which none may be restrained." This usage with reference to things is occasionally found later, but it gradually disappeared entirely, for the general relative "who," which only refers to persons gradually supplanted the old relative and brought its original meaning with it, i. e. reference only to persons. Also the use of "that" after the dative "hwæm" seems to indicate that the

relative is a modified form of older "ðæm ðe," for "that" is the Middle English representative of older "ðe": "to god, of *whaim that* al þe gude cumis" ("Rule of St. Benet," northern version, p. 19, ll. 26-7) "to God from whom all the good comes." On the other hand, it is possible that this "that" may also indicate that the pronoun here is the old general relative, for it also often has "that" after it. In this document, however, the general relative has "sam" or "sua" after it, not "that."

It is interesting to see how slowly the new relative "who" won its way into the subject and object relation. The reason is evident. It was widely used in these relations as a general relative with the meaning "whoever" and was not really needed in these relations as a definite relative, for "which" and "the which" were widely employed here with reference to both persons and things, and the asyndetic relative construction with "that" was still more widely used, being the commonest relative form here. In Chaucer the form "whom" is employed a few times in the *object* relation after verbs. In the next century this new usage began to gain a good footing. Early in the sixteenth century *nominative* forms began to appear. The oldest example found by the writer is on a brass in the Worlingham church dated 1511: "Nicholas Wrenne gent and Mary his wife *who* dyed a'o M¹V^cxj^o." Previous to this date the usual form on these brasses is "which" or "the whiche." After this date "who" soon became very common here. Mr. Louis Round Wilson in his "Chaucer's Relative Constructions," p. 17 gives us a still older example of the use of "who," which he found on p. 57 of A. W. Pollard's "Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse": "the monk *who* was not so courteous" ("Robin Hood Ballad," printed in 1510). Keller in his *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 208 quotes still older examples from the literature of the tenth and twelfth centuries: "A hwam mai *he* luue treweliche *hwa* ne luues his brother?" ("Old English Homilies of the 12th and 13th Centuries," I. 274) "Ah! whom can *he* love *who* does not love his brother?" The writer does not think that these early examples or the later ones quoted by other scholars belong here at all, for the relative has in all these cases *general*

indefinite force. The usual word-order here is *hwa he*. The general indefinite force is not at all changed when the order becomes *he hwa*. We find this order also in German, of course also with general force, for German has never developed definite meaning here: "*er kârte ie gein der freise, / swer jenen her dâ zuo zin reit*" (Wolfram's "*Parzival*" 492, 6-7) "He has always turned back out of fear who heretofore has ridden against them." The word-order here with the antecedent before the relative indicates a step toward true relative quality, but in German the complete development never came and in English it was attained only after the lapse of centuries. Something, however, of its old meaning even then clung to it—it still referred only to persons. As a result of this long and at last successful struggle of "who" for a place in each grammatical relation "which" lost considerable of its territory. With reference to persons it was gradually supplanted by "who," and thus the development resulted in a useful differentiation. The older general meaning of "who" attached to the collateral forms "whoso," "whoever," so that the loss of the form "who" in this general meaning was not felt. The very common use of "who," however, in early Middle English in this general sense rendered the development of the definite sense very slow.

We now turn to the origin and development of "which" and "the which." These forms can be traced back to oldest English. The development started in Anglo-Saxon "*swa hwyle swa*" *whoever*. The simple form "*hwyle*" is an indefinite adjective and pronoun with the meaning *any, any one, some, some one*. The use of the demonstrative adverbs "*swa—swa*" in connection with "*hwyle*" gave the expression general and indefinite force, *any one who, that one who, whoever*: "*swa hwyle swa seeð his sawle gedon hale se hig forspilþ*" (Luke 17.33 Corpus) "That one who shall seek to save his life (that one) shall lose it." The form "*swa hwyle swa*" is subject and the general relative clause in which it stands does not limit any definite antecedent such as the demonstrative "*se*" here, but "*se*" simply takes up the subject again. This is the original form. As the meaning is general there can be no reference to a definite antecedent. In the course of the

development the meaning took on definite force with reference to a particular individual, and the relative clause, instead of preceding as in the original type followed a noun to fix the identity of the individual represented by the noun or add some fact concerning him. This change of meaning from a general conception to a particular reference must have been made more easy by the use of "seðe" with the general meaning *he that, whoever*: "Seðe gelyfð on me, he wyrceð ða weare ðe ic wyrce" (John 14.12, Corpus) "He that believes on me (he) will do the works that I do." The relative "seðe," which usually follows an antecedent, and thus refers to a definite individual, here stands at the beginning of the sentence just as the general relative "sa hwylc swa" and like it has a general meaning. Thus the same form has a general and a particular meaning. Similarly the general relative "swa hwylc swa" passed from the head of the sentence to a position after a definite antecedent and took on definite meaning, for after the analogy of "seðe" it could have both general and definite force. As the meaning of "swa hwylc swa" and "seðe" or "se" was identical it was only natural that there should arise a mingling or perhaps a fusion of their forms so that the form "seðe swa hwylc" arose: "*seðe suahuelec soecað sauel his hal gewyrca spilleð hia*" (Luke 17.33 Lindisfarne MS.) "He who seeks to save his soul will lose it." Just as the two relative types "se" and "ðe" were fused into "seðe" so the two types "seðe" and "swa hwylc swa" were fused into "seðe sua huele." This glossarist is very fond of this fused type. He also uses "ðe" instead of "seðe" in this fused form: "an of ðæm gebundenum ðone suæ huælcne hia gegiuudon" (Mark 15.6) "one of the prisoners, that one whom they desired." Here we also have a further step in the development. The reference is to a word that precedes, i. e. an antecedent. The form has become a regular relative pronoun. A glance at the meaning, however, will reveal that some of the old general meaning is left: "that one *whom* or literally *whomsoever* they desired." As there is already here an antecedent the final development, i. e. the reference to an antecedent representing a definite individual, was natural and easy.

The form "ðone suæ huælc" given in the last example would be in the nominative "se suæ huælc." This is evi-

dently the forerunner of the form "the which," which was so widely used in the Middle English period. The "se" became later "ðe," written later "the," while "suæ" disappeared. This left the form "the huae" which in early Middle English appeared as "the quilk" in the North and "the which" further south. Similarly in "swa hwyle swa" both "swa's" disappeared. This left "hwyle," modern "which." This is the usual form in the South and the Midland. Similarly "seðe" became "ðeðe." This form existed for only a short time in the twelfth century. As "ðe" was usually replaced a little later by "that" the form "ðeðe" would naturally have been replaced by "that that," but this development was an impossibility because there was already a "that that" in use with the force of "what." Thus "ðeðe" disappeared entirely. The simple relative form "se" became "ðe" and was later replaced by "that." The Old English relative particle "ðe" was also replaced by "that." Thus all the old definite relative constructions or the demonstratives used to point to a following asyndetic relative clause were represented by the one indeclinable form "that." This gave a remarkably simple structure to the dialects. Only in the North was there still another trace of the old demonstrative "se" used in relative constructions, the form "the" in "the which." The "the" did not develop here, into "that" as in the other cases, as "the" was preserved wherever it stood as a proclitic before a stressed word as in the definite article as in "the man," "the boy," also before comparatives where it represents the Old English instrumental "ðy" as in "the móre the mériier," "the sóoner," "the quícker," also in "the which."

It seems strange that the plain and simple development of "the which" as sketched in the preceding paragraph could be overlooked by scholars. The theory of the origin of "the which" from analogy with French "lequel" seems to be general. Mr. Eugen Einkenkel's confident representation of "the which" as of French origin aroused the writer's doubts as he has learned to distrust the suspiciously keen faculty of this scholar for discovering relations of English to French. After comparing the oldest English translations and finding no correspondence whatever between the English translations and

the French originals the writer turned to the older periods with the results briefly stated above. The development is so simple and self-evident that a publication of the extended materials gathered in this investigation would be an unnecessary waste of time and space. A mere glance at the few facts given above will bring conviction to every one. The questions, however, of the original territory of this relative form and its subsequent spread, also its peculiar use and development of meaning deserve some consideration.

The form undoubtedly arose in and around Durham. In its oldest form "*seðe suæ hwælc*" it can best be studied in the *Lindisfarne Glosses* and the "*Durham Ritual*." It is very sparingly used in the *Rushworth Glosses* as this work originated further to the South. The later northern form "*the quilk*" can be studied minutely as it is found everywhere in the rich literature that sprang up in and around Durham. It was at first restricted to this region. It is entirely lacking in the oldest English of Scotland. It is also wanting in the northern version of "*Rule of St. Benet*," which as we have explained above originated probably a little to the South of Durham. Thus it spread from Durham northward and southward. Early in the period the idea of place is very important in this study. Thus in "*Cursur*," which originated in Durham, we often find "*the quilk*" in all the northern MSS., but in the *Trinity MS.*, the language of which is influenced by a southern scribe, we find almost uniformly a "*which*" or "*that*" corresponding to the "*þe quilk*" of the northern MSS. This new northern form spread at first only slowly southward but a little later the movement was rapid, much more rapid than the spread of the Durham *asyndetic* relative construction that was developing alongside of it. It is very common in Chaucer and still more common in official records of every kind. Its use seems to have been a fad that infatuated everybody. Its excessive use in the fourteenth century often disfigures the written pages that have come down to us. It seems as tho the scribes were trying to fill the pages with these bewitching words. The first revolt against this excessive use was John Purvey's revision of Wyclif's Bible. In Wyclif's translation the language often suffered under the influence of

the original. Moreover, it is quite full of "the which's." John Purvey gave the language simple idiomatic English character and most carefully removed the "the which's." Very few of them escaped his watchful eye. The writer greatly admires this beautiful revision and imagines that he can see in the removal of this clumsy relative a fine feeling for forceful simplicity and terseness that has ever appeared at critical points in the development of the English language. The writer essays below to throw some light upon this interesting procedure of Purvey. This suggestive course of Wyclif's revisor did not have any perceptible influence upon the use of this relative among his contemporaries or in the decades that immediately followed. In rejecting this form he undoubtedly interpreted aright the finest feeling of his time and his vision was prophetic. Here as so often elsewhere Chaucer was not a prophet. It does not seem probable to the writer that the excessive use of "the which" was founded entirely in natural spoken English. Its constant use in official documents seems to point to written English. Such frequent use in the written language must of course have influenced to some extent spoken English and the English of the best writers. Even Shakspeare employs it. We must remember, however, that it had originally its legitimate boundaries and this legitimate meaning long continued to be felt more or less distinctly. The fact that it originated in a section of the country that was noted for its terseness and simplicity of speech indicates clearly that it was not born of the desire to be wordy. We now desire to return to the early history of this form and investigate more closely its original force and meaning.

The form "the which" is as we have seen the result of the fusion of Old English "seðe" or "se" and "swa hwyle swa." This fused form had developed the same meaning as Old English "seðe" and "se." When "seðe" and "se" disappeared from the language their distinctive meaning was not lost to the language, as it was preserved in the North in the fused form "the which." In the South the situation was much the same. The relative forms "seðe" and "se" and "swa hwyle swa" were used with the same force and meaning. When "seðe" and "se" disappeared their distinctive

meaning was preserved by "swa hwylc swa," later "which." As both the fused form "se suæ hwælc" and the unmixed type "swa hwylc swa" were very much less used than "seðe" or "se" this distinctive meaning came very near being lost to the language immediately after the disappearance of "seðe" and "se." As our present relative "which" is the historical continuation of the meaning contained in "seðe" and "se" it is quite important to investigate carefully the characteristic force and function of these Old English forms.

In oldest English the most common relative construction is the fuller asyndetic type with "ðe." In the simplest English of this period there was little need of another relative form. Only for particular purposes were the other forms "seðe" and "se" employed. The forms "seðe" and "se" were used in *determinative* clauses to determine or describe more accurately the individual or individuals in question. Its use denotes a conscious attempt to be a little more definite: "færð donne micel folc to and yrnað ealle endemes, ðaðe hiora ærn-inge trewað" (King Alfred's "Boethius," p. 112, ll.23-4, Sedgefield's ed.) "Then many people appear and all those race for the prize who have confidence in their running powers," literally "all run, those there, [they] have confidence in their running powers." The difference here between older and modern English is fairly brought out by the two English translations of this sentence. The first and free translation shows how English has been transformed under the strict laws of modern hypotaxis. Every part of the sentence is bound securely together into one whole. The literal translation and the Old English original show the older asyndetic structure. The sentence falls into a number of parts not connected by any formal link. At the beginning it is stated that many are there and that all run. Then a restriction comes in the words "ðaðe" *those there*. Then comes a clause defining more definitely the individuals. One feature of the modern free translation deserves special attention, the word "those" pointing forward to the following relative clause introduced by "who." The correlative words "those" and "who" bind the parts of the sentence firmly together. One word is in the principal proposition, the other in the subordinate clause. In the Old

English sentence there are no correlatives, no formal ties that bind the parts together. In "Eart þu se Beowulf seþe wið Breca wunne" ("Beowulf," 506) "Are you that Beowulf who strove with Breca?", it looks as if "se—seþe" were correlatives after modern usage, but it is more probable that the second form "seþe" is only the repetition of the "se" so commonly found in Old English, so that the literal translation would be: "Are you the Beowulf, that one there, [he] strove with Breca." This conception is sometimes clearly marked by the case form: "Drihten ys on his halgan temple, se Drihten se ðæs setl ys on heofenum" (King Alfred's Psalms, 10.4) "In the temple is the Lord, that one, his seat is in the heavens." Both "se's" are evidently in the principal proposition and the construction is asyndetic. In the course of Old English "seþe" and "se" developed into real relative pronouns as shown by the fact that they take the case required by the verb of the subordinate clause. However, even where the case shows that the construction is a relative clause *the structure of the sentence is still that of the older asyndetic type*. It remained for a later period to develop a clear hypotactical form. In the early Middle English period when inflection disappeared there remained in most of these relative clauses nothing whatever to indicate hypotaxis. The form and structure were that of the original asyndetic type. It should also be remembered that in the Old English period the real relative construction was largely found in literature that was influenced by classical models and that the old asyndetic type was still alive in colloquial speech. This is seen by the extensive use of the asyndetic type in the dialects of the early Middle English period. In the North "the which," which had taken the place of older "seþe," was still found in the asyndetic type: "how god bigan þe law hym gyfe / þe quilk the Iuus in suld life" ("Cursur," 145-6) "how God began to give him those laws that the Jews should live by," literally "the law, that one, the Jews live by [it]." The fact that the preposition "in" does not introduce the subordinate clause but stands near the end indicates clearly that the type is the asyndetic. The formal characteristic of this type is here much clearer than in Old English. The form "þe" before

"law" is the definite article. There is a distinct form "þat," pl. "þaa" or "þo" for the demonstrative force. In Old English the one word "se" stands for the definite article or the demonstrative. It is quite probable that the word "se" before "Beowulf" in the passage from "Beowulf" quoted above is the article. This sentence from "Cursur" throws a bright light upon the Old English at this point. The article before the noun was not emphatic. There was also no emphasis upon the repeated demonstrative "seðe" in Old English and "the which" in Middle English. The scansion of the line from "Beowulf" indicates weak accent for these words: eárt þu se Béowulf seþe wið Brécan wúnne. Also in the asyndetic type in modern English there is usually no emphasis upon either the article before the noun antecedent nor upon the repeated demonstrative: "Gíve me the boók, the one you hólð in your hánd." Today we use "the one" here instead of older "the which," but the character of the construction has not changed. The situation was entirely changed when the form before the noun antecedent became stressed: "And þát man sal forbliscd be / þe quilk him sclanders noght for me" ("Cursur," 13109-9) "Thát man shall be blessed who for my sake does not disgrace himself." The spirit of the old asyndetic construction is here entirely shattered. The "þe quilk" is no longer a demonstrative standing at the end of the principal proposition pointing to the following asyndetic relative clause. The pointing is done by the strongly stressed demonstrative "þat." The form "þe quilk" has become in spite of its heavy form, which once had a meaning, now only a mere formal connective, a relative pronoun, the correlative to "þat." This is a new type, unknown in Old English. It was at this time not frequent but it was an important step in the direction of hypotaxis. As "þe quilk" was here only a mere connective its heavy form was quite an unnecessary burden to the sentence and its simplification to "quilk" or "which" was only a question of time. As this new *hypotactic* type had not yet become really common in Middle English it seems quite probable that the asyndetic type with "seðe" and "se" as found in Old English was still thriving in early Middle English in the form of the construction with "the which" and

simple "which." Both of these forms were still demonstratives as were both "seðe" and "se" in the older period. The evidence is very clear: "Al Albanakes folc / folden iscohten / buton *while* þat þer atwond" (Layamon's "Brut," 2165-6) "All Albanac's men sought the ground except *those that* there escaped thru the wood." "Sho sal take *wilke* of her sistirs sam sho wille" ("Rule of St. Benet," p. 37, l. 7) "She shall take *that* one of her sisters whom she may desire." "Of hir war born god childer tuai, / þe mikel Iam þat is to sai, / þe *quilk* king Herod did to sla." ("Cursur," 12699β701) "Of her two good children were born, James the greater, that is (to say) *that one*, King Herod caused [him] to be slain." "Whilke ere beste to the I cane noghte say, but I hope þe *whilke* þou felis maste sauour in it is beste for the" (Richard Rolle de Hampole, p. 36, died 1349) "Which are best for thee I cannot say, but I trust *that one* or *the one* thou hast the most pleasure in is the best for thee." As "þe quilk" and "þe whilke" in the last two sentences are demonstratives the construction must be the simple asyndetic type. In each of these two sentences "þe quilk" points to the following asyndetic relative clause.

As it is in the nature of the awkward primitive asyndetic construction to be free with demonstratives and use more than one so as to be explicit there was often in the older period another demonstrative after the regular one: "Eadig is sua hwælc *se e* ne bið geondspurnad on mee" (Luke 7.23, Lindisfarne MS.) "Blessed is that one, that one, [he] is not tempted to evil thru me." Instead of the "seðe" found here we later find "that": "wit therf bred and letus wild, / þe quilk þat groues on the feild" ("Cursur," 6078-80) "with unleavened bread and the wild salad that grows in the fields." "Wilke *that* incomes wemles" ("Metrical English Psalter," 14.2, about A. D. 1300) "that one that enters spotless." The "that" here after "wilke" corresponds closely to the Old English "seðe" as found in the Lindisfarne Glosses. Likewise "who that" corresponds closely to the "sua hua seðe" found in these same glosses. As this usage was well rooted in English before the period of French influence it seems scarcely necessary to defend its idiomatic quality against Mr. Einkenel's claim of influence from French "que."

This use of "that" after "the which" or simple "which" was doubtless facilitated by the earlier form of the construction, Old English "swa hwyle swa." There was thus a demonstrative form after "hwyle." In the various Middle English dialects it appears as "sam," "sum," "se," "so," "that," etc. The demonstrative after "which" and "who" was very tenacious in this period. After the analogy of this construction "that" is often placed after the related conjunction "quen" or "when": "*Quen þat herods herd þerof sai, / ful wrath he wex*" ("Cursur," 11538-9) "When Herod heard of it he waxed wrathful," literally, "at *that time that* Herod heard." This is facilitated by the analogy of "for that" (Old English "forðæm ðe") *because*, "though that" (Old English "þeah ðe"), "after that," "before that," "while that," etc. Originally "while" was a noun and the "that" corresponds to Old English "ðe": "þena me þa hwile þe ic ete" (Luke 17, 18, Corpus) "Serve me the while *that* I eat." This type of conjunctions with "that" was in early Middle English still productive. As the analogical formations "till that" and "if that" were already established in so early a book as "Ormulum" (about A. D. 1200) with its plain, simple language free from Norman French words and as the analogy with the correct old forms "while that," etc. is perfectly natural it seems scarcely necessary to defend the English quality of the language here against Mr. Einenkel's claim of influence from French "que." That French conjunctions, such as "in case that," "because that" (= French "a cause que"), were borrowed almost as they were found in the original does not at all indicate that the *English* conjunctions of this formation were modeled after the French. It is a thoroly English type. The incorporation of these French conjunctions was easy because they conformed closely to the English type. The development in the two languages at this point was the same. Later the "that" in most of these conjunctions dropped out as the originally demonstrative force was no longer felt.

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(To be continued.)

PECULIARITIES OF VERB-POSITION IN GRIMMELSHAUSEN

Grimmelshausen lived in an important period in the development of New High German. The value of a study of the position of the verb in a prose work of this date is obvious. The "Simplicianische Schriften" are an example of narrative prose written in a very simple straightforward style. Peculiarities of verb-position are, therefore, all the more significant. The results given in this article are based upon a careful examination of the works of Grimmelshausen as contained in the three volumes of the "Deutsche National-Litteratur," edited by Felix Bobertag.

The possible verb-positions are four:

Type I. Verb in the second position.

Type II. Verb in the first position.

Type III. Verb in the final position.

Type IV. Verb in the "middle" position.

By "middle"¹ position is meant any deviation from Types I or III. A careful study of Types I and II in Grimmelshausen reveals only minor differences.

Turning our attention to Type III. At the present day this is the regular order for dependent clauses, but may not be used for independent clauses, except when the sentence consists only of subject and bare predicate. Two peculiarities occur in Grimmelshausen. (1) The verb in the final position after *denn*. *Denn* is today a coordinate conjunction, and does not affect the order of a clause. In Grimmelshausen I have found twenty-two cases where *denn* is followed by the dependent verb-position, including in this number two cases where the verb is omitted altogether, since it would naturally be dropped only when the author considered it to be at the end.

¹ For this term, cf. *W. Braune, Zur Lehre von der deutschen Wortstellung. In Forsch. z. d. Philologie. 1894. pp. 34 ff. A. Schultze. Die Stellung des Verbs bei Martin Opitz, Diss. Halle a. d. S. 1903.*

Ex.: Heiligen ohn göttliche Verhängnus, . . . mehrers habe ich nicht verstanden, *dann* seine Näherung ein solch Grausen und Schröcken in mir *erregte*, dass ich dess Amts meiner Sinne beraubet ward. . .

(2) Clauses expressing a proportion are now usually introduced by *je* — *desto*; *je* — *um so* (*um desto*); or rarely, *je* — *je*. The verb in the principal proposition is normally in the *second position*, i. e. immediately after the introductory particle. In Gr. we find five cases where the verb is in the final position in both the subordinate clause and the principle proposition, thus accentuating the parallelism.²

Ex.: “Je mehr ich nun schnarchte, je wachtsamer sie sich *erzeigten*, sie stiessen die Köpffe zusammen und fingen an, um die Wette zu rathen, wer ich doch seyn mögte?”

Type IV. Verb in the “Middle” Position. Our concern here is with dependent clauses. The verb is in the middle position in a dependent clause when it is anywhere in the sentence except at the end. The two most important things to consider in this connection are:—(1) By what other sentence constituent or constituents is the verb removed from its final position, and, (2) how frequently does Gr. employ the middle position in the various classes of dependent clauses. It should be noted that there are some cases which admit of classification under either Type III or IV. The doubt arises in long sentences where several subjects (rarely), objects, verbal nouns or other sentence modifiers *follow* the main verb instead of preceding it as they should theoretically do. The question is always open:—Is the verb to be considered at the end of its clause?

Ex.: “Wäre aber alles so hart eingewurzelt, dass diese sämtliche Artzneyen auch nicht anschlagen wolten, also dass der Patient allbereit den Namen *trüge* eines groben Esels- oder Haasenkopfs, eines Stockfisches, Bachanten, eines Saumagens, eines Kornhammers oder gar eines Narren, der den Kopf so voller Würm,”

Similarly, such cases as the following admit really of either classification, depending on the point of view:—“Und gleichwie ichs *machte* mit den Partheyen zu Fuss, also thät ich ihm auch, wann ich zu Pferd draussen war.”

² Cf. *Curme*, A Grammar of the German Language. p. 618. d.

In the tables and estimates which follow allowance may be made for this variation in individual opinion. It is obvious, also, that many cases of so-called "middle" position are normal and correct at the present time, e. g. Wenn er *hätte* gehen können.

The verbs most commonly found in the middle position are the three auxiliaries, *haben*, *sein* and *werden* and all the modal auxiliaries. Where there is only one word following the verb (either an infinitive or past participle most commonly) various other verbs are found in the middle position. Taking up the verbal nouns first, we find the verb followed by:—an infinitive; past participle; two infinitives; three infinitives; past participle and infinitive; two past participles.

Secondly, the verb may stand between verbal nouns. Here are exemplified:—Past participle, verb, infinitive; past participle, verb, past participle; infinitive, verb, infinitive. Compare in this connection the position of the verb in the following examples with reference to the prefix. (This is rare in Gr.; cf. also Schultze op. cit. § 108)

“Wann ich aber wegen üblen Wetters in Wäldern und Feldern nicht herum *konte* schwermen.”

“dieselbe brachte ich dem Obristen und erhielt dadurch nicht allein einen Thaler zur Verehrung, sondern auch Erlaubnüss, dass ich hinaus *dorffte* gehen, den Hasen nachzustellen, wann ich die Wacht nicht hätte.”

More rarely, the verb is followed by other sentence-constituents:—Noun, as object; noun, as subject. One example:—“wie sagt dann Gott zum Job, dass sich *erfreueten* alle Kinder Gottes, da doch bey den Verdammten kein Lob Gottes ist?”

For an example of another modifier compare the following:—“du verurtheilst und hördest keine Parthey, also dass du uns *tödest* ohn Urtheil und *begräbest* uns ohn Sterben!”³

(2) In the table given below are found the numbers and percentages of the various classes of dependent clauses for both final and middle position. Side by side with these are

³ The few rimed couplets which are found in Gr. show very free order with respect to the position of the verb in dependent clauses. Cf. Schultze, op. cit., passim.

given the figures for the works of Opitz (both prose and poetry) as compiled by Schultze, for the same kinds of clauses, so far as the two classifications coincide. Obviously the percentages only are of value in comparing Gr. and O., for the works studied varied both in amount and style. The difference between poetry and prose in O. is very significant. Note especially that in conditional and concessive clauses in *poetry* more verbs were in the *middle* position than in the *final*. Of course allowance must be made for some difference of opinion in classifying certain doubtful cases, but the total results obtained must give us a fair ratio.

	Grimmelshausen S. Vol. I Percent.				Opitz Prose Percent.				Opitz Poetry Percent.			
	End		Mid.		End		Mid.		End		Mid.	
	End	Mid.	End	Mid.	End	Mid.	End	Mid.	End	Mid.	End	Mid.
Relative	1768	62	96	4	461	57	89	11	389	274	59	41
Temporal	769	14	98	2	47	15	75	25	110	84	56	44
<i>Dass</i>	1253	62	95	5	149	25	85	15	107	88	55	45
Concessive	139	5	96	4	45	6	88	12	20	21	49	51
Conditional	293	22	93	7	71	9	88	12	37	38	49	51
Causal	780	12	98	2	51	4	93	7	52	40	56	44
Comparative	394	26	93	7	93	9	91	9	49	32	60	40
Indirect Quest.	414	17	98	2	17	5	77	23	28	19	59	41
Spatial	97	0	100	0	Not given							
Purpose	117	3	97	3	Not given							
Totals	6024	223	96	4	934	130	87	13	792	596	57	43

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THE GAUTLAND CYCLE OF SAGAS

II. EVIDENCES OF THE CYCLE

The ancestor of the Vatsdela race is Ketill raumr (*Hauksbók, Þrymr*)¹ who is said to live on the estate er í Raumsdal heitir, þat er norðarlíga² í Noregi. He, in turn, is "the son of Orm skeljamoli, the son of Hrossbjörn, the son of Raum, the son of Jötunbjörn, from the north of Norway"... which agrees with the information of *Landnáma*³ and *Orkneyingasaga*.⁴ Ketill allies himself to the Hrafnistumenn by marrying Mjöll the daughter of Án bogsveigir, begetting with her Þorsteinn, as we are also told at the end of the *Ánssaga*.⁵

¹ Cf. Vigfússon, ed. p. xviii. + emendations, *Orig. Icel.* II, 276.

² As to this use of norðarlíga, cf. Munch, *Kongeriget Norge i Middealderen*, p. 15 note.

³ *Förnsögur*, p. 185.

⁴ *Rer. Brit. Med. Aevii Script*, vol. 88, chap. 1.

⁵ The occurrence in *Hversu Noregr bygðiz* of a similar genealogy suggests that this whole pedigree is an etiological fiction pure and simple: (*Fas.* ii, chap. I) Raumr son Nórs konungs tok ríki eftir feðr sinn; hann átti Álfheima, ok svá vítt ríki sem ár Þær falla er þar spretta upp; þaðan fellr Lögrinn austan um dal í Mjörð, enn þaðan Vermá í Raumelfi, enn hon til sjóvar; af Vermá fellr Raumá ofan eftir Raumsdal; af Verma fellr Eystri-Elfr um Eystri-Dali ok í Væni, enn þaðan Gautelfr til sjófar.

Excepting the bad mistake of letting the Eystri—(dals) Elfr (now, Glommen) flow into the Vener Lake, the geography is clear enough. According to it, Raum's kingdom embraces, besides Álfheimar (about the present Elfsborglän), the regions about the upper as well as the lower courses of the Götaelf, the Glommen, and the (Gudbrandsdals) Lougen; or, roughly, the central portions of the Southern Scandinavian peninsula. Against this hold Ranisch, *Gautreks saga*, p. Lxxiif.

ibid.: Raumr Konungr átti samdrykkju um jól við Bergfinn son Þryms jötuns af Vermá, ok gekk þá í rekkju Bergdísar systur hans etc. (cf. the name Þrym with the reading of *Hauksbók*, (1) above; and note that the formation in—dís runs in the race of the Gautic earls in Vts.)

Jötunbjörn hinn gamli (one of the sons of above) var faðir Raums konungs, föður Hrossbjarnar, föður Orms skeljamola, föður Knattar, föður Þeira Þorolfs hálma ok Ketils raums. Among the descendents of Þorolf occur the names Helgi and Ingimund.

Now we are informed that the robber(s) rendering the country adjoining the Raumsdal insecure are on the way "that lies between Jamtland and Raumsdal." A glance at the map is sufficient to show how hazy were the writer's notions of Norwegian geography. A direct road from the Romsdal¹ to Jemtland (some 250 kilometers as the crow flies) did not, and does not, exist, because of the Dovre fjall and the Kjólen rising between. Practically all travel proceeded by way of the natural depression in the Kjólen between the Thronhjemsfjord and Jemtland.

Barely a page below, it is said concerning the same robber-infested locality, and in flat contradiction to the information given above, that "a great forest lies between Raumsdal and *Upplönd*, over which leads the highroad." The Swedish district of Upplönd (north of Mælaren) is, of course, out of question. Bearing on the Norwegian Upplönd (the region around lake Mjøsen), the information is incorrect, no *great* forest lying on the road to the Gudbrandsdal.²

There are two great forest regions between Sweden and Norway that have functioned, both as effective frontier protection, and as traditional haunts of outlaws—the Jemtlandskóg West of the Thronhjemsfjord; and the Eidskóg between the (former) Upplönd and Viken, and the inhabited parts to the East in Sweden. It is hard to see why that straying member of the Gautic princely race should travel so far north as the Jemtlandskóg, as basis for his operations, when the Eidskóg lay so much more conveniently at hand.³

But how can Þorsteinn from Romsdal ride away, alone, without a fixed plan in his mind, and without much ado hit upon the robber's house, in such far-away and interminable forests as the Jemtlandskóg or Eidskóg—just as quickly to return home, when either journey would have required weeks, in those times?

¹ I. e. the one specified as *norðarliga í Noregi*.

² If taken literally, this forest would be the Uppdalsskóg, surrounding the upper reaches of the Drivá. Through it lay the road from Thronhjem to the Gudbrandsdal. (Finnur Jónsson, *Lit. hist.* note II, 477, lapses here, also!)

³ *Landnáma* vaguely has á skóginum till Upplönda.

And why should Þorsteinn and his followers *ride* to and fro, on his journey to Gautland, in fulfilling the last wish of Jökull, when the long journey from Raumsdal norðarlíga í Noregi could be far more expeditiously accomplished by sea?

The explanation lies near at hand. Whether designedly or no, the writer of this episode confused the Romsdal (between Nordmøre and Søndmøre) with the district in Upplönd still called Romerike,¹ which indeed adjoined the Eidskog.² If designedly, in order to bring the Norwegian hersir family more naturally in contact with the illustrious rulers of Gautland, as it had already allied itself with the greatest race in Halogaland. However, since we have absolutely no further information on this point it would be foolhardy to venture even a hypothesis. Suffice that the descendants of Ingemund in the Vatsdal evidently believed themselves sprung from a Romsdal hersir family on the father's, from a Gautic princess on the mother's side.³

It is important to note that also in the *Hrólfs saga*, the *Þorsteinnssaga* and, for that matter, also in the *Gjafarefssaga* and the *Friðþjófssaga*, the scene is laid in the localities of the first chapters of the Vts.—with the same resulting difficulties.

In the first chapter of Hr., king Gautrek is returning home (to Gautland), accompanied by his bride and a company of men, from the seat of Þorir hersi in Sogn⁴ when surprised by his unsuccessful rival Ólaf, er þeir ríðu fram hjá skógi nökkurum.

In þv., Þorsteinn is the son of Víking whose father originally came from Helgeland, and of Hunvör, daughter of

¹The district traversed by the Raumelf, as the lower course of the Glommen anciently was called. Cf. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne*, p. 186.

²Raumaríke included the present Romerike together with Solør and Ódalen. (Munch, l. c. p. 7.) The latter districts are separated by the Eidskog from (the originally Gautic colony of) Vermland.

³Vigfússon observes (*Orig. Isl.* II, 280) that the traces of Frey worship in the Ingemunds þáttr as well as the prevalence of the Ingwi-element in the family names "point to the family being connected with Eastern rather than Western Scandinavia, with Gautland rather than the West coast of Norway." This amounts to proving the obvious, intermarriage with the Gautic race being plainly stated.

⁴Note that Sygnir and Raumsdælir regard each other as samlendir menn (Vts. p. 15.)

Hring, fylkiskonungr í Svíaveldi. Víking settles in Upplönd as earl under king Njörfi. After the encounter on the ice of the Veneren, his sons, Þorsteinn and Þórir go abroad, and Þorsteinn finally settles (much like his father) in Sogn, as earl and son in law of king Beli. Friðþjóf (Þorsteinsson) then resumes relations between Hringaríke (part of Upplönd)¹ and Sogn. He, again, like his father (and Þorsteinn Ketilsson) prefers to return to his own possessions after the demise of the old king and the coming of age of his ward.

According to the *Gautrekssaga*, the heros eponymos of the race has a child with the daughter of a refugee bonde in the great forest between Gautland and Upplönd (i. e. the Eidskóg). The latter land is ruled by jarl Neri (Nereiðr, Neriðr).²

Enough has been adduced already to necessitate the assumption of a *Gautic cycle* of sagas comprising those above mentioned.

For the relation of this saga to Hr. cf. my article in a forthcoming number of Arkiv f. n. Fil.

This hypothesis was made already by Ranisch (xlvi),³ in order to account for the contents of Hr. and the *Gautrekssaga*. "Interesse daran, einen Fürsten aus gautischem Geschlecht zum Besieger des ganzen Nordens zu machen, (non-historically, of course) konnten nur gautische Männer selbst haben oder isländische Familien, die ihren Stammbaum auf gautische Auswanderer zurückführten." But his attempt to identify the names of Hr. with those in the circle of Helgi hinn magri, the only prominent landnámamaðr descended on the male side from a Gautic race, fails to convince because of the paucity of namesakes.⁴

If, however, we compare the names in Hr. with the circle of the Vatsdœlamenn the agreements will be found decidedly

¹ To be sure, in the older Friðþjófssaga Hring is king fyrir Svihjóð.

² Is there any relation between him and Njörfi, king of Upplönd acc. to the Þorsteinssaga?

³ *Die Gautrekssaga in zwei Fassungen. Palaestra XI. 1900.*

⁴ What concerns R.'s reference to Hrosskell, his settlement on the Skagafjorð is at a considerable distance, with high mountain ranges between, from the Eyafjorð where Helgi has his seat. Landn. 203, 14; *Grettiss.* ch. viii.

more striking. To be sure the latter race can boast descent from the fabled Gautic rulers only on the spindle side; but so much weight is laid on this ancestry, especially in the naming of Jökull, (passing by Ketill!)¹ that this objection has not much force.

It must be borne in mind, in any such comparison, that it would be vain to look for correspondences of such names as that of Hrólfr himself, of the kings Eirík of Sweden, Hring of Denmark, Ólaf of Scotland, Ella of England, Halfðan of Garðaríke, Hrólfr of Ireland, princess Margaret of Scotland. These are names historically or traditionally firmly associated with the respective countries. Far more significant it is to find lesser characters in Vts. commemorated in Hr., especially in similar roles or analogous positions. Among the remaining (ca. 25) names of the Hr. there are, to be sure, a number of stereotype Fas. saga names;² yet it is noteworthy that precisely some of the less conspicuous ones have analogous functions in Vts.

The name of Ketill (the hero's brother) was very likely suggested by that of Ketill raum.—Þorir hersi i Sogn (Hrólfr's maternal grandfather) bears the same name as the third son or Ingimund. As to Þorir Ingimundsson, he may owe his name to one Þorir "a very rich man" and friend of Ingemund³ (see below). Þorbjörg (wife of Hrólfr) is the nafni of Þorbjörg Skíðadóttir í Víðidal (close by Waterdale), at whose marriage broke out the famous feud between Berg and Finnbogi, on the one hand, and the Ingimundssons on the other.²—Þórðr (the wealthy yeoman whose daughter Hrólfr rescues by his holmgang against the berserk) is to be compared with one Hofða Þórðr (Vts. 33), a man friendly to the Ingimundssons who aids Uni against the evil Hrolleif who intends to dishonor Uni's daughter, the same Hrolleif who, later,

¹Ingemund (Þorsteinsson), like Eiríkr, son of king Hrólfr (above, p. 77) had been named eptir móðurfeðir sínum, either because the latter was recently deceased, or because Ketill, his paternal grandfather, was still alive. Cf. G. Ctorm, *Arkiv f. N., Fil.* 1893, p. 199.

²Such as Álof, Ingigerð, Ólaf (the suitor), Sigurð, Grim, etc.

³Þorir (Þegjandi, jarl of Mære) is the name of the father of Ingemund's wife.

⁴Vts. p. 52.

becomes the mortal enemy of the Ingemundssons.—Ásmund (the fosterbrother of Hrólfr) is the nafni of one Ásmund mentioned, in *Landnáma* and *Melabók* as a friend, in Vts. as a slave, of Ingemund on his journey to Iceland.—Ingjald (son of king Hring, and close friend of Hrólfr and Ketil) bears the name of Ingjald, bóndi hraustr, neighbor and best friend of Þorsteinn Ketilsson.—He and the latter—like Hrólfr and Ingjald—in their younger days are associated in viking cruises. Later on, Ingjald bóndi fosters Ingemund Þorsteinsson, just as Hring fosters Hrólfr. (N. B. *Landnáma* gives the fosterfather the name of Þórir; cf. Vigfússon xx).

Of persons of the second (resp. third) rank,¹ Barðr (one of the men of King Ella, (p. 116, who is, at first, opposed to letting the lion on Hrólfr) is a namesake of a man in Vts. (p. 78) who helps the brothers Þróttofr and Fólfr by some counter magic.—As to Hrossþjófr (the oldest of Halfdan's berserks) and especially his father Hrosskell (the honored friend of Hrólfr's father), we find their correspondence in Hrossbjörn,² ancestor of Ketill raum. It is likewise worthy of note, in connection with the *Gautrekssaga*, that among the noble Norwegians emigrating with Ingimund there is one Refkell (Vts. 24) or Refskegg, as *Landnáma* and *Melabók* have it; and that one of Ingimund's bosom friends (who make away with themselves at the news of Ingimund's murder) is called Gautr and dwells in the Gautsdal (Icel.).

Even though one or the other of above comparisons may seem forced, there remain at most but four or five names which are not accounted for. Either, then, the author of Hr. had a pitifully small store of names (cf. the two Ingibjörgrs, the two Ólafs, the two Hrólfs)—in which case the agreements are an astonishing coincidence; or he deliberately chose from the circle of the Vatsdælammenn.

If the latter alternative be accepted, it would seem necessary to postulate at least a general acquaintance of the author of Hr. with the history of the ruling family of the Vatsdal.

¹ Cf. Heinzel, *Beschreibung der isländischen Saga*, p. 116 f.

² There is also one Björn mentioned in Vts. (p. 69). The name of Þorkell krappa's (slave-) mother, Nereiðr, recalls that of the parsimonious jarl in the *Gautrekssaga*.

Evidences of this have been pointed out above, in the killing of Jökull, the throwing of the billet, the characters of the unlike brothers, the same faulty geography. There is one more episode in Hr. which may have been suggested by Vts.

In the battle against king Halfdan of Garðaríke, (Hr. chap. 27,) that wing of the brothers' army ever retreats with bloody loss which is attacked by Þórir Jarnskjöld who, himself is steadily shifting his position in order to avoid Hrólf. Ketill becomes exasperated. *Ferr til mótz við Hrólf konung, bróðir sinn. Undarligt þicki mér, segir hann, er þú ræðir eigi af meinvaetti þess þena¹, er os gerir svá mikinn skaða ok mundum vér fyrir löngu hafa sigr haft, ef þetta tröllmenni hefði eigi oss í móti gengit. Höfum vér ok eigi fyrr fundit at en nú, at þú (hafir ei verit hugaðr vel, eða eigi jafnan þar framgengit, sem mest raun hefir at verit, útan nú í dag; brestr þér áræði við þenna spellvirkja, sýniz oss svá, sem hvárr forðiz annann. Nú með því at þér vilið ei fyrirkoma þessum manni, ef svá skal kalla hann, þá fáiz mér í hendr sverði Risanaut ok vita, hvárt mér bilar áraedi við hann, ef ek kómumz í færi.—* Hrólf, after reproving his brother, turns to battle with increased ardor and finally succeeds in wounding Þórir who yet manages to escape.

The somewhat disguised parallel in Vts. is as follows. After many a failure, the Ingimundssons at last bring Þorgrim skinnhúfa and Már to bay.²—*Tókst síðan bardagi, ok er hann hafði gengit um hríð, mælti Jökull: eigi hæli ek bitinu hans Ættartanga. Þorsteinn svarar: slík dæmi eru með oss, ok verðr nú várum mönnum skeinisamt. — — — Jökull mælti: ertu nú heillum horfinn, Ættartangi, eðr hvat? Þorsteinn svarar: ok svá sýnist mér sem þeir standa upp, er ek hefir höggit, eðr sjái þér nökkut Þorgrím? Þeir kvóðust eigi hann sjá. Þorsteinn bað Jökull þá víkja fra orrostunni ok vita hvárt þeir sæi hann eigi, — — —* The brothers discover and dislodge the sorcerer, thus undoing the charm, he flees precipitately, and Jökull hews off his buttocks.

¹ Note that Ketill only *insinuates* that Þórir is a sorcerer. Most of the sagas being written by clerics, magic was counted as an evil influence, prejudicing one against the one exercising it.

² Vts. p. 48.

In both cases, magic interferes, or seems to interfere, with the usual effectiveness of a famous sword. The brothers take counsel and the enemy is put to flight and wounded.

Finally, another significant parallel, When Þorsteinn (Ketillsson) dies full of days he says: *Uni ek því bezt við æfi mína at ek hefr verit eingi ágangsmaðr við menn, er ok líkast at með þeim slitni æfi mín, þvíat ek kennir nú sóttar.* Then we are told that Ingimund promises to walk in his father's footsteps. He inherits all family possessions.—With this, compare the final words about king Hrólfr: *Vinguðuz af því við hann margir, at þeir væntu sér þar af friðar ok frelsis ok góðvilja af Hrólfi konungi, heldr en ágangs eða ófriðar, — — Varð Hrólfr konungr gamall maðr ok drap hann sótt til bana. Tók Eiríkr, son hans, konungdom eptir hann með öllu því ríki, er átt hafði faðir hans. Varð Eiríkr gamall maðr ok inn vaskasti ok frægasti konungr ok at mörgu líkr Hrólfi konungi, feðr sinum.*

To expect more numerous agreements* is, from the nature of the case, not justifiable. The historical part of *Vts.* is, in the main, a rather lean and straightforward narrative from which few interesting episodes are to be culled for furbishing up a *Fornaldarsaga*.

There exists a difference of opinion concerning the age of *Vts.* Mogk assigns it to the beginning of the 13th century. As to the chronology of the *Fas.*, *Hr.* and *þv.* in particular—least said soonest mended! The oldest membrane of *Hr.* dates from ca. 1300. The fact that *þv.* has come down to us only in versions of the 15th cent. by no means precludes an earlier existence, possibly in a shorter form. Such a one may well have existed before 1300. Nothing in this view contradicts the generally accepted date for the older *Friðþjófs saga* (1270-1400) held by Falk (*Arkiv* 1890, 60f.) to be the presupposition of *þv.*

¹ *Vts.*, F., p. 21.

² *Hr.*, D., p. 77.

*Was the curious and somewhat puzzling episode in *Hr.* entitled *Dráp Kerlingar* suggested by the killing of the witch *Ljót*, *Hrolleif's* mother? *Vts.* p. 43.

Mogk¹ conjectures with much plausibility that the author of Vts. was a clerk of the cloister Þingeyrar, situated in the immediate vicinity of the Vatsdal. The thought suggests itself that some of his later brethren undertook still further to embellish and glorify the antecedents of the ruling race of the locality, one by writing down old legends concerning the lords of Gautland; another by freely composing the *Hrólfs-saga*.

A counterblast was then sounded from the opposite shore of the broad Húnaflói where the descendents of Finnbogi hinn rammi (banished to the Trékyllisvíg) with a like local patriotism attempted something of the same kind in the *Finnbogasaga*, in order to rehabilitate their ancestor's fame.

¹ Gdr. 759.

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ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SHAKESPEARE

*Shakespeare Bibliography: a Dictionary of Every Known Issue of the Writings of Our National Poet and of Recorded Opinion Thereon in the English Language,*¹ by William Jaggard. With Historical Introduction, Facsimiles, Portraits, and Other Illustrations. Stratford-on-Avon. At the Shakespeare Press. 1911. 4to, pp. xxiv, 729. 29 illustrations. Price, 3 guineas.

Bibliographie. In *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*. Berlin. 1865-1911. 8vo. Annual volumes, 12 marks each.

Questions on Shakespeare. By Albert H. Tolman, Associate Professor of English in the University of Chicago. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. 1910. 8vo. Part I, 75 cents net; Part II, \$1 net.

It is regrettable that up to the present time no well trained scholar or group of scholars has undertaken and published an adequate, comprehensive bibliography of the ever growing literature of Shakespeare. There have been many workers in the field: Mr. Jaggard includes over 150 bibliographical entries, and many of the works mentioned have decided merit. But for the most part, their authors have attempted to cover only a part of the ground (e. g. in compiling catalogues of special collections, or lists on special subjects), or have attempted larger tasks for which they were not well fitted. Certainly if there is any one great author of whom we need a full analytical bibliography, it is Shakespeare. Year after year Shakespearean scholars and critics have gone on repeating themselves or others, ignorant of much that their predecessors have said, each writer playing the game in his

¹ Reviews and comments on this volume have already appeared in *The Athenæum*, May 20-June 3, 1911, pp. 569 (Frank Pacy), 600 (reply by W. Jaggard), 610, 629 (F. Pacy); *Notes and Queries* 11th Series iv. 59, July 15, 1911; *The Saturday Review* cxi. 782, June 24, 1911; *The Dial* li. 192-194, September 16, 1911 (A. G. Newcomer); *The New York Times Saturday Review* xvi. 351, June 4, 1911; *The Bookman* (London) xl. 254-255, September, 1911 (Darrell Figgis); *The Times Literary Supplement* May 4, 1911, p. 176.

own little corner of the universe. Some of this waste, assuredly, a good bibliography might have prevented.

Now Mr. William Jaggard, bookseller, and namesake and descendant of the Jacobean printer, has attempted, for all works in English, to supply the want. His work represents a vast amount of labor, for which all due credit must be given; it has evidently been a labor of love. His book is well printed, on good paper, and is not inconvenient to handle. It contains some interesting illustrations.

More than this, however, we fear we cannot say in praise of the work. In our judgment, it has some faults which seriously impair its usefulness, not to say its trustworthiness; faults which could have been easily avoided.

In the first place, how complete is the work? Mr. Jaggard's claim is expressed in no uncertain language in the title and in the preface: "It gives minute details and available locations of every known issue of Shakespeare's writings (whether written, printed, separate, collective, authentic, attributed, private, public, in or out of print); likewise of every tract, pamphlet, volume, or collection of Shakespearean comment; of each analogue or source, with notes of the passages affected; of every important contemporary or subsequent allusion to, or article on, the dramatist or his productions; of each autograph, genuine or forged; of all engraved Shakespeare portraits; with market values of the rarer entries. . . ." He might have said, with becoming modesty, that it was his *aim* to give all these things; instead, he assures us that he has "reconciled aim with achievement, faith with fulfilment." And some of the reviewers have believed him.

Yet it is very easy to demonstrate that Mr. Jaggard's performance comes very far short of his gorgeous advertisement. For example, *Modern Philology*, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, and *Modern Language Notes* are to be found in several of the great libraries of England; yet Mr. Jaggard has scarcely even heard of them. The seriousness of the omission will be indicated by the list of omitted Shakespearean articles in the first eight volumes of *Modern Philology*:

E. E. Hale, Jr., "The Influence of Theatrical Conditions on Shakespeare" (i. 171-192).

Wilhelm Creizenach, "Der bestrafte Brudermord and Its Relation to Shakespeare's Hamlet" (ii. 249-260).

John T. Murray, "English Dramatic Companies in the Towns Outside of London, 1550-1600" (ii. 539-559). For Murray's book, see p. 718.

George F. Reynolds, "Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging" (ii. 581-614, iii. 69-97).

Elmer E. Stoll, "Shakspere, Marston, and the Malcontent Type" (iii. 281-303).

Fred A. Howe, "The Authorship of The Birth of Merlin" (iv. 193-205).

Aura Miller, "The Sixth Quarto of Hamlet in a New Light" (iv. 501-505).

John W. Cunliffe, "The Influence of Italian on Early Elizabethan Drama" (iv. 597-604).

Paul Shorey, "Shakspere and Seneca" (v. 143).

George F. Reynolds, "Trees on the Stage of Shakespeare" (v. 153-168).

Winifred Smith, "Italian and Elizabethan Comedy" (v. 555-567).

Edward B. Reed, "The College Element in Hamlet" (vi. 453-468).

Albert S. Cook, "Shakespeare, Richard II ii. 1. 41ff." (vi. 472-475).

Albert H. Tolman, "Alternation in the Staging of Shakespeare's Plays" (vi. 517-534).

Winifred Smith, "A Comic Version of Romeo and Juliette" (vii. 217-220).

Elmer E. Stoll, "Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism" (vii. 557-575).

E. S. Bates, "The Sincerity of Shakespeare's Sonnets" (viii. 87-106).

William J. Neidig, "The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619" (viii. 145-163), with 13 plates. Mr. Jaggard gives this, on p. 719, but with a wrong reference.

E. H. C. Oliphant, "Problems of Authorship in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature" (viii. 411-459).

C. R. Baskervill, "The Custom of Sitting on the Elizabethan Stage" (viii. 581-589).

Likewise Mr. Jaggard omits such important articles as Professor J. Q. Adams's "Timon of Athens and the Irregularities in the First Folio" (*J. E. G. Ph.* vii. 53-63), which, as Dr. Ernest Wright remarks (*The Authorship of Timon of Athens*, New York, 1910, p. 98), seems to say the last word on the subject; and Professor Thorndike's "Relations of Hamlet to Contemporary Revenge Plays" (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* xvii. 125-220), one of America's most important contributions to Shakespeare criticism. Moreover, if he had consulted Leonard A. Jones's *Index to Legal Periodical Literature* (Boston, 1888), he could have added more than a dozen valuable articles on Shakespeare's legal acquirements. He certainly knew (see p. 221) of the rather primitive *Digesta Shakespeareana* issued in 1886 by the Shakespeare Society of New York; yet he has not entered all the items even it contains. If he made any considerable use of the annual or biennial lists in the Shakespeare *Jahrbuch*, it is not shown by the tests I have applied; I am inclined to think that he made very little use of these lists. But the strangest puzzle is how Mr. Jaggard could fail to consult Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* and its supplements, in which some thirty columns of Shakespeare items have appeared. He has apparently never heard of it. His knowledge of the periodical literature on Shakespeare seems to be limited to those articles which have been indexed in some collection like that in the Boston Public Library. He refers to dozens of periodicals by the year only (see, for example, under Lowell, on White's Shakespeare, Dyce, Dyer, Fiske, Fitzgerald, Foard, Folklore of Shakespeare, Hale, Snider, J. G. Waller), indifferent to the fact that many periodicals print more than one volume in a year. So far as we have observed, the best section of his work is that which includes the writings of Mrs. Stopes; and there is good reason to believe that she furnished that part herself.

A list of other typical omissions may be given here: William Archer, "The Elizabethan Stage," *The Quarterly Rev.*, April, 1908, ccviii. 442-471. Ernest A. Baker, *A Descriptive Guide to the Best Fiction, British and American*,

London, 1903. G. P. Baker, "Hamlet on an Elizabethan Stage," *Shakes. Jahrbuch* xli. 296-301. George Bartram, "Shakespeare's Boors," *Macmillan's Magazine* xci. 219-224, January, 1905. S. O. Beeton, *Letters by an Old Boy*, London, 1866. R. Boyle, "Blank-Verse and Metrical Tests," *Englische Studien* xvi. 440-448. Austin Brereton, *The Literary History of the Adelphi and Its Neighborhood*, London, 1907. P. Hume Brown, "Literature and History," *The Scottish Historical Review* vi. 1-12. John Burroughs, "Shakespeare's Natural History," *Scribner's Monthly*, March, 1881, xxi. 786-788. B. C. Burt, "Shakespeare in the Opinion of the Seventeenth Century," *The New Englander* xl. 304-327. E. W. Chubb, "Shakespeare's Influence upon Goethe," *Trans. Mod. Lang. Ass'n of Ohio*, 1900-2, pp. 81-94. *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. v (Cambridge, 1910) appeared in October, 1910, possibly too late to be included. Lewis N. Chase, *The English Heroic Play*, New York, 1903. Mary C. Clarke, "The Soldiers of Shakespeare," *Sharpe's Magazine* ix. 24, 143, x. 196, 349. J. Churton Collins, "Had Shakespeare Read the Greek Tragedies?" *The Fortnightly Review*, April-July, 1903, lxxix. 618-637, 848-858, lxxx. 115-131. B. A. P. Van Dam and C. Stoffel, *Chapters on English Printing, Prosody, and Pronunciation*, Heidelberg, 1902. C. K. Davis, *Hamlet, Madame Roland: Lectures*, St. Paul, 1882. K. Deighton, *The Old Dramatists: Conjectural Readings*, 2d Series, Calcutta, 1898. E. Dowden, "Shakespeare," *The Warner Library of the World's Best Literature*, New York, 1897. L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, New York, 1902. E. Ekwall, *Shakespeare's Vocabulary*, vol. i., Upsala, 1903. G. R. Elliott, "S.'s Significance for Browning," *Anglia* xxxii. 90-162. F. Karl Elze, "Notes and Conjectural Emendations on Antony and Cleopatra and Pericles," *Englische Studien* ix. 267-290. H. A. Evans, "A Shakespearian Controversy of the Eighteenth Century," *Anglia* xxviii. 457-476. N. H. Ewing, "Shakespeare's Enigma and Cipher," *The Catholic World*, Nov., 1906. W. W. Fenn, "Shakespeare and the Art of Painting," *The Portfolio*, April, 1889. F. G. Fleay, "Shakespeare and Puritanism," *Anglia* vii. 223-231. Clara French, *The Dramatic Action and Motive of King John*, Cambridge, 1892. Edw. Fuller, "The Theatrical Renaissance of

Shakespeare," *Lippincott's Mag.*, Jan., 1890. *The Gateway to Shakespeare for Children*, London, 1908. Chas. M. Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, London, 1908. Virginia C. Gildersleeve, *Government Regulations of the Elizabethan Drama*, New York, 1908. Thomas Gray, "Letters" (Gosse No. xlv), "Shakespeare Verses," and "Emendations" (the last in *Tovey's Gray and His Friends*, Cambridge, 1890). Hannah Grier-son, "Shakespeare and the Sea," *The Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1910, xcvii. 57-66. A. Gyulai, *Shakespeare in Hungary*, London, 1898. Mrs. S. Haarwood, *The Shakespeare Cult in Germany from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Time*, Sidney, 1907. J. W. Hales, "London Residences of Shakespeare," *The Athenæum*, March 26, 1904, pp. 401-402. John S. Hart, "Shakespeariana," *Hours at Home* iii. 293-300. J. Hengesbach, *Readings on Shakespeare*, Berlin, 1901. C. Hildreth, "The Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy," *Univ. Studies* ii. 147-162 (1897). J. H. Ingram, *Christopher Marlowe and His Associates*, London, 1904. D. Jones, "The Pronunciation of Shakespeare," *The Athenæum*, June 25, 1910, pp. 766-767. "John Lyly, Novelist and Dramatist," *The Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1896, clxxxiii. 110-138 (deals with Shakespeare's language). R. M. Johnston, *Studies, Literary and Social*, Indianapolis, 1891-2. Oscar Kuhns, *Dante and the English Poets from Chaucer to Tennyson*, New York, 1904. G. Latham, "The Petty Constable," *Sh. Jb.* xxxii. 133-48. Sidney Lee, "The Future of Shakespearean Research," *The Nineteenth Century*, May, 1906, lix. 763-778; "Ovid and Shakespeare's Sonnets," *The Quarterly Review*, April, 1909, ccx. 455-476; "Pepys and Shakespeare," *The Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1906, N. S. lxxix. 104-120; and "Shakespeare," *Dict. Nat. Biog.* W. S. Lilly, "Shakespeare's Protestantism," *The Fortn. Rev.*, June, 1904, N. S. lxxv. 966-983. H. W. Mabie and others, *How to Study Shakespeare*, New York, 1907. Joseph B. Mayor, "Tolstoi as a Shakespearian Critic," *Trans. Royal Soc. Lit.*, 2d Ser. xxviii. 1. 23-55. Museum, arts. on S.'s summer, moon, and astronomy in *The Contemp. Rev.*, July, 1910, xcvii. suppl. 34. 1-4 and 39. 1-4, July, 1908, xciv. suppl. 10. 1-6. B. B. Orridge, *The City Friends of Shakespeare*, London, 1869. John A. Pat-

terson, "Shakespeare's Astronomy," *Jour. Royal Astron. Soc. of Canada*, Sept.-Oct., 1907. W. J. Rolfe, "Facts and Figures from Shakespeare," *The Nation* (New York) lxxxvii. 572-3, Dec. 10, 1908. L. Scharf, *Chips from English Literature*, Aschersleben, 1881. F. E. Schelling, *The Queen's Progress*, Boston, 1904. "Shakespeare's Ghosts, Witches, and Fairies," *The Quart. Rev.*, July, 1890, clxxi. 91-121. L. A. Sherman, *The Analytics of Literature*, Boston, 1892. Roscoe A. Small, *The Stage-Quarrel Between Ben Jonson and the So-called Poetasters*, Breslau, 1899. C. Alphonso Smith, "The Chief Difference Between the First and Second Folios," *Engl. Stud.* xxx. 1-20. H. Statham, "The Morality of S.," *The Ninet. Cent.* lxiii. 209-220. William Stebbing, *The Poets, Chaucer to Tennyson: Impressions*, London, 1907. E. C. Stedman, *The Nature of Poetry*, Boston, 1892. W. W. Story, *Excursions in Art and Letters*, Edinburgh, 1891. Sir Edward Sullivan, "Shakespeare and the Waterways of North Italy," *The Nineteenth Cent.*, Aug., 1908, lxiv. 216-232. F. H. Sykes, "Syllabus of a College Course of Thirty Lectures on S.," *Teachers Coll. Record* iv. 4. 9-39. S. A. Tannenbaum, *Was W. S. a Gentleman?* New York, 1909. D. L. Thomas, "On the Play Pericles," *Engl. Stud.* xxxix. 210-39. A. H. Thorndike, *Tragedy*, London, 1908. A. H. Tolman, *Questions on Shakespeare*, Chicago, 1910. T. G. Tucker, *The Foreign Debt of English Literature*, London, 1907. A. H. Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, New York, 1908. C. E. Vaughan, *Types of Tragic Drama*, London, 1908. E. Venable, "A Speculation Regarding S.," *The School Review* xiii. 717-731. W. Vietor, *S.'s Pronunciation*, Marburg, 1906. Alfred H. Wall, *S.'s Face*, Stratford-on-Avon, 1890. Chas. W. Wallace, *Globe Theatre Apparel* (see *The Athenæum*, Dec. 18, 1909, p. 772); "New Shakespeare Documents," *Engl. Stud.* xxxvi. 56-63; "S.'s Signature," *The Nation* (New York), Mar. 17, 1910, xc. 259-261. James Walter, *S.'s True Life*, London, 1890 [1889]. A. S. Way, "Relics of Ancient Aryan Folk-Lore in Shakespeare," *The London Quart. Rev.*, Apr., 1906. H. S. Wilson, "The Genesis of Hamlet," *The Gentleman's Mag.*, Apr., 1889. Alice J. P. Wood, *The Stage History of S.'s King Richard the Third*, New York, 1909. H. Wood,

"S. Burlesqued," *The Amer. Journal of Philol.*, Oct., 1905, xvi. 273-299. G. E. Woodberry, *Makers of Literature*, New York, 1900. Ernest H. Wright, *The Authorship of Timon of Athens*, New York, 1910.

The above long list might have been greatly extended; for examples of further omissions see the indexes of *The Quarterly Review*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The Forum*, etc.

It must also be added that very few book reviews have been entered. When one considers the importance of some of the reviews that have appeared, the omission becomes a very serious one.

In the next place, the arrangement is neither clear nor logical. The alphabetical arrangement has been adopted, to so complete an extent that we find the editions of Shakespeare's works not at the beginning, where custom would lead us to look for them, but under S (pp. 280-585); this virtually bisects the main alphabet, and is very inconvenient. In view of this arrangement we are much surprised to find at the end of the list of editions (pp. 585-627) a separate alphabet headed by the following note: "The succeeding sub-alphabet deals with the poet individually, and chiefly consists of biography." How consistent the editor has been in his classification is illustrated by the fact that whereas William Page's "Study of Shakespeare's Portraits" (*Scribner's Monthly*, September, 1875), dealing especially with the alleged death mask, is put in the sub-alphabet, John S. Hart's article on "The Shakespeare Death Mask" (*Scribner's Monthly*, July, 1874) is put in the main alphabet. Similarly, Collier's *Shakespeare Library*, a mere reprint of some of Shakespeare's source-books, is in the sub-alphabet, while Anders's *Shakespeare's Books*, which deals with the education Shakespeare got from reading, is in the general alphabet. In the latter place, also, we find Foard's "On Shakespeare's Probable Connection with Lancashire" (*The Manchester Quarterly*, not *Quarterly Review*, April, 1896); Mr. Jaggard's own articles on Shakespeare's portraits, his grave, and his religion; Robert Williams's *Youth of Shakespeare*; all of Mrs. Stopes's articles dealing with Shakespeare's family; and so on. It is of course desirable to bring together those books and articles that deal

with the personality of the poet; but likewise we should have separate alphabets devoted to books that merely refer to Shakespeare (e. g. Wild's *Iter Boreale*), or that contain only a line or two of appreciation or comment. Similarly, why should not all the matter dealing exclusively with a given play be brought together under the appropriate heading? If, for example, one wishes to know all that has been written specifically about Hamlet, one must now, in addition to consulting the editions mentioned on pp. 306-317, turn the leaves to look up each of the references in the group given on pp. 317-318; moreover, if each article or book dealing with a single play were relegated to its appropriate sub-alphabet, the main alphabet would be so much the shorter and more easily scanned.

Again, some works are wrongly entered even in the main alphabet. For example, Francis Peck's *New Memoirs of the Life of Milton*, which includes some notes, etc., on Shakespeare, is entered not under Peck but under Milton! An article by a writer calling himself Monkshood ("Mingle mangle," p. 217) is entered under the first letter of its title! In this there is very little logic, and what there is, is bad.

Some other minor points will here be noted:

P. 35. Why are Browning's *Works* entered only in the Tauchnitz edition of 1872? "Men and Women" appeared in 1855.

P. 73. Davis's *Law in Shakespeare* is an octavo.

P. 91. A fifth volume of Ellis's *Early Eng. Pronunciation* appeared in 1890.

P. 114. Why anglicize the first of Gervinus's names and not the second?

P. 146. Ida Benecke's trans. of Heine has 189 pages. Several other page numbers are wrongly given.

P. 176. Under Johnston, W. P., for Bedford read Belford.

P. 191. The works of Sir Sidney Lee are strangely referred to S. L. Levi, the name which Mr. Lee formerly bore. To anyone who knows of the previous encounters of the two men, the animus of the reference is evident. In a work of this kind such a display of odium theologicum is as contemptible as it is amusing.

P. 236. *Notes and Queries* is merely referred to, with the good advice to consult its general indexes. This is an easy way of avoiding hard work. On the same principle, why should Mr. J. print any reference that has already been listed in, say, the Shakespeare *Jahrbuch*? And why is his own note on "Shakespeare's Bible" (see p. 716) so much more important than everything else Shakespearean in *N. and Q.*?

P. 250. *Shakespeare's Plutarch* was edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke.

P. 269. "The Mad Characters in the Plays of Shakespeare" is by G. Ross.

P. 437. Daly's edition of the *Poems*, 1841, is a 64mo.

P. 602. Under bibliography should be added a reference to J. Moyes; under Biblical knowledge, a reference to T. Carter. Also under classical knowledge (p. 610) should be a reference to J. C. Collins; under fairies (p. 611) should be references to Lyric Ode and A. Nutt; under family, a reference to W. Black; under fools (p. 612) references to S. Davey and F. Douce; under mad folk (p. 615) a reference to Farren. The number of cross-references might have been very considerably increased.

P. 679. It was not C. W. Wallace but A. Wallace who wrote on the life of Shakespeare (p. 626).

P. 702. In Mr. Albright's book the adjective is spelled "Shaksperian." What warrant has Mr. Jaggard for changing this to "Shakespearean"?

P. 715. What are Surrey's *Songes*, published when S. was only three years old (and when even Bacon was only six years old) doing here? On the same principle we should include *Robinson Crusoe* or *The Castle of Otranto* in a bibliography of Scott, since they heralded the dawn of the novel.

P. 717, col. 2. The *Introduction to Shakespeare* is by H. N. MacCracken, F. E. Pierce, and W. H. Durham.

Thus it will appear that Mr. Jaggard's book is in many respects lamentably provincial and defective; and, however good may have been its compiler's intentions, quite unworthy of the immortal bard of Avon. Probably, however, we must

not expect to see anything better for some years to come. Publishers are not eager to risk capital in enterprises of this kind, and until bibliographical work is more fully appreciated, it is too much to hope that a band of expert bibliographers shall do the thing over and do it properly.

It is a pleasure to turn to the bibliographies compiled for the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, which have been in progress for nearly half a century. For reference the following list of the series is included:

Compiled by Albert Cohn, Antiquarian and Bibliographer²

1864-July, 1865.....	<i>Jahrbuch</i> i.	418-447	1865
August, 1865-October, 1866.....	ii.	393-405	1867
November, 1866-February, 1868.....	iii.	413-435	1868
March, 1868-February, 1870.....	v.	379-401	1870
March, 1870-March, 1871.....	vi.	371-388	1871
April, 1871-December, 1872.....	viii.	377-394	1873
1873-74	x.	384-418	1875
1875-76	xii.	325-374	1877
1877-78	xiv.	365-394	1879
1879-80	xvi.	431-475	1881
1881-82	xviii.	301-330	1883
1883-84	xx.	355-398	1885
1885-86	xxii.	284-333	1887
1887-88	xxiv.	213-278	1889
1889-91	xxvii.	321-400	1892
1892-93	xxix.-xxx.	324-364	1893
1894-96	xxxiii.	307-406	1897
1897-99	xxxvi.	348-440	1900

By Richard Schroeder, Oberbibliothekar in the University of Kiel

1900	xxxvii.	314-383	1901
1901	xxxviii.	350-438	1902
1902	xxxix.	361-436	1903

By Gustav Becker

1903	xl.	383-458	1904
1904	xli.	326-392	1905

² See Brockhaus's *Konv.-Lex.*, 14th ed., iv. 408, and *The Athenæum*, Sept. 9, 1905, p. 336.

By Richard Schroeder

1905	xl.ii.	347-467	1906
1906	xl.iii.	383-475	1907

By Hans Daffis, Bibliothekar in the University of Berlin

1907	xl.iv.	393-450	1908
1908	xl.v.	427-475	1909
1909	xl.vi.	351-403	1910
1910	xl.vii.	372-415	1911

The bibliographies have appeared regularly, and have been admirably kept up to date. The number of pages printed for 1864-1910 aggregates 1480. Since 1900, when numbering was introduced, 6,025 items have been listed.

Lack of space forbids an extended criticism of these lists. They are remarkably full, including book reviews and the briefest notes. The arrangement is by countries: I. England und Amerika; II. Deutschland, Oesterreich-Ungarn, Schweiz; III. Frankreich und Belgien; IV. Italien; V. Verschiedene europaeische Laender; VI. Aussereuropaeische Laender. It is of course interesting to see what the different countries are contributing to the literature of the subject; we think, however, that this is more than offset by the disadvantage of having to consult several alphabets instead of only one for each year. Another defect is that the contents of some periodicals (e. g. *New Shakespeareana*, *Jahrbuch* xlv. 438-9) are listed as contents of the respective periodicals instead of alphabetically under their authors' names. This much impairs the value of the lists for purposes of reference.

Notwithstanding these slight blemishes, German scholars, excelling in many fields, may also point with pride to this series. As for Shakespearean bibliography in England and America, after three hundred years, we now have—Mr. Jaggard!

Professor Tolman has undertaken on a comparatively large scale to supply students and teachers with a complete working apparatus for the inductive study of Shakespeare. His work will appear in six volumes, of which Part I (Introductory) and Part II (The First Histories, Poems, Comedies) are before us. With the questions themselves we are not here specially concerned. In so far as they are interpretative or

suggestive, they seem to be good and useful. We are not so sure about the questions on the text or meaning, many of which merely call for the explanation of single words. We wish, however, to commend the select general bibliography, which fills about half of Part I, and the special bibliographies appended to the questions on the individual plays and poems. It may be remarked that in some sections the order is neither alphabetical nor chronological. In general, however, these lists leave little to be desired. The selection is good, the annotations are sensible and sound, and there are full indexes. The student who becomes familiar with the books here mentioned will be well equipped for special study.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.

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Geffray MYNSHUL AND THOMAS DEKKER

In 1618 was published a little volume entitled "Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners. Written by G. M. of Grayes-Inne. Gent."¹ It had been entered on the Stationers' Register February 11, 1618. There is evidence that the book, in the earliest form in which it has come down to us, is a second edition, and that the first edition was more or less anonymous. The first of the three epistles, dated June 6, 1618, and addressed to the Young Gentlemen of Gray's Inn, repeatedly refers to what seems to have been an earlier version: "Once more I wash over the picture which was drawne but the Tearme going before;" "I come now not to re-sing, but to re-cant the errours both of my pen and judgment;" "that one poore paper bullet of which I shot up and downe Fleetestreet." This epistle tells us also that the author has announced his name: "I have now put my name to my Book, (without tergeversation or turne coating the letters," but it is signed G. M. The second epistle, addressed to the author's uncle, is dated nearly five months earlier, January 27, 1617 (i. e. 1618), and speaks of the book as the writer's "first-borne," but, in accordance with the statement made in the first epistle, it is subscribed "Geffray Mynshul." Both epistles were written in King's Bench Prison, in Southwark.

Of Geffray Mynshul "of Grayes-Inne, Gent." nothing is certainly known except what may be gathered from the epistle "To his most loving and ever respective kind uncle, Mr. Mathew Mainwaring, of Namptwich, in Cheshire;" namely, that he was in prison for debt, and that his uncle had always been his "anchor" when he had previously been "ship-wrackt;" but it has been conjectured that he was identical with the "Geffery Minshull" mentioned as among the knights, esquires, gentlemen, and freeholders of the County Palatine of Chester, in the Hundred of Nantwich.²

Mynshul's book has no table of contents and is not divided into chapters; but the headings of the sections are as follows:

¹ Reprinted by Ballantyne and Co. 1821.

² "Notice" prefixed to the edition of 1821, p. viii.

Of a Prison; The Character of a Prison; Of Prisoners; Prisoners of another Nature; The Character of a Prisoner; Of Creditors; The Character of a Creditor; Of Choice of Company in Prison; The Character of Companions in Prison; Of Visitants in Prison; The Character of Visitants; Of Entertainment in Prison; Of Keepers which goe abroad with Prisoners; The Character of Keepers; Essayes and Characters of Jaylors and Keepers of Prison; Of Mercilesse Jaylors; Of the Miserable Life in Prison; A Locker up at Nights; A noble understanding Prisoner; Observations of a Prison.

Now one of Mynshul's companions in prison was Thomas Dekker who, according to his own testimony, lay in that "cave of horrors" for a period of almost seven years closing in 1619 or 1620.³ That the Prison was the King's Bench appears from a letter to Edward Alleyn, written September 12, 1616.⁴ During the year in which that letter was written, Dekker brought out a fifth edition of his popular "Lanthorn and Candlelight" under the title: "Villanies Discovered by Lanthorne and Candlelight, and the helpe of a new Cryer called 0 per se 0. Being an addition to the Bel-mans second night-walke: and laying open to the world of those abuses, which the Bel-man (because he went i'th darke) could not see. With Canting Songs, and other new conceits never before Printed. Newly corrected and enlarged by the Author."⁵ The address

³ See epistles to Endymion Porter and "the Reader" prefixed to "Dekker, His Dream," 1620, found in Vol. iii of Grosart's "Non-dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker."

⁴ Quoted in Collier's "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn."

⁵ I have not seen this edition; but there is in the British Museum a copy of the 1612 edition, which has on the fly-leaf preceding the title-page, a note by the former owner, Mr. Heber, from which I make the following extracts: "Another edition of this book was printed for John Busby in 1616 intituled 'Villanies discovered by Lanthorne and candlelight & the help of a new cryer called o per se o,' etc. . . I find it is increased by the addition of a whole section 'Of a Prison' occupying 6 chapters Ed. 1620 is an exact reprint of ed. 1616."

I have used the edition of 1620. There is internal evidence that the additions made in 1616 remained unchanged, for in ch. xi, unpagged, Dekker speaks of his imprisonment as lasting about three years.

The extracts from the 1620 ed. I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Carl Van Doren of Columbia University.

“To the Reader” is altered from that of the last preceding edition, that of 1612, by the omission of the scornful little paragraph about the Beadle of Bridewell (Samuel Rowlands), and the addition of the following sentence: “To furnish this Army the better with souldiers have I opened a Prison, out of which what troopes issue and how practised in discipline, let but a drum beate to call up the reare, & thou shalt easily in one light skirmish know of what mettle they are.”

This promise is made good by the insertion of a new section entitled “Of a Prison,” made up of six chapters under the headings: Certaine Discoveries of a Prison by way of Essayes and Characters, written by a Prisoner; Of Prisoners; Of Creditors; Of Choice of Company in Prison; Of Visitants; Of Jaylors.

A comparison of Dekker’s Prison chapters with Mynshul’s book, published two years later, reveals the fact that not only are the same subjects discussed under similar titles and in the same order, but that whole passages are identical, or nearly so, in thought, figure, and turn of phrase. I quote the following illustrations:

DEKKER

1616

I am with dimme water colours to line a Cart, and in it to lay downe the bounds of those tempestuous seas, in which ten thousand are every day tossed, if not overwhelmed. Some doe but crosse over the waters and are Seasicke; but not Heart-sicke. Such are happy: To others it is longer than an East-Indian voyage, and farre more dangerous. For in that, if of threescore men, twenty come home, it is wel. But in this, if fourscore of a hundred be

MYNSHUL

1618

My purpose is, with dim water-colours to line me out a heart, yea such a heart, so discontented and oppressed, that I need not be curious in fitting every colour to his place, or to chuse the pleasantest chamber to draw it in, because in it I am to lay downe the bounds of those tempestuous seas, in which tenne thousands are every day tossed, if not overwhelmed — — — — —

My travels hither to this infernall iland hath been but a

not cast overboard, it is a wonder.

More now than a three-yeeres-voyage have I made to these infortunate Ilands: a long lying have I had under Hatches, during which time, my Compasse never went true. No Star of comfort have I sailed by: no Anchor to cast out. Top-saile, Sprit—saile, Mizzen, Mayne-sheat, Botlings, & Drablers are all torne by the windes: & the Barque itselſe so weather-beaten, that I fear it shall never touch at the Cape Bona Speranza. —

— — — — —

A Fly-boat hath brooked that Sea in which an Argozy hath beene drowned: for the greatest courages are here wrack'd: the fairest revenewes do here run aground: the noblest wits are here confounded.

So that I may call a Prison an Inchanted Castle, by reason of the Rare Transformations therein wrought: for it makes a wise man loose his wits, a foole to know himselfe. It turnes a rich man into a beggar, and leaves a poore man desperate.

He whom neither Snowes nor Alpes can vanquish, but hath a heart as constant as

short voyage, and my abode here as yet but a few moneths, but it seems longer to mee then an East-Indian voyage, and I am sure farre more dangerous: for if from the Indies of sixty men twenty come home safe it is well; but in this, if eighty of an hundred be not cast over board it is a wonder.

Being once arrived, no starre of comfort here can be seene to saeyle by, no haven of happiness neare, no anchor of hope to cast out, top-sayle, fore-sayle, sprit-sayle, mizen, maine sheate, bollings, and drablers are all torne by the windes, and the barke it selfe so weather beaten, that there is few can come neare to touch at the Cape of Bona Speranza.

Being once arrived at, all are not onely staid, but the inchantments are so strong, that it transformeth all that come thither. First, the greatest courages are here wracked, the fairest revenues doe here come aground; it maketh a wise man to lose his wits a foole to know himselfe, it turnes a rich man into a begger, and leaves a poore man desperate; he whom neyther snowes nor Alpes can vanquish, but hath a heart as

Hannibals, him can the misery of a prison direct.

It behooveth a Prisoner to say as Caesar did to the Pilot, when he was afraid, (thou carriest, quoth he, Caesar) so every generous minde ought to be armed with noble resolutions, to meete all stormes of adversitie — — — — —

Varlets and Catch-poles arrest thee: Fret not at it: if the Law hath power to whet an Axe; she must pick a Hangman to smite. The Mace that arresteth thee, is in a hand Omnipotent — — — — An action is brought against thee onely to draw thee to a reckoning, and make thee know what thou owest to Heaven, as well as to man. Thou art beaten with a Rod, not to draw bloud but teares; not to drive thee into dispaire, but amendment. — — —

I verily thinke that the bravest spirited Prisoner in the world, would with a cheerful looke thrust his neck into the yoke of Adversitie, and manfully defie the threats of

constant as *Hannibal*, him can the miseries of a prison overcome.⁶

After stormes calmes will arise, and though sorrow be over night, yet joy will come in the morning; and to say as *Caesar* did to the pilot that carryed him when hee was afraid; quoth he, *Thou carriest Caesar*. So every generous minde ought to be arm'd with resolution to meete all stormes of adversitie⁷ — — — — —

Varlets and catchpoles arrest thee, fret not at it, if law have power to whet an axe, she must pick out a hangman to strike the mace — — — — It [the processes of the law] doth but teach thee, that thy accounts must be brought **against** thee, to draw thee to a **reckoning**, to make thee know that thou owest a reckoning to Heaven as well as to man, and justice will execute her power, not to drive thee to dispaire, but to amendment.

Further, I persuaide myselve there are many prisoners whose resolutions are so noble, that before they would yeeld to the threats of an insulting creditour, they would cheerfully thrust their neckes

⁶ Mynshul, pp. 12-14.

⁷ p. 18.

an insulting Creditor, were not more veines to be cut then his own. But the poorest wretch dying in a prison, hath some or other lying in the Coffin with him: with thine eye-strings (whosoever thou art) crack at the last gasp the heart-strings of a wife, of children, of a father, or mother, of friends or allies. For these art thou bound in the bonds of Nature, to take pittie of thy selfe, and to hang out a flag of truce to thy bloody minded Creditor & for Ransome to pay all, so thou maist march away with life onely. But say thou hast none of these respects to tye thee yeelding. Thou art a Traytor to thy Countrey, if thou givest up thy selfe into thy enemies hands, when upon noble tearmes thy peace may be made. Live not in a Prison, but come forth that thou mayest benefite thy selfe, dye not there, but live that thou mayest doe service to thy Country. Pay thy debts so farre as thou canst, because the most heavie debts that ever thy Soule did owe, were paid for thee.

A Creditor hath two paire of hands, one of flesh and blood which Nature gives him,

into the yoke of adversity if no more veynes herein were cut but their owne; but here is none so poor which dyes in prison, but the last gaspe doth cracke the heart-strings of a wife, children, father, mother, friends, or allies; therefore art thou bound to take pittie of thy selfe, and to hang out the flag of truce to thy bloody-minded creditor, and seeke for ransome to pay all, so that thou maist escape with life, though it be upon some ignoble termes, and much losse to thee; if none of these respects, yet for thy countrie's sake, to whom thou art a traytor, if thou give thy selfe to thine enemies hand, when upon parley thy peace may be made, come forth of prison, and dye not there, that thou mayst honour thy King, and doe service to thy countrey, and pay thy debts so farre as thou art able, because the greatest debt that ever thou didst owe, was paid for thee.^s

A *creditor* hath two paire of hands, one of flesh and blood, and that nature gave

^s pp. 20-22.

another of yron which the Law gives him — — Of these two the lesse hath power over the great; the soft warmth of the one, being able to melt the hardnesse of the other. And that never happens but when Grace and Mercy kisse Law and Justice. Such dayes are seldome set downe in common Calendars; for a strange Meridian is that *A l m a n a c k e* calculated in which they are found.

And yet I have seen a Creditor in a Prison weepe when he beheld the Debtor, and to lay out money of his owne purse to free him: he shot a second Arrow to finde the first. But suppose he shot both away; thinke you his sheafe was the lesse, or Quiver more emptie? No: I believe he scattered a handful of Corne, and reaped a Bushell he laid out, and God paid. — — — / Thou that art a Creditor, wilt not believe this: Doe not: But in stead of that mans weeping, make thou thy Debtor melt into teares. — — — — — Doest thou not sleepe upon the pillowe of thine owne damnation? That prayer to God is a curse upon thy selfe. Thou mockest him to whom thou prayest: but he will not mocke thee.

him; another of iron, and that the law gives him — — — — But if hee once consider — — — — then the softnesse of the one doth so operate, that it meets with the hardness of the other, which never comes to passe, but when Grace and Mercy kisse Law and Justice; but such dayes are seldome set downe in our calenders, but I perswade myselfe that for a strange meridian is that *almanacke* calculated in which they are found. — — — I thinke I should nominate but one onely, and onely one of a mercifull brest, who did not onely grieve to see his debtor opprest with misery, but also laid money out of his purse to free him, he shot a second arrow to find the first, and suppose he shot both away, doe you think his quiver was the emptier? No, he scattered a handfull of corne. and reaped a bushell — — — — — God became his debtor, and paid him more than his accompt came to.

Thou that art a creditor wilt not beleewe this; doe not. But in stead of this man's weeping make thy debtor melt into teares — — — — — Dost thou not sleepe on the pillow of thy owne damnation, thy prayers turn into

cursings, and thou dost but
mocke him that thou prayest
to.⁹

Thou takest (with one clap
of a Varlets hand) from the
Courtier, his Honor: from
the Lawyer his tongue: from
the Merchant the Seas: from
the Citizen his credit: from
the Scholler his preferment:
from the Husbandman the
Earth itselfe: from all men,
(so much as thou canst) the
very brightnesse and warmth
of the Sunne in heaven. — —
— — In being cruell to thy
Debtor, thou art worse then
a common Hangman; He be-
fore he strikes begges for-
givenessse. Thou takest a
pride to condemne, when thou
mayest save; and (Nero-like)
dauncest, when the most glo-
rious Cittie is on fire.

But it may be thy private
estate is sicke, and weakely;
and thou to Physicke it, art
compelled to breake into Gar-
dens of thine owne, which are
locked from thee by other
mens hands. In doing this,
thou doest well: If any weare
thy coate, and thyselfe goest a
cold, thou art not to be blamed
if thou plucke it off from his
shoulders. But if hee that
borrowed thy coate, hath now
worne it out, and hath not a

Thou takest with one clap
of a varlet's hand, from the
courtier his honour, from the
lawyer his tongue, from the
merchant the seas, from the
citizen his credit, from the
scholler his preferment, from
the husbandman the earth it
selfe, and from all men, (as
much as thou maist,) the
brightnesse and warmth of
the sunne of heaven. In a
word, if nothing will make
thy stony heart relent, thou
in being cruell to thy debtor
art worse then the hang-man;
hee before he strikes begs par-
don, thou takest a pride to
condemne where thou maist
save.

But it may be thy estate is
sicke, thy credit much in-
gaged, and to save thy selfe
thou art forced to doe this.

In so doing thou doest well;
if another weare thy coate,
and thou goest cold, thou
maist plucke it from his
shoulders. — — — — —

But if he which hath bor-
rowed thy coate hath worne
it out, and hath not a ragge
to cover him with, wilt thou
trample upon his naked body?

⁹ pp. 25-28.

ragge to cover him, wilt thou trample upon his naked bo-some. If with the Jew (instead of money) thou demaundest a pound of flesh, next to thy Debtors heart, wouldst thou cut him in pieces. If he offer to give thee the bed he lyes on, the dish he drinks in, his owne chamber for thee to sleepe in (and to sit shivering in the cold.) If he turne himselfe, Wife, and Children as poore into the world, as they are to go out of it (nay not so rich neither by a sheet) and that he leave himselfe nothing to pay thee all, wilt thou for all this suffer him to die in the hands of the Lawe. — — —

— — — To be tender-hearted to him that cannot pay thee, what is it? Is it any more than to lift a sicke man upright upon his pillow, & to give him a little more ease. That man may recover and doe as much for thee.

Society is the string at which the life of man hangs, without it is no musicke; two in this make but an Unyson.

Adam had his Eve. And every son of Adam hath a brother, whom he loves. No Charyot runnes with one wheele, two make it steady,

If with the Jew of Malta, instead of coyne, thou requir-est a pound of flesh next to thy debtor's heart, wilt thou cut him in pieces? If thy debtor offers thee his bed hee lyes in, his chamber he sleeps in, his dish hee drinckes in; nay, all that he hath, so that he leaves himselfe, wife, and children as naked as they came into the world, wilt thou for all this suffer him to lye in prison? If thou be merciful to thy debtor that cannot pay thee, alas, what is it? No more then if thou shouldest lift up the head of a sicke man upon his pillow to ease him, he may recover and doe as much for thee.¹⁰

Society is the string at which the life of man hang-eth, without which is no mus-icke, two in this maske is but a union; Adam had his Eve, and every sonne of Adam hath his brother whom he loves.

No chariot runs with one

¹⁰ pp. 30-32.

a third is superfluous, foure too cumbersome. Thou must choose one and but one: who walkes alone is lame.

Men of all conditions are forced into a Prison: as all sorts of Rivers fall into the Sea, and when two meete, the current is more swift and easie. — — — — —

— — — My counsell then is, that thou be sociable to all: acquainted with few: trust not to any, or if any (I sing the first note) not above one: and first make triall what the vessell holds; before thou pourest thy selfe into it.

To be a Bowle for every Alley, and runne into all companies, proves thy mind to have no Byas. It is like a Traveller, who in severall countries, takes up many lodgings, and hath a thousand welcomes, but they are not to him but his money.

— — — — —

Art thou conversant with an Atheist? Thy name will be enrolled on the same Fyle: Is thy companion a miserable base fellow? Niggardlinesse will hold her fingers on thy purse strings. The fellowship of Prodigals will draw thee to Ryot; of Adulterers to Lust; of Swearers, to dammd oathes; of Pot companions, to drunkennesse.

whee, two makes it stedly, a third is superfluous, foure too cumbersome: thou must choose one and but one, who walkes alone is lame.

Men of all conditions are forced into prison, as all rivers run into the sea; therefore it is good to bee familiar with all, acquainted with few, and if with any, *eandem cantilenam cano*, but with one, make triall what the vessell will hold, before thou powre thy selfe into him — — — — —

Bee wary, therefore, of thy company, for to be a bowle for every alley, and run into every company, proves thy mind to have no bias.

Thy comming into prison, is like a traveller comming into strange countries, who take up severall lodgings, hath many welcomes, but they are not to him but to his money.

— — — — —

Let not thy companion be a miserable, base-minded fellow, for then niggardlinesse will hold her fingers on thy purse-strings; let him not be a prodigall, for then he will draw thee to riot; if adulterer, to lust; if a swearer, to damned oaths; if a pot companion, to drunkennesse; acquaint thyselfe, therefore, not with the most but best, not the best in cloaths or money, but

Acquaint thy selfe therefore not with the most, but the best: not the best in cloathes or money, but the best in doing best, or doing well. Are there none such in prison? Keepe companie then with thy selfe, and in thy chamber talke with Plutarch or Seneca: the one will teach thee to live well, the other to dye well.

From a ruinous house every man flies. They that aske every day (abroad) how thou doest (when thou art in prison) and protest they are sory for thy misfortunes, yet never come to thee: are like idle passengers pressing about a Barbers doore, when a man is carried in wounded. They peepe in and climbe about the windowes, but dare not enter into the shop, for feare they should swound to see him drest. A Prisoner is as much beholden to such leape-frog acquaintance, as a man shaken with an Ague is to every gossiping woman he meets: He shall have five hundred medicines taught him for one disease, and not one worth the taking.

If thou walkest abroad with a Keeper use him friend-

in vertue; if there bee none such in prison, then keepe campany with thy selfe; in thy chamber keepe company with Plutarke, and Seneca, Perkins, and Greenbam; the one will teach thee to live well, the other to dye well.¹¹

From a ruinous house every man flyes: they that are abroad aske every day how thou doest; when in prison they protest they are sory for thy misfortunes, but never come to thee: such are like idle passengers pressing about a barber's shop, when a man is carryed in wounded, who will peepe in and climbe about the windows, but dare not enter into the shop for feare they should fall into a swound to see him drest. A prisoner is as much behold-ing to such leape-frogge acquaintance, as a man shaken with an ague to every gossiping woman hee meetes, who will teach him an hundred medicines, and not one worth taking.¹²

If thou walkest abroad with thy keeper, use him friendly,

¹¹ pp. 38-40.

¹² pp. 44-45.

ly, but not respectively. So mannage him, that he may thinke himselfe beholden to thee, not thou to him. For howsoever he fawnes upon thee with complementall standing bare, and officious attendance, yet know he serves in his place, but as the Dogge the Butcher.

He is to thee as a Curre to a drove: if thou goest on quietly (be it to the slaughter amongst griping Lawyers, and cruel adversaries) he waits gently and brings thee to the very doore: But if thou offer to stray, he worries thee.

Remember his eye shootes at two whites. Thy Person and thy Purse. The one he is to guard, the other must finde him. Thou art compelled to protect thy carkasse under his shelter, as a sheepe under a bryer (in a terrible storm,) & be sure for thy standing there, to have some of thy wooll torne off.

but not respectively; so man- age him that he shall rather thinke himselfe beholding to thee then thou to him; for howsoever he faunes upon thee with complements, stand- ing bare with officious attend- ance, yet know he serves in his place but as the dog the butcher; he is to thee as a cur to a drove of beasts; if thou goest on quietly (be it to thy slaughter among griping cittizens, and cruell creditors to worke thy own freedome) hee waites gently and brings thee to the doore, but if thou once offer to stray hee worries thee.

Remember his eye shootes at two whites, thy person and thy purse; the one is to guard thee, the other to feed him; thou art compelled to protect thy carkase under his shelter as a sheepe in a terrible storme under a bryer, and be sure thy standing there is to have some of thy wooll torne off.¹³

It should be added that in spirit and general treatment, the sections on "Jaylors" offer the greatest dissimilarity, and that the last third of Mynshul's book corresponds to nothing in Dekker's.

¹³ pp. 55-56.

In 1632¹⁴ Dekker substituted for the prison reflections of 1616 a narrative dealing with prison life, carefully integrated with the rest of the book—"English Villanies," as "Villanies Discovered" was then rechristened. These new chapters possess greater literary merit and a serener moral temper than the section they displace.¹⁵

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¹⁴ It has been impossible to trace a copy of this edition, but the edition of 1638 offers internal evidence that it is a reprint of that of 1632. This is Fleay's opinion.

¹⁵ This narrative, as well as the 1616 prison chapters not quoted above, I have used freely in a monograph (Columbia University Press) on Thomas Dekker. The Mynshul matter is briefly discussed on pages 169-170.

THE WAKEFIELD GROUP IN TOWNELEY

The characteristics as to style and meter of the plays assigned to the Wakefield group in Towneley have often been noted,¹ but there has been no attempt carefully to set the bounds of the work of the man who wrote them, or put in convenient form the chief characteristics which make them distinctive. It is such a discussion that I have set myself in this paper. It will have served its purpose, if it succeeds in presenting a clearer view than has been had before of the characteristics of this author's style and of his methods of work.

Generally stated the characteristics of his style may be said to be its humor, its superior dramatic form, and its peculiar meter. These things are so well defined, that when found together they enable us to assign certain plays and portions of plays to him without hesitation. But there are some plays possessing this markedly humorous and dramatic quality, but not written in the characteristic meter; and there are certain stanzas, too few in number to exhibit any marked peculiarities in style, which seem to be corruptions of the usual stanza. In order, therefore, to be able to set the bounds of his work it is necessary to consider these two characteristics: first, the metrical form, in order to obtain criteria for determining the authorship of these doubtful stanzas; and second, the style of the plays known to belong to the group, in order to determine whether those plays which are humorous and highly dramatic in quality, but not in the usual meter, may not be, at least in part, the work of the same editor.

The most obvious characteristic of his work is its metrical form. In fact this peculiar meter is so uniformly present in plays possessing the other characteristics of the W author that it is safe to assign it, wherever found, to his hand. It forms a sufficient test of his work and enables us to say definitely that all of plays 3, 12, 13, 16, 23; scenes in 20, 22, and

¹ Mr. A. W. Pollard, *Introduction to E. E. T. S. edition of the Towneley Plays*. Hohlfeld, *Die Altenglischen Kollektivmysterien*, Anglia, vol. xi, 219 ff. etc.

30; and isolated stanzas in 2, 23, 27, and 29 are by the W author.

The stanza rhymes in *ababababdddc*. The *a* rhyme is usually internal, though there are a few exceptions to that form. These are found in play 2, st. 35, 36; pl. 23, st. 2; pl. 27, st. 30; as well as in certain seemingly corrupt stanzas, which are to be discussed immediately. The *c* rhymes are mere tags.

The scansion of this stanza is not an easy matter. There is much apparent variation both in the number of feet in a line and in the number of syllables in each foot. But the basic stanza seems to have been one with two accented and two unaccented syllables to the half line, the accent coming on the final syllable of each foot. There is, however, a tendency to increase the number of unaccented syllables, so that it is hardly possible to find a stanza absolutely typical of the basic form. I, therefore, illustrate it by a stanza chosen at random from play 12. It is the fourth stanza of the play.

My hándys may I wrýng / and mówrnyng máke,
Bot if goód will sprýng / the cóuntre forsáke;
ffermes thýk ar comýng / my púrs is bot wáke,
I haue nérehand nothýng / to páy nor to táke;

I may sýng
With púrs pannelés
That makys thís heuynés
Wo is mé this dystrés
And hás no helping.

The scansion of this stanza evidently calls for two accented syllables in every half line, but there are a number of feet which contain two unaccented syllables.

This tendency to increase the number of unaccented syllables is characteristic of the author. I quote as illustrative a stanza from that part of play 22 which is undoubtedly his work.

Play 22, st. 5.

primus tortor. I haue rón that I swétt / from sir hérode
oure kýng
With this mán that will not létt / oure láwes to downe
brýng;
he has dóne so mych forfétte / of cáre may he sýng;

Through dóm of sir pyláte he géttys / an ýll endýng
 And sóre;
 The great wárkys he has wróght
 Shall sérue hym of nóght,
 And bot tháy be dere bóght,
 léfe me no móre.

In this stanza feet with only one unaccented syllable are few, the majority having two or even three unaccented. So far is this fondness for unaccented syllables carried, that it is possible to scan many of the verses with more than two feet to the verse. I give as an example another stanza, 18, from this same play, 22, scanning it first upon the two accent basis, with numerous unaccented syllables, and then upon a basis of four accents.

Play 22, st. 18. Two accents to the half line:

iii tortor. Sirs, as he cáme from ihericó / a blynde man
 sátt by the wáy;

To hym walkánd with many mó / cryand to hým thus can
 he sáy,

“Thou son of dáuid, or thou gó / of blyndnes héle thou me
 this dáy.”

Ther was he hélyd of all his wó / sich wonders cán he
 wýrk all wáy

At wýll;
 he rasys mén from deth to lýfe,
 And castys out dévylys from thame oft sýthe,
 seke men cáme to hym full rýfe,
 He helys thaym óf all ýll.

Four accents to the half line:

iii tortor. Sirs, ás he cáme from ihéricó / a blýnde man
 sátt by the wáy;

To hým walkánd with mány mó / cryánd to hým thus cán
 he sáy,

“Thou són of dáuid, ór thou gó / of blýndnes héle thou mé
 this dáy.”

Ther wás he hélyd of áll his wó / sich wónders cán he
 wýrk all wáy

At wýll;
 he rásys mén from déth to lýfe,

And cástys out dévylys from tháme oft sýthe,
 séke men cáme to hým full rýfe,
 He hélys thaym óf all ýll.

This illustration simply shows how easily the stanza could become corrupt by the addition of unaccented syllables.

As a matter of fact, when this trick of adding unaccented syllables is once learned, it becomes the simplest matter in the world to extend the lines unnaturally and so distort the form of the stanza until it is hardly recognizable. This the W author seems to have done in some cases. But further discussion along this line must be post-poned until a second standard for judging the authorship of the stanzas has been noticed: that is the use of alliteration.

The W author makes very little use of alliteration. The great mass of the stanzas is, like that just quoted, without it. In others its use is seemingly accidental, as in the first and second stanzas quoted. But sometimes, when a serious or solemn effect was desired, its use appears to have been intentional. Such are the speeches of the shepherds when they worship the child.

Play 13, st. 80. *primus pastor*:

hayll, comly and clene / hayll, yong child!
 hayll, maker, as I meyne / of a madyn so mylde!
 Thou has waryd, I weyne / the warlo so wylde;
 The fals gyler of teyn / now goys he begylde.
 lo, he merys;
 lo, he laghys, my swetyng,
 A welfare metyng,
 I haue holden my hetyng;
 haue a bob of cherys.

St. 81. *i jus pastor*.

hayll, sufferan sauyoure! / ffor thou has vs soght:
 hayll, frely foyde and floure / that all thyng has wroght!
 hayll, full of fauoure / that made all of noght!
 hayll! I kneyll and I cowre. / A byrd haue I broght,
 To my barne.
 hayll, lytyll tyne mop!
 of oure crede thou art crop:
 I wold drynk on thy cop,
 Lytyll day starne.

Here there seems to be an effort to increase, by the use of alliteration, the effect of solemnity in the simple worship of the shepherd. This alliteration is sometimes, as in line 1 of each stanza, confined to a half line: in other verses, as in line 2 of stanza 80, it extends through both halves of the line; and in lines 2 and 4 of stanza 81 it differs in each half line.

In other places much use is made of alliteration to add to the bombastic effect of the speeches of Herod and Pilate, or of their heralds. Such are the stanzas in the Nuncio's speech in play 16, where he is lauding Herod. I quote stanza 1.

Play 16, st. 1. *Nuncius*:

Moste myghty mahowne / meng you with mirth!
Both of burgh and of towne / by fellys and by fyrth,
Both kyng with crowne / and barons of brith,
That radly wyll rowne / many greatt grith

Shall be happ.

Take tenderly intent

what sondys ar sent,

Else harmes shall ye hent,

And lothes you to lap.

This use of alliteration continues through the first nine stanzas to the close of the Nuncio's speech. Then Herod begins in a vaunting strain; but with what appears to be an intentional avoidance of alliteration.

It is possible, then, to define the nature of the Wakefield stanza by saying: That the favorite metrical form of its author was a stanza rhyming *ababababceddc*. This stanza normally had two feet to a half line; but this normal form was often much disguised by the addition of unaccented syllables; thus making possible verse forms containing more than the usual two feet. The writer made little use of alliteration, except when he wished to add to an effect of solemnity, or make a vaunting speech more bombastic in tone. When he did use alliteration he was much more apt to confine it to half lines than to extend over a whole verse.

The stanzas which seem to be corruptions of this W stanza are found in play 20, st. 97-102; play 24, st. 6-9; play 27, st. 57. In play 20 the stanzas show a tendency to break up into quatrains. This is accompanied by alliteration and a length-

ening of the lines. But these changes are not found in all the stanzas in the group. It has already been shown by illustrations drawn from play 22, that the W stanza was often capable of being spoken with four accents to the half line. Although all the stanzas in play 20 are written with the *a* rhyme as an end rhyme, it is possible to show that st. 97, at least, is a good example of this four accent stanza. I compare it with play 22, st. 16, which I write without internal rhyme.

Pl. 20, st. 97. *Malcues Miles*:

Sir, this Ioarnáy I vndertake
with ál my mýght and máyn.
I'f I shúld, for máhowns sáke,
here ín this pláce be sláyn,
Críst that próphett fór to táke,
we máy be ál full fáyn.
Oure wéppyns rédy lóke ye máke
tó bryng hým in mékyll gráme
This nýght.

Go we nów on oure wáy,
oure mástres fór to máy;
Oure lántarnes táke with ús
alswáy,
And lóke that tháy be líght!

While there is irregularity in both stanzas, it is evident that, taken by themselves they would be considered representatives of the same metrical structure. That this is also true of stanza 100, play 20 comes out when it is compared with stanza 19 of play 22.

Pl. 20, st. 100, *primus miles*:

That bóyn, lord, thóu vs béde,
and ón hym wréke the sóne we
sháll;
ffro wé haue láde on hým good
spéde;
he sháll no hóre hym gódyss
son cáll.
we sháll marke hým trulý his
méde;

Play 22, st. 16.

Syrs, át the fféste of archítrecelýn
this próphete he wás;
Ther túrnyd he wáter into wýn
that dáy he hád sich gráce,
his apóstles tó hym cán enelýn
and óther thát ther wás;
The sée he pást bot féw yeres
sýn
it léte hym wálk thereón apáse
At wýll;
The éleméntys ál bydéyn,
And wýndes that ár so kéyn,
The fírmaménte, as I wéyn,
Ar hým obéyng týll.

Pl. 22, st. 19. *primus tortor*,
ffor ál these dédys of greát
louýng

fower thýngys I háue fond cér-
tanlý,
ffor which he is worthý to hýng:
oone is oure kýng that hé wold
bé.

Oure sábbot dáy in hís wyrkýng
hé, lettys nótt to héle the séke

by mahówne most, gód of áll,	trulý ;
Síche thre knýghtys had lýtyll	he sáys oure témphe he sháll
dréde	downe brýng
To býnde the dwíll that wé on	and ín thre dáies byg ít in hý
cáll	All hóle agáne ;
In néde ;	Syr piláte, as ye sýtt,
ffor íf thay wére a thówsand	looke wýsely ín youre wýtt ;
mó,	Dam íhesú or ye flýtt
that próphete ánd his apóstels	On crósse to súffre his páynie.
alsó	
with thíse two hándys for to	
sló,	
had I lytyll dréde.	

Here, too, the evident similarity in form proves the doubtful stanza to belong to the Wakefield Group. But in connection with these two undoubted Wakefield stanzas are two others written as four (98, 99; 101, 102) in the text, which are here given side by side.

St. 98. *Secundus Miles:*

Sir piláte, prynce péreles in páll,
of áll men most mýghty mérked
on móld,
we ar éuer more rédy to cóm at
thi cáll,
and bów to thi býdyng as bách-
lers shóld.

99. Bot that prýnce of the após-
tyls púpplyshed befórne,
Men cáll hym críst, comen of
dáuid kýn,
his lýfe full sóne shalbé forlórne,
If wé haue háp hym fóрто wýn.
haue dóne!

ffór, as éuer éte I bréede,
or I stýr in this stéde
I wold strýke off his hède ;
lord, I áske that bóyne.

101. *Pilatus:*

Now, cúrtes kásers óf kámys kýn
most géntyll of Iúre to mé that
I fýnde,
My cómforth from cáre may yé
sone wýn,
if ye háppely may hént that un-
héynde.

102. Bot gó ye héns spédely and
lóke ye not spáre ;

My frénship, my fórttherans,
shall éuer with you bé ;
And mahówne that is mýghfull
he ménske you euermáre !
Bryng yóu safe and sównde
with that bródel to me !

In pláce
wher so éuer ye wéynd,
ye knýghtys so héynde,
Sir lúcyfer the féynde
he léde you the tráce !

Since these stanzas are both found in such close connection with the other two undoubted W stanzas, one would also be apt to consider them W stanzas, were it not for two very obvious objections to this view. These are, first, that there is a change in the rhyme scheme after the fourth line, which marks the first four lines in each stanza as a single quatrain; and, second, that the single quatrain stanza 98 and the quatrain in st. 102 have lines which are considerably longer than the rest. But these objections are easily overcome. To consider the last first: the tendency to lengthen the line has already been noted. These stanzas but carry it a step farther than the other examples given by introducing two unaccented syllables instead of one in each foot of a four accent half line, here written more correctly as a verse by itself. Such feet are found in the first six lines of st. 98-99 and in all of the lines in the quatrain portion of stanza 101-102 except the first.

The change in the rhyme scheme by which quatrains are developed may be as easily explained. There is abundant evidence that a quatrain editor has been at work on the Towneley plays, especially on that group of the plays which were directly borrowed from York.² Quatrains are plentiful in play 20, part of which is a York borrowing. We are justified in thinking that this editor has been at work here. In this particular case the change in rhyme breaks each W stanza into a single quatrain and a single quatrain plus the W cauda. If the cauda were dropped or changed into a quatrain the result would be a succession of single quatrains. This final stage seems to be illustrated by the four stanzas just preceding stanza 97.

St. 93. *Iudas*:

Ordán ye knýghtys to wéynd with mé,
Ríchly aráyd in réwyll and rówtt;
And áll my cóuandys hólđen shall bé,
Só I haue félyship mé abówte.

St. 94. *Pilatus*:

wherbý, Iudás, shuld wé hym knáw,

² On the York Group see *The York Mystery Plays*, Miss L. Toulmin Smith; E. E. T. S. edition of *The Towneley Plays*, Introduction; *Anglia*, vol. xi, 219 ff.; Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, pp. 137-157.

If wé shall wýsely wýrk, Iwýs?
ffor sóm of v's hym néuer sáw.

Iudas: lay hánd on hým that I' shall kýs.

St. 95 Pilatus:

haue dóne, sir knýghtys, and kýthe youre stréngthe.

And wáp you wíghtly ín youre wéde;

Seke óuer áll, both bréde and léngthe!

Spáre ye nót, spénde and spéde!

St. 96.

Wé have sóght hym lés and móre,

And fályd ther wé haue fárn;

Málcus, thóu shall wéynd befóre,

And bére with thé a líght lantárne.

These four stanzas agree very well with 98 and 101 in meter. There is nothing about them to indicate that they are not a revision of the old W stanza by the quatrain editor, and, in connection with the stanzas already considered, there is much to support that view. In fact we are probably safe in considering all this scene a revision of an older Wakefield scene.

This lengthy discussion of the doubtful stanzas in play 20 has been made necessary by the importance of the indications which it gives that certain accepted conclusions concerning the growth of this cycle may be erroneous. As I have indicated in a previous article,³ scholars have been accustomed to divide the plays composing the Towneley Cycle into three groups⁴ according to the order in which the plays are supposed to have been added to the cycle. According to this division the York group is the second, and the Wakefield the third, while the first is composed of a number of plays of a simple religious nature and written in a simple meter, which from their form seem to be the most archaic portion of the cycle. Through all the cycle run couplets and quatrains which are evidently the work of editors.⁵ But on examination of these couplets and quatrains it is discovered that the York group contains no couplets while all the groups contain quatrains. This evidently makes it necessary to conclude that the York

³ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, X, No. 4, p. 572 ff.

⁴ *The Towneley Plays*, E. E. T. S., pp. xxvi ff.

⁵ Davidson, p. 129.

group was the last added to the cycle. The quatrains here found in connection with the Wakefield stanzas are part of the evidence for proving the old order wrong.

We have seen in connection with the worship of the shepherds, that the author of the Wakefield scenes makes use of alliteration in passages to which he wishes to give a solemn or serious effect, and we have found in the speech of Nuncius, play 16, st. 1-10, a similar use of alliteration where he wishes to give a bombastic effect. In these cases it was found that the alliteration was more commonly confined to what was really the half line as generally written. There was also found, especially in play 22, a tendency to lengthen each verse by the addition of unaccented syllables. In the first four stanzas of play 22, where Pilate makes a bombastic speech, these two tendencies are carried much further. There is little regularity in the alliteration and little limit to the length of a line, with considerable confusion metrically. I quote stanza 3.

Bot this próphete, that has préchyd and púplyshed so pláyn
 Cristen láw, crist thay cáll hym in óure cuntré;
 Bot oure prýnces full prówdly this nýght haue hym táyn,
 ffull týatt to be dámpned he shall be húrlyd byfore mé;
 I shall fównde to be his fréynd vtward, in certáyn,
 And shéw hym fare cówntenanee and wórdys of vantyé;
 Bot or this day at nýght on crósse shall he be sláyn,
 Thus agáns hym in my hárt I bere gréat enmyté
 ffull sóre.

ye mén that vse bák-bytýngys,
 and rásars of slánderýngys,
 ye ár my dére darlýngys,

And máhowns for éuer móre.

These stanzas simply carry out the tendency, heretofore noted, to increase the number of unaccented syllables. They are on a basis of two accents to the half line, but can more easily be read with four accents. The number of unaccented syllables in each foot is much increased, so that even when scanned with four accents they vary from one to three in each foot. (See the last foot of line 2 and the third in line 4). The rhyme scheme is that of the W group and these four stanzas, to which Pilate's bombastic speech is confined, are followed

by the regular Wakefield form, which continues throughout the first scene of the play. So it is probable that all were written by the W author, but that he enlarged these to heighten the bombastic effect.

Again, in play 24 there are four stanzas, 6, 7, 8, 9, which are a probable corruption of the same meter. They have been divided differently in the E. E. T. S. edition and that leads to some confusion. On inspection, however, it becomes evident that st. 6 and 7 are practically the same in structure as st. 98, 99 of play 20. The usual W pedes is, as there, broken into two quatrains, to which the usual cauda is attached. Here, also, the first quatrain has much longer verses than the second. In fact they are the longest so far found, as they can be scanned with six feet; but this is accounted for by the theory of growth in length through the addition of unaccented syllables. The second quatrain is more nearly the usual length.

Stanza 6.

loke thát no bóy be to bústus, blást here fór to bláw,
 Bot trúly tó my tálkyng loke thát ye bé inténdyng;
 If hére be ány bóy thát wíll not loútt till oure láw,
 By mýghty mahówne, high sháll he hýng;
 South, nóρθ, eest, wést,
 In áll this wárlđ in léngethe and bréde,
 Is nóne so dóughty as I', the bést,
 dóughtely dýntand on múle and on stéde.

Stanza 7.

Therfór I sáy,
 loke thát ye lówte to mý lykánce,
 ffor dówte of dýnt in greuánce;
 dilygéntly plý to mý plesánce,
 As prýnce most mýghty me páy.

St. 8 is the usual cauda and is followed by st. 9, a pedes similar to st. 6. St. 9 has no cauda. These all appear to be corruptions of the usual Wakefield stanza, five of which precede them. The nine contain the bombastic speech by Pilate, which opens the play.

The 57th stanza of Play 29 is similar to st. 98, 99, 101, 102 of play 20 in one respect. It shows a tendency to divide into

quatrains, but this is not so marked as in the stanzas in play 20. There the rhyme scheme is (98) *abab* (99) *cdcd efffe*; that is, the quatrain of 99 shows a complete new set of rhymes. In the stanza in play 29 the rhyme scheme is *ababbcbcddeed*; that is, the *b* rhyme of the first quatrain becomes the *a* rhyme of the second. The stanza is doubtless an editing of a W stanza, for it is followed by such a stanza and the two are preceded and followed by quatrains.

Of the characteristics of style, the first to be noticed is the great freedom in the use of the biblical source. It is a general characteristic of the Mystery Plays that they follow biblical authority closely, many of them being not much more than amplified metrical translations of the scriptures. But in nearly every case this W editor, taking the scripture story as a basis, has allowed free rein to his imagination, showing considerable skill in the development both of plot and character. Examples are plenty. Note the development of the story of Noah (pl. 2); of the Innocents (pl. 16); of the trial scenes (pl. 21 and 22), etc. Conspicuous in this respect is the second shepherds' play (play 13), in which he makes use of a legend, probably well known to the shepherds of the vicinity,⁶ and succeeds in creating the only Mystery Play with anything like a well-developed plot. It is the story of Mak and the Shepherds. Three shepherds meet on the heath and complain of their ill-fortune. Mak comes up and enters into conversation. The weary shepherds lie down to sleep when Mak throws a spell around them and, as he says, "borrows" a sheep and goes home. His wife upbraids him for stealing the sheep, but finally consents to help conceal it. They put it in the crib, determined to pass it off on the shepherds as their newborn child. This ruse nearly succeeds; but one of the shepherds returns to give the child sixpence and the sheep is discovered. The shepherds punish Mak by tossing him in a blanket and then on the Angel's summons they go to Bethlehem to worship the Christ Child. The author has made the entirely non-biblical story of Mak the kernel of the play.

Closely connected with his ability to construct scenes upon the slenderest biblical source was the power he had to present

⁶ *The Towneley Plays*, F. E. T. S. Introduction pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

vividly the life of his time. In the first shepherd's play, he describes the shepherds feasting on the heath, giving in great detail a scene which must have been vividly real to his audiences and garnishing the whole with a sharp relish of humor and satire upon the evils of the day, the oppression by the landlords, and the difficulties of a shepherd's life. But his satirical vein is best illustrated in the character of Tutivillus in the play on the Judgment, Pl. 30. Tutivillus is the devil's chief officer and has hunted many thousands of souls for his master. He knows them all, tells over their natures with great attention to detail, and joins gleefully in driving the condemned souls to hell, taunting them as he goes with their sins. Other characteristic satires on the times are found in the Shepherd Plays. I quote, as example, the opening speech of play 13:—

Primus Pastor:

Lord, what these weders ar cold / and I am yll happyd;
 I am nere hande dold / so long haue I nappyd;
 My legys thay fold / my fyngers ar chappyd,
 It is not as I wold / for I am al lappyd

In sorow.

In stormes and tempest,
 Now in the eest, now in the west,
 wo is hym has neuer rest

Myd day nor morow!

Bot we sely shepardes / that walkys on the moore,
 In fayth we are nere handys / outt of the doore;
 No wonder as it standys / if we be poore,
 ffor the tylthe of our landys / lyys falow as the floore,
 As ye ken.

we are so hamyd,
 ffor-taxed and ramyd,
 We are mayde hand tamyd,
 with thyse gentlery men.

After two stanzas detailing the exactions of the gentry he closes as follows:

Ther shall com a swane / as prowde as a po,
 he must borow my wane / my ploghe also,
 Then I am full fane / tograunt or he go.

Thus lyf we in payne / Anger, and wo,

By night and day;
he must haue if he langyd,
If I shuld forgang it,
I were better be hangyd
Then oones say hym nay.

It dos me good, as I walk / thus by myn oone,
Of this world for to talk / in maner of mone.
To my shepe wyll I stalk / and herkyn anone,
Ther abyde on a balk / or sytt on a stone

ffull soyne.
ffor I trowe, perde,
trew men if thay be,
we gett more compane
Or it be noyne.

And the second shepherd enters.

In connection with this vivid presentation of the life of the times the author makes use of local references which have helped to identify the locality of the plays. Both Pollard ⁷ in his introduction, and Peacock, ⁸ note the reference to Horbury and to the crooked thorne in play 13 (first, lines 454-7; second, line 403), and Peacock shows that the situation of the places, close to Wakefield, is evidence that the plays were given in Wakefield itself. As these, with one exception, and that, as will be shown, ⁹ probably in a Wakefield play, are the only references to Wakefield that are at all definite, I have taken them as an indication that this group, at least, was written at that town.¹⁰

But the chief characteristic of the W plays is their highly developed dramatic power. This has been noticed in discussing those characteristics already mentioned. The most conspicuous example is the story of Mak. In delineation of character and ability to sustain the interest the W author is far ahead of any other editor or author of Mystery Plays.

⁷ *The Towneley Plays*. Introduction, pp. xiii, xiv.

⁸ *Anglia*, vol. xxiv, 518.

⁹ See below, page 258.

¹⁰ See above, page 1, footnote 1.

The plays and scenes which may be definitely assigned to the W group have already been noted; and it has been shown that certain corrupt stanzas are doubtless the same man's work. Besides these there are two plays, play 2 and play 24, in which identity of meter is lacking, but which in other particulars seem to agree more closely with the work of the Wakefield editor than with that of any other.

Play 2 is conspicuous because of its deviation from the biblical source in the introduction of Cain's plough boy, Garcio, who acts the part of clown. He is conceived quite after the manner of the W editor. He enters the scene with considerable bluster and shows a wholly unpardonable lack of reverence for his master, Cain, which reaches its climax after the murder of Abel. Cain pretends to have received a warrant from the king absolving himself and Garcio from punishment for the death of Abel. This he reads through, each sentence interrupted by irreverent and sarcastic remarks on the part of the plough boy, the purport of which is that he cares nothing for such a pardon, what he wants is to have Cain give him plenty to eat and drink. Cain finally has to give up his reading in anger. In addition to this, Cain gives long and humorous, but irreverent, replies to the pleading of Abel and succeeds in turning this biblical tragedy into something of a farce. It is this play which also contains the only direct reference to Wakefield, or its vicinity, outside of the 13th play. Cain, having killed Abel, says he will hide and gives the following directions:

Lines 362-367.

And where so any man may find me,
 Let hym slo me hardely;
 And where so any man may me meyte,
 Ayther bi sty, or yit bi strete;
 And hardely, when I am dede,
 bery me in gudeboure at the quarell hede.

"Here," says Peacock,¹¹ "we have so plain a reference to Wakefield that it is surprising to find no explanation of it either in the edition of the Surtees Society, or in the more recent one of the Early English Text Society." He then pro-

¹¹ *Anglia*, xxiv, pp. 516, 517.

ceeds to show that Goody Bower was a well known locality in Wakefield and that it might well have been the scene of the acting of the plays themselves. "No more fitting place in Wakefield could have been found. Within a stone's throw of the Church and close to Wakefield Green, it was entirely surrounded by fields and gardens up to the 17th century, and would serve exactly the same purpose as is served by the meadow at Ober-Ammergau, where the plays are now acted."

Coupled with the fact that the peculiar humorous and dramatic character of the play makes it extremely probable that it was written by the W editor, although only the last two stanzas are in the W meter, this very evident reference to Wakefield but increases the probability that the author of play 13 was also the author of play 2. In regard to this Pol-lard remarks:¹² "The extraordinary boldness of the play, and the character of its humor, makes it difficult to dissociate it from the work of the author of the shepherds' plays, and I cannot doubt that this also, at least in part, must be added to his credit."

Hohlfeld,¹³ it is true, does not go so far, thinking that play 2 should be distinguished from others of a humorous nature because of its greater coarseness. His point is to a certain extent well taken. The play is the coarsest of those which have been suggested as the work of the W editor. But, on the other hand, it is just as true that the scene between Cain and Garcio, when Cain attempts to read the king's proclamation is worthy of the author who wrote the second shepherds' play. It shows considerably more skill in construction than do the usual humorous scenes in the usual cycle. There are many indications that the W editor often re-wrote older plays. In fact his usual method was to re-write on an older framework. Here there is nothing to indicate a change in his habits of work; but the evident discrepancy in humorous quality does indicate that he added his better scenes to an older play, developing the characters of Cain and Garcio in his own way. Furthermore, the original stanza of this play is not that of the W group, though there are two W stanzas

¹² *The Towneley Plays*. E. E. T. S. Introduction, p. xxii.

¹³ *Anglia*, xi, page 309.

at the end. In addition the play has very evidently been edited in couplets after the insertion of the humorous scenes. It is probable that the W editor re-wrote on the basis of the original stanza, perhaps adding two in his own meter at the end. How many more are hidden in the long sections of couplets, it is impossible to say.

Play 24 bears evidence similar to the above that it has been worked over by the W editor. In the first place the opening and closing stanzas are in the characteristic meter. Again, the dependence upon biblical or apocryphal sources is of the very slightest nature: the account of the casting lots for the garments of Christ in Matt. xxvii, 35; Mark xv, 24; Luke xxiii, 34; John xix, 23-24; and the reference in the *Mors Pilati*, which describes Pilate appearing before Tiberius in Christ's tunic, *Gesta Pilati* A x, i; B x, 3; and Latin x, 1.¹⁴ The play has the characteristically humorous tone of the W group. The whole is in the nature of a farce. The torturers, after casting lots, run separately to Pilate, each claiming for himself the seamless tunic, but afraid that Pilate will claim it for himself. He fulfills their expectations in this regard and various propositions are made as to the method of division. Finally they decide to throw dice. Pilate loses, is very angry, and asks the coat as a favor. The one who won it gives it up and all with repeated oaths forswear the use of dice. The various situations are well worked out. The climax comes naturally and is only spoiled by the moral lecture at the end, contained in the forswearing. The characters are developed more fully than is usually the case outside of the W group, especially that of Pilate. He stands out as a good type of the petulant ruler, who cannot stand the thwarting of his slightest wish. Thus the author has made the play an occasion for his favorite satire against those in high places. In discussing the connection between this play and the W group, both Pollard¹⁵ and Hohlfeld¹⁶ include it among the group. It is probably a re-writing of an older play as is play 2. There are a number of stanzas, in a simple *aaabcccb* meter, which

¹⁴ Tischendorf, ed. 1853, p. 434. (from Anglia xi, p. 300).

¹⁵ *The Towneley Plays*, E. E. T. S. Introduction, p. xxii.

¹⁶ Anglia xi, p. 309.

are spoken by each torturer as he comes on the stage. Upon these the scene between the three and Pilate seems to have been grafted, as it is in a different meter and much more characteristic of the W author than what precedes.

It thus becomes evident that the limits of the W author's work are not rigidly defined by his peculiar stanza, since certain plays in different meters must be assigned to him, and since in certain cases he has apparently deviated from the rigid metrical type in which most of his plays are written. We must, therefore, include as his work, besides the plays in his usual stanza, Plays 2 and 24; stanzas 97-102, pl. 20; the first four stanzas of 22; the stanzas 6-9 of 24; with certain isolated stanzas in other plays. The fact that st. 97-102, pl. 20 must be considered his is one evidence that the W group was added to the cycle before the York group, since they bear evidence of quatrains characteristic of that group. On the other hand these plays are not the oldest part of the cycle, because there is evidence, in certain cases, that the W editor has simply re-written older plays.

In this connection a few observations concerning the methods of this highly original editor may be of interest. The evolution of the highly organized Mystery plays out of the liturgy, has been traced in general by Mr. E. K. Chambers.¹⁷ From his conclusions it would seem to follow that the present condition of the cycles has arisen from a process very similar to that collaboration with which we are familiar in the earlier of Shakespeare's plays. Editors have been in the main, first translators from the Latin and then elaborators and re-writers of old scenes. They have not so much ventured to insert new scenes as to enlarge, compress, or shift old ones. Evidence that this was the method of the Wakefield author is plentiful. In fact much of his success seems to have arisen from the very skillful way in which he re-wrote old plays. In play 13, for instance, he simply incorporated into the Shepherd scene, common to all the cycles from the earliest times, a legend of the country side, which he succeeded in cleverly dramatizing. In addition plays 16, 20, and 30, as well as 2 and 24 appear to be based on older plays already present in the cycle. I have

¹⁷ *The Mediaeval Stage*, E. K. Chambers, vol. 2.

already pointed out that he has added certain isolated stanzas to older plays: such are pl. 23, st. 2 and 57; pl. 27, st. 4 and 30. Besides these there might be noted st. 16, 57, 58 of play 29. It has also been remarked that the two final stanzas in play 2 can be taken as evidence that the W editor wrote that play, or at least worked it over.

It thus becomes evident that, while the method of this editor is of interest because it is typical of the usual method in editing Mystery plays, his work is significant because through the medium of this usual method he added to the Mystery plays those scenes which show the highest development of dramatic power within the cycles.

Professor Gayley¹⁸ considers him to be much indebted to the school of cyclic writers which flourished at York. There are affinities of style upon which this theory of indebtedness can be based. Professor Gayley also finds affinities in metrical form. But metrical affinities must, it seems to me, be largely hypothetical. They seem to have been suggested by the fact that work of the Wakefield editor is often found in close contiguity with borrowings from York, and by the fact that it is commonly believed that the Wakefield editor's work followed the insertion of these borrowings from York into the Towneley cycle. I have elsewhere suggested¹⁹ that an examination of the editorial couplets and quatrains in Towneley reveals that this chronology is hardly possible. It seems rather, to be reasonable to give this editor full credit for his originality both in thought and execution since he has given us in the second *Shepherds' play* the first bit of true comic plot and in the *plough-boy Garcio* the first human low comic character in the English drama.

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¹⁸ *Representative English Comedies*, Introduction, pp. xxiv-xxix.

¹⁹ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, X No. 4, page 572 ff.

THEODOR STORMS BRIEFE AN FRIEDRICH EGGERS
MIT EINER LEBENSKIZZE VON F. EGGERS UND
GEDICHTPROBEN. Herausgegeben von H. Wolfgang
Seidel. 1911. Berlin, Karl Curtius.

THEODOR STORMS LYRIK. Von Walther Hermann.
R. Voightländers Verlag in Leipzig. 1911.

Since the death of Theodor Storm in 1888 scholars have slowly and surely become interested in his life. He has not had numberless books written about him, his influence in German literature and life is not enormous and sweeping enough, but scholarly interest in his life and works has so steadily increased, that he is becoming more and more a subject for serious study and biographical details are important enough to be published and edited. To an already very large list of the published letters to Emil Kuh, Mörike, Keller, the Esmarchs, Hans Speker, Oscar Horn, Dr. Foglar, Ada Christen, the "Briefe in die Heimat" and a considerable number of others which would have to be enumerated if one were making a complete bibliography, there is added now another collection in book-form "Theodor Storms Briefe an Friedrich Eggers."

Before discussing this book another short collection of 9 letters should be referred to. In Westermanns Monatshefte of August, 1911 there are letters which Storm wrote to members of the family Scherff published with a general introduction and interspersed notes by Prof. Dr. Werner Deetjen. The family Scherff of Altona was related to Storm on Mrs. Scherff's side, who was the daughter of Frau Alsen, the daughter of a sister of Storm's grandfather Woldsen. This bond of union might possibly have kept the two families in touch with each other and have brought Storm and his family every year to Altona, but there was still another tie beside that of relationship, their common love of music. Ludwig Scherff, son of this family composed a very beautiful melody for Storms "Oktoberlied" and when Scherff visited Storm in his exile from his native Schleswig-Holstein in 1863, Storm's "Gesangverein" sang for Scherff one of his own musical compositions. The letters contain a story of his family life, of his love for his children, of his love of music, etc. There is a passage which speaks of Hoffmann's *Magnetiseur*, once more substantiating the fact that Storm loved the stories of the grotesque Romanticist. There is another passage which relates how Storm read "Schön Hedwig" by Hebbel "mit Schumannscher Musik" to cultivate the art sense among his fel-

low citizens of Hademarschen, the "Bauern," and still another of a visit of Paul Heyse. In a concluding note Deetjen accounts for the pessimistic attitude of Storm in his later life by his great grief over the loss of his oldest son. He thinks this pessimism was disclosed, when Storm wrote into the autograph album of a young lady the well known verses

Dunkle Zypressen —
Die Welt is gar zu lustig;
Es wird doch alles vergessen.

The letters to Eggers are not to be compared in value to the letters of Storm to Kuh 1889-1890, to Storm's Briefe an Mörke, the Storm-Keller Briefwechsel 1903-1904, Briefe in die Heimat, 1907. The chief interest lies in Eggers, as a member of the "Tunnel" Club and the inner circle of this club, the "Rütli," as a lyric poet who wrote some things which Storm looked upon as well done, and as the "Leiter des deutschen Kunstblattes, 1850-1858." The letters have been edited by H. Wolfgang Seidel carefully on the whole; there are a few things which might have been annotated. He might have said something about the "Jakob Beckerschen Bildern." It may be that Jakob Becker is well known, but that is open to serious doubt. A number of other similar things might have been annotated with advantage to the reader and student. The letters to Eggers cover about the same period as the "Briefe in die Heimat." The first letter falls into the year 1853. The last letter is dated 1869. They have been printed through the kindness of the owner, Frau Senatorin Eggers in Rostock. They throw light on the personality of Storm and add some interesting utterances on the theory of poetry. The friends most often mentioned are: Fontane, Heyse, Kugler; the "Tunnel" and "Rütli" meetings are given a good deal of space, the "Argo," a belletristic annual, of which the argonauts were Kugler, Eggers, Heyse, Fontane and others, and in which in 1854, 1857, 1859, 1860 Storm published poems and novels, and also the "Kunst und Literaturblatt" of which Eggers was the editor. In the first letter Storm makes a facetious remark about the very unpopular sale of his books "Wie brilliant es mit dem buchhändlerischen Vertrieb meiner Gedichte geht, erfuhr ich vorige Woche in Altona; es war noch *kein* Exemplar verkauft, was mich denn durchaus nicht wunderte." The poem "Mysterium" which was sent to Eggers is no longer to be found.

The most important letter of the whole collection, from which valuable quotations can be made is the second letter "Husum, Sonntag Morgen, den 13 März." Storm discusses there the questionableness of the theme of incest for a lyric poem and suggests how it should be treated, if it were chosen.

To Menzel's criticism, that in Storm's writing "Phantasie" outweighs "Gefühl," Storm's answer is: "Das ist gewisz unrichtig. Aber es ist eine Kunstforderung für mich dasz das Gefühl sich nur durch das *medium* der Phantasie aussprechen dürfe. Die drei Faktoren der Poesie sind: Gedanke, Bild, Gefühl. Es musz alles drei immer beisammen sein-." In the same letter he states that there is an ethical factor in "Abseits," "im Walde," etc., that the poem "Abseits" was not intended merely as a description of the heath, but rather as the poetic impression which the heath made upon him. It is this impression that gives the poem its unity. In another part of the letter he discusses the use of figurative language. He does not believe in seeking after figures, it makes the mental process too prominent and weakens the poetic picture. He designates the work of imagination in poetry as an "in Scenesetzen des Gedankens." He does not reject the use of the figure but avoids it because as he says "es führt überdies direct zur Phrase." Storm is piqued at Menzel's omission of any reference to his poetry, he thinks it an indication of Menzel's old age. Storm in this letter refers to his verses as "das originalste unter meinen Sachen." They are not to be compared to the love relation which exists between the unconscious boy and girl, "es sind keine Frühlingslieder, sondern voll erschlossene Liebesrosen." The summer mood of the descriptive poetry runs parallel with the summer mood in the love poems. The characteristic thing about this poetry is, that Storm has accomplished what Heyse at that time was unable to do "das Sinnliche von der Erde loslösen und gehörig durchgeistigen."

Letters 4 and 12 contain valuable theoretic material. In letter 4 Storm asserts that Mörike was the first to give the "Idyll" a real poetic content. In letter 12 there is a discussion of the "Idee im Märchen," an illustration of what Storm means by "sinnliche Mitempfindung" and a criticism of Journalisten and Allegory in Art. One quotation from letter 4 is especially valuable: "Seit der Periode des ersten Buchs der Gedichte habe ich fest darauf gehalten nichts zu schreiben, was ich nicht mit meiner Persönlichkeit vertreten könnte, was nicht im Verhältnisz zu mir aus einer gewissen Nothwendigkeit entsprungen wäre.... Es ist in der That dies Versemachen, bloz um etwas zu Markt zu bringen, etwas eines Mannes so Unwürdiges dasz es nicht zu oft und nicht zu hart zurückgewiesen werden kann."

The most intelligent article that has been written on the work of Storm appears in three different numbers of the Euphorion, under the title, "Mimische Studien zu Theodor Storm, von J. Vlasimský in Prag." The import of the whole study is to show that in the description of his characters

Storm dwells upon the gestures of the hand and the movements of the eye. The hand plays the most important role. Lena Wies accompanies the telling of a story with certain gestures of the hand. The hand is used to heighten the vividness of the person and the action. Reinhardt raises his hand in Immense to tell which way the wind blew. The gesture of stretching out both arms or hands is one that made a deep impression upon Storm when he saw it, and he applies it to his characters. He describes the habit of a pastor who moved his hand, as if he were moving it over the pulpit in the delivery of a sermon. Another man "liesz die Hand wie eine Puppe gegen sich auf und abknixen."

In one number of the *Euphorien* Vlasimský confines himself exclusively to the discussion of the "Händedruck." A passage from Storm will show the significance and the importance of this study. "Ein nahes Verhältnis fand während meiner Jugend zwischen mir und meinen Eltern nicht statt. Ich entsinne mich nicht, dasz ich derzeit jemals von ihnen umarmt oder geküsst worden wäre. Wir im Norden gehen überhaupt nicht oft über den Händedruck hinaus." "Sie werden die Worte, Liebe, Kusz etc. fast gar nicht in meinen Schriften finden." The passages containing variations of the gesture of the "Händedruck" have been carefully collected and compared. Obviously, this gesture is a personal and perchance a national Frisian peculiarity. It is especially frequent and effective in the "Schimmelreiter," which more than any other short story has taken up the Frisian "Erdgeruch" and local color. The lovers in this story do not speak of love a single time, they do not kiss a single time, but the "Händedruck" is made to express their regard for each other at least 12 times. It St. Jürgen the aged Harre Jensen returning from the south to visit his old sweetheart Agnes Hansen grips and presses the hand of his young friend as the church tower of St. Jürgen rises into view. A study of Storm's correspondence with Keller reveals the fact that there are many variations of the thought "Ich drücke Ihnen herzlich die Hand" as a token of Storm's friendship for Keller whom he never saw. This gesture is never employed by Keller. Incidentally V. combats very effectively the statement of R. M. Meyer. "Storm ist vielleicht der erste, der—die kultivierte Psychologie der Hand in die Erzählung eingeführt hat" and proves conclusively that this honor ought to be given to Heinrich Heine. The third and last portion of V.'s article as it appears in the *Euphorien* deals with the "Mimik des Auges." He uses this artifice to reflect the same moods of his characters. The illustrations are so numerous that a few examples taken at random must suffice. "Sie konnten sich anschauen

mit unendlichem Groll, aber mit noch unendlicherem Schmerz;" "Er verlor sich stumm in ihren Augen, sie stand ihm gegenüber, ohne Regung....nur in ihren Augen im tiefsten Grunde, rührte sich die Seele; er wusste nicht was ihn anschaute." "Sie sah an ihm vorbei in die Ferne;" "er sah gespannt in die Ferne."

Walther Hermann's book on Theodor Storm is a report on Theodor Storm's lyric poetry written for Prof. Köster's Seminar. After settling upon the chronological order of the poems, from Storm's works, manuscripts, first printed versions, letters and internal evidence H. has tried to work out the story of the evolution of Storm's lyric poetry and Storm's theory of the lyric and his creative method. He has added an appendix which contains in addition to the chronological order of the poems already mentioned, a bibliography supplementary to that found in the second edition of Schütze's Storm biography, a list of magazine editions in which his poems were first published with the dates, chronological list of variant readings, deviations of the new texts from the "Ausgabe letzter Hand" and an index of the poems.

We can pass over quickly Hermann's remarks on Storm's early attempts at poetry, and the influence of Schiller, Eichendorff and Heine; his remarks on "das Liederbuch dreier Freunde" do not give us any important information. Hermann tries to prove, (he cannot prove it conclusively, but the conclusions he arrives at are plausible), that some unhappy love experience or experiences are the basis for his youthful poetry. Storm does not yet appreciate the "nature" of his own country. The sea, the landscape of the coast, the heath, the moor do not appear, or are conventionalized. There are indications of mastery, but not full mastery. There is a wavering between the pompous and the simple style. His youthful verses reveal the influence of Eichendorff's treatment of nature, of Heine's "Weltschmerz" and most significantly Mörike's simplicity and restraint of passion.

In the period of 1843-1853 Storm becomes engaged to Constanze Esmarch (1844). The "unhappy love" theme disappears and the joy of being united with the loved one takes its place. There is left the quality of voluptuousness in his poems; it has become finer and more delicate. There is intense realism in a description he gives of death. Politics does not move him to write verses. His individualization of nature stamps this period more than anything else. His poetry is "Küstenpoesie," his favorite flower is the rose, in his descriptions are found swallows, the stork, insects, the fog. The sun appeals to him more than the sentimental moon and winter does not inspire him to write. Brevity is one of the

marked characteristics of his style. The influence of Heine has decreased, that of Mörike has increased.

1853-1868 Storm is in exile. Most of his time is taken up with his lawyer's work. During this period of banishment from his beloved fatherland the political poems grow out of inner necessity; they are, as he himself says, "absichtslos aus innerm Drange entstanden." But in his relation to nature he could not find the strong emotional impulses which he needed for lyric composition. He was separated from the nature he knew. When the stimulus was gone his poetry ceased. Hermann notes another interesting fact. As Storm gradually lost the sense of smell, we find also a falling off of descriptions dealing with the sense of smell.

The mood out of which the lyric poetry of his old age grows is expressed in the words of one of his stories. "Hu! Wie kommen und gehen die Menschen! Immer ein neuer Schub, und wieder: Fertig!—Rastlos kehrt und kehrt der unsichtbare Besen und kann kein Ende finden. Woher kommt all das immer wieder, und wohin geht der graue Kehrlicht? Auch, auch die zertretenen Rosen liegen dazwischen." During this period there are examples of almost brutal realism.

The two chapters on the theory of the lyric and Storm's creative method are a disappointment, because they are not treated sympathetically and synthetically enough. We glean the following points from H.'s treatise. For Storm 1) lyric poetry is the expression of a "seelenstimmung"; 2) Experience must be the basis for creative work; 3) Universality is demanded, that is, the beautiful; the characteristic and the ugly are all worthy of representation; 4) Abnormal, pathological materials are excluded; 5) The form, i. e. the moulding of the material into form is more important than the material.

Storm's method is briefly this: He uses an insignificant experience as a starting point or he combines two entirely separate experiences. Under the stress of emotion he uses the lyric form. The time which elapses between his experience and the lyric composition is very brief. Then there may follow a period of careful nurture. So that Fontane was not wrong when he said the adjective "Stormsch" stood for fastidiousness and exquisite workmanship.

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ALTHOCHDEUTSCHE GRAMMATIK von Wilhelm Braune. Dritte und vierte Auflage. Halle a. S. 1911. (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken Germanischer Dialekte herausgegeben von Wilhelm Braune).

A new edition of B.'s Old High German Grammar has long been needed because the second edition was out of print; as to changes in the text, few could have been suggested, and those few slight: like Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, Braune is a classic, interesting even to read through from chapter to chapter, in practical use wonderfully complete and accurate. It is therefore surprising to find the new edition larger by 38 pages of text and by somewhat closer printing than that of 1891: safe to say, no man living but Wilhelm Braune could have found so much to add. Aside from growth of bibliography and the like, the additions contain many useful facts and some that are highly important. To name them in full, if space permitted, would be to recount in detail the progress of OHG. research since 1891; mention shall here be made of only a few of the most important changes and of a very few points on which the present reviewer disagrees.

In the matter of orthography Kauffmann's work has led to a sounder description of the development of OHG. spelling (§7 and n. 3), and the valuable evidence of the Freisingen Church Slavic documents in German orthography is everywhere applied. The Romance writing of *o* for *u* (105 n. 3), the gradual spread of *k* (142, with reference to Kauffmann), the use of the Romance *ch* instead of *k*, especially by Isidor (143 notes: the view was rejected for Is. in ed. 2), the OE. use of *c-* for *k-* (*ch-*) in the St. Gall Vocabulary (144 n. 2a), the Merovingian *ch-* for *h-* and the peculiarity of the use in literary OHG. of the letter *h* (151 n.2) are subjects of additions. §152 n. 1 on superfluous writings of initial *h* has been greatly expanded by Garke's results (QF. 69). And so on.

In §160 n.2, B. now mentions the *tt* for *t* between vowels of the Hildebrandslied, drawing Holtzmann's conclusion, that the MS. copied by our scribe must have had HG. *zz*. Similarly in §83 n. 3: "hier ist einmischung ndd. formen in ein hd. original anzunehmen." B. has been slow to introduce his position on the Hildebrandslied into the Grammar: in this question his has always been the quiet but definite conduct of a man with the facts on his side. They are.

To penetrate, through the veil of the orthography, to the facts of the OHG. pronunciation is a task that has busied German scholars in the last two decades more perhaps than any other OHG. problem. The approach from the rear, pre-Germanic phonology, is devious, though B. does not do it justice. In §24 n.2, B. still says that PGic. *ǣ* and *ē* coincide

in Gothic, though Bethge (Dieter, Laut- und Formenlehre, p. 6) has taught us better. Similarly, the statement in §28 n. 1: "noch genau reimende mhd. dichter binden beide *e* nicht im reime" has been outlawed by Zwierzina, ZfdA. 44, 249: the matter is not one of technique but of dialect. The difference of vocalism between *sē*, *wē* and *zwei*, *drei*, *screi* is still stated as though both sounds had arisen in OHG. from an older uniform *-ai* (43n.3); yet B. makes reference to Walde and Franck, who both accept Kögel's well-proved view (*-ē* < *-ai*; *-ei* < *-ajj*). In §81, b, 2, B. omits reference added in the second ed.) to Bugge's hypothesis of spirant-voicing in initial position, though the resultant equation OHG. *ga-*, *gi-* = Lat., Celt. *co-*, *com-* has still good support; Wood compares NE. *think*, NDan. *tænke*, etc., as opposed to NE. *the*, *that thou*, NDan. *den*, *du*, etc., where also the unaccented word voiced the initial spirant. In §82, b, 1, B. still ignores the fact that final *-z* is preserved in OHG. in a number of words such as *mir*, *er*, etc., cf. Kluge, Vorgeschichte §151,n.

The greatest fault in this respect is §95 n.2. After giving references for the origin of PGic. doubled stops, B. says: "Viele der früher als assimilationen eines *n*-suffixes erklärten germ. geminaten werden jetzt wol richtiger als lautsymbolische verstärkungen bei intensivbildungen betrachtet. So die intensiven verba, wie *zucken* zu *ziohan*, *lockōn* und die auf geminate ausgehenden koseformen der eigennamen ahd. *Benno*, *Geppo* u. a." Of course no sounds could be so expressive of "zucken" to a German-speaking person as those in the word *zucken*; to the English *twitch* says exactly what it means, and so on through the dictionary; but this is not linguistic history and will not account for origins. The models for the intensive verbs and the shortened names (note of course the *n*-inflection of the latter) with double consonants were, so far as we know, cases of *n*-assimilation; where the *n*-assimilation did not actually take place its results were imitated: the words were certainly not formed by some mystic symbolism to suit the idea.

"Ausfall des *r*" is still assumed (120 n. 5) for OHG. *spechan* (OE. *specan*!) from *sprechan*, though there is no reason for identifying the two forms. They have been correctly explained in Beitr. 32,147 f.

Aside from these few cases of over-conservatism—though perhaps it is not for younger men to name—phonetic results, especially where obtained by the philologic rather than the prehistoric method of attack, are fully included. The Franc. form *ellies*, *elles* for the adverb *alles* is cited (27n.6) in connection with vowel-assimilation; its value for the chronology (198n.2) must not be underestimated, for the isolated adverb

(cf. 295a,n.2) can hardly be considered analogic; indeed, Schatz's statement to the contrary (mentioned 118 n. 2) is refuted by the facts themselves. To §34 a note is added marking the contrast between OHG. *ārunti*, OS. *ārundi*, OE. *ārende* and OIcel., MHG. *erende*: though the phenomenon is a common vowel-variation, the note is decidedly tactful. For the relation of these words to Goth. *airus*, OIcel. *ārr*, etc. see also Wood, *IE. a, etc.* §137,n. §38n.1 deals with the vowel of *dō*, excepted, owing to unaccented use, from the change $\bar{o} > uo$, but *sō*, a more decided case of the same phenomenon, is left to interrupt the discussion of PGic. *au* at §45n.6. The mysterious first component of *cu(o)niouuidi* in the first Merseburg Charm and the Keronian Glosses is now treated as having long *u* (41n.2, cf. second ed. 32n. 6, where *ū*), which accords with the metrical evidence. The anticipative ("psychological") theory of vowel-assimilation is now mentioned at §51n.1: justly, for until the question shall have been definitely settled neither view should be ignored,—above all not this one, energetically defended by such men as Rudolf Hildebrand and W. Wilmanns. The note on the chronology of the process has also been expanded. The treatment of the earlier assimilations of *e* to *i* and of *u* to *o* (52n. 1) is also much more detailed than in the previous ed.; Bremer's supposition of PGic. *o* (not *u*) and parallel change of *e*, *o* to *i*, *u* is not sufficiently appreciated, supported as it is by such facts at Lat. *modius* > OLG. *muddi*. The recent investigations on weakening and elision in OHG. of unaccented vowels (59n.2, 3, 61n.1), and on the final vowels of first members of compounds (62n.1, 270n.2, 3) enrich the chapter on vocalism; and variability of accent in proclitic words is now fully treated (70 and notes).

The treatment of the prefixes, like much else, has profited from Wilmanns' great work, see under *zer-*, *in-* (reference to Wilmanns 2, §111n.1 could well have been added), *fur-*, and *bi-*.

Under consonantism a note (83n.3) has been added on the alleged examples of OHG. tradition from the time before the sound-shift: a possible authenticity is conceded only to the Thuringian names in MSD³, p. XIII. In §87n.1 the necessary concept of displacement of syllable-boundary is added to the description of the change of intervocalic *t* > *zz* etc. As a probable corollary Kögel's hypothesis of a phonetic development **skopes* > *skoffes* but **skop* > **skopf* (and only by analogy *skof* for **skof*) is accepted.¹ The acceptance of this

¹ Here B. holds the view that the shift of syllabication took place when the stop became aspirated; all we can surely say, however, is that it took place before the affricate stage was passed, for the affricate stage was reached even where no shift of syllabication took place, e. g. initially.

view, which B. had rejected in the second ed. is an act of genuine scholarship.

The vexed question as to stop or spirant value for Franc. *b*, *g*, the no less troublesome one as to actual difference in value between Upper German *p*, *k*: *b*, *g* are treated in §88n.2 more fully than before; with regard to the latter problem B. is now inclined to admit a difference (fortis: lenis) and a change in pronunciation corresponding with that in orthographic habit. Similarly a number of variations in spelling formerly distrusted are now phonetically interpreted, e. g. Upper German *ch-* for PGic. and modern *k-* (144n.7), loss of initial *h* in second members of compounds (153n.2), change of *rht* > *rt* as in *Adalbertus* (154n.5,b), *d* for Upper German *t* (=WGic. *d*) in the Keronian Glossary (163n.5), distinction of *t*: *d* in later OHG. (167n.8)—the two latter contrary to Kauffman. This scholar's plausible explanation of the *quei* for *zwei*, and the like, in the Gl. Ker. is rejected (159n.5), B. preferring to suppose that the *q*-forms were actually spoken. Though we can no longer like Rietz connect them with Swedish dial. *kwå*, *kvau*, *kvänne*, the Sw. forms are perhaps a support for B.'s position. Kluge's claim that forms like OHG. *nerian*, *nerigen* are from the first trisyllabic is rejected (118n.3), though the quality of OHG. *r* speaks in its favor.

The conditions in modern dialects and the internal consideration that OHG. *d* (= PGic. *p*) and not OHG. *t* (= WGic. *d*) is involved, have reversed the view of Notker's changes of initial consonant (103n.1,2): lenis is now considered the normal sound, which became fortis in sentence-initial and after unvoiced sounds. For the occasional change after *-n* of initial *t* (= WGic. *d*) to *d-* Jellinek's explanation is quoted (*nt* > *nd* as in *bintan* > *binden*). OHG. *sō* from older **swo* is now mentioned in its place (107n.1), as is OMFranc. *bit* > *mit* (123n.3), for which one searched fruitlessly in the older eds.

§126n. 2, speaking of omission of internal *n* through careless copying of writings in which the internal nasal was indicated by a dash above the preceding vowel, could well mention *chud*, *usere*, etc. in the Hildebrandslied, where the LG. scribe ignored the sign wherever his dialect spoke no *n*; B. leaves these words for a separate note (n.5). The dissimilative character of the change *cuning* > *cunig* etc., though patent (cf. Michels, Mhd. El., §103n.2) is only hinted at (12n.2).

How was PGic. *ng* pronounced in the OHG. dialects? The spellings like *sprinet* for *springet* (128n.3) may help to answer the question, which B. like the MHG. grammars ignores. We await the treatment promised in ZfdMa. 1908, p. 363.

A valuable addition to the phonology is the much fuller treatment of loan-words (31n.1,38, 41—here *Rūma* later *Rōma* may be merely an orthographic change—114n.4, 137n.2, 163n.8).

In 163n.4 the Merseburg charms are now, on account of *d* = WGic. *d* assigned to Fulda, the DeHeinrico tentatively to NRhen. Franc. In connection with the former, reference should be made to ZfdA.36, 135 ff., where Wrede shows that the OHG. Tatian with *t* for WGic. *d* cannot represent the Fulda dialect.

The chapters on inflection also have grown, mostly in increased and corrected registration of the uncommoner forms. Most worthy of notice, however are the added paragraphs about use of inflections, for instance a two-page survey of OHG. declension (192, a-f), including the summary of a dissertation on the instrumental. Equally valuable are the notes on the use of the adjective declensions and the predicate forms of the adjective (244n.2, 247n.1,2, 255n.3,4—where the idiomatic interpretation of the *luttīla...barn* passage of the Hildebrandslied is adopted: as no consonantal forms of *brūt* are mentioned in §240, we suppose that B. reads *prūti in būre*, 270n.1), on the use of the compound tenses and of the participles (301, notes), and on the value of *gi-* (323n.1).

In the paradigms of the *a* and *o* declensions the n. and a. sg. are now consistently put into one line. The n. a. pl. of *tag* is now given as being regularly *taga*, with Notker's by-form *tagā* in brackets, cf. §193n.4, where the OHG. is incidentally explained as a PGic. n. rather than a.

ahir, *trestir* are still quoted as examples of *-ir* throughout the declension without mention of the fact that the n. a. sg. must be analogic, since only the dropping of final *-ir* accounts for the inflection of *kalb kelbir*, etc.

The hypothetical g. sg. *gebā* is still set up (207n.3),—quite ungroundedly. B. puts it into his book apparently because he believes that it would be the phonetic OHG. representation of P.IE. *-ōs*; aside from the fact, however, that there is no necessity to assume preservation of the phonic form, it is probable that the latter would be *-o* rather than *-ā*. In the actual g. sg. *geba* we have the result of substitution of simple for compound syllable-tone in pre-OHG., on the model, probably, of the n. and a. sg., cf. Beitr. 28, 508.513. Similarly the hypothesis of an older long *u* for the n. a. pl. N. *herzun* is retained (221n.4) from the second ed., though contrast with the double writings and Notker's circumflexed *ū* of the F. *zungūn* shows that the *u* of the N. was decidedly short. B. seeks evidence for his former long *u* in the contrast in Franc. between n. a. pl. M. *hanon* and n. a. pl. N. *herzun*; but the F. form just

quoted shows that the difference here is not of quantity: *hanon* < *-onez, but *herzun* comes probably from a **hertonō* with short penultimate on the model of all the other trisyllabic forms, M. and N., of this declension; *-onō > *-onu > -un; for a different explanation of the form cf. Streitberg Ug. Gr., p. 259. The OHG. result of a form with long *o* in the penultima, corresponding to Goth. *hairtōna* is of course seen in the F.

In the paradigms of the adj. the "uninflected" forms are now properly put first. The reflexive *sih* is still denied d. value, (282n.1), *wānit sih* of Muspilli being taken as reflexive a., with ref. to Gebhardt's review of Schatz. The *gafregin* of the Wessobrunn Prayer is still described as an imitation of OE. *gefrægn* (343n.7). Since the OHG. however surely spoke *gafreg(i)n ih* (cf. *meg ih*, etc., 26n.3), we need here account only for the phonetically accurate spelling: it is in this connection that the OE. form could plausibly be mentioned, though the isolated nature of the OHG. word would suffice. *gisa(a)z* 'sedet' of the Weissenburg Chatechism is explained (344n.3) as 'hat sich gesetzt': as this makes sense, the translator deserves some credit; but it is still highly probable that he mistook *sedet*, what with the surrounding verbs, for the perfect tense and then made the best of what seemed a queer passage: otherwise he would have written *sitzit*.

Though the new book makes a better appearance than the second edition, there are a few disturbing misprints, notably p. 20, 1.5 from bottom: *weg, wego* with "umlaut" *e* instead of double-dotted "old" *e*; p. 42, 1.2: for "§274" read "§271,4," p. 43, 1.9 read *tiufal*; p. 101, 1.3: for *sūr* read *sār*; p. 177, 1.3 read *smalenōz*; p. 229, 1.10, read *sībene*; 1.14 from bottom: for "289a" read "280a."

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INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY, by William Jerusalem. Translated by Charles F. Sanders. Macmillan, New York, 1910. Pp. x + 319.

Teachers of philosophy and all who have a general philosophical interest will welcome William Jerusalem's *Introduction to Philosophy* in its English dress. The extraordinary vogue of the book in Germany is indicated by the fact that four editions were called for within ten years. Those who recall that the author is the translator of James's *Pragmatism* into German, will come to the *Introduction* expecting much that is new and interesting, a standpoint different from the traditional school philosophy—nor will they be disappointed. America has at last come into her own, even in the recognition

of the nation that has long regarded philosophy as its own special vocation, and the frequent references in this book to James, Dewey, Baldwin and Pierce, indicate the remarkable change that has recently taken place. For the third edition of Jerusalem's *Einleitung*, which appeared in 1906, had none of these references. In 1906 William James was known in Germany primarily as a pedagogist—owing to the wide circulation of the translation of his *Talks to Teachers*,—secondarily as a psychologist, and not at all as a philosopher. The word Pragmatism carried no meaning, though in America, discussions about it had been raging for ten years, and the beginning of the new philosophy could, after all, be traced to Germany. It was in 1908, the year of the translation of James's *Pragmatism*, and of the International Congress of Philosophy at Heidelberg, that brought the sudden change; the year when the present, the fourth edition of this work appeared. And it is no accident that William Jerusalem, the psychologist and pedagogist should have been its leader.

The problem before one who would write an introduction to philosophy is far more difficult than that which is presented by an introduction to any other science. Objective treatment, clearness, and brevity are demanded. The two latter demands have seemed particularly difficult for philosophers; the first, almost impossible. Yet just these three characteristics are those which mark this book. That philosophy shall be both empirical and scientific, that in philosophy, clearness and profundity shall not be irreconcilable opposites, are the requirements which the author held before himself. And while justice is rendered to opposing doctrines and the big problems are not treated as settled, we are given a presentation of philosophy, not a christomathy of philosophies.

Logic and psychology are discussed as propaedeutic disciplines, and philosophy proper is divided in the customary way into theory of Knowledge, Metaphysics, Aesthetics and Ethics. The old classification is justified by the fact of the tripartite functioning of consciousness as cognition, feeling, and will, with Theory of Knowledge and Metaphysics as subdivisions of the philosophy of cognition, aesthetics as the philosophy of feeling, and ethics as the philosophy of the will. Throughout, the basis of the discussion is empirical and psychological, with emphasis on the social factors, which in the past have generally been ignored, except in ethics. In epistemology, critical idealism is shown to be an "hypertrophy of the cognitive impulse," which makes it imperative that we return to a commonsense view, and regard the world and its inhabitants as self-active, independent beings, whose existence is independent of the cognizing subject. The author's

own epistemology, approaches that of pragmatism—*genetic and biological epistemology*, he calls it. Knowledge issues from the impulse of self preservation, and through our central organization, the processes of our environment are changed from the language of nature into that of man. The fundamental form and primary conditions of all human knowledge are not transcendental, but fundamental apperceptions. Kant's discovery was really psychological and empirical.

In the chapter on Metaphysics especial attention is given to the views of Mach and Avenarius, as the type of monism, which, being empirical, comes nearest to solving the problem of the nature of reality. Here is one out of many indications of the newness and freshness of treatment which is presented so abundantly. But after all, the author's leanings are towards dualism. Mind and matter are too fundamentally unlike to be reconciled. A theistic interpretation is supported as best satisfying our demand for a total view of the universe after the analogy of our own fundamental apperception and will.

The greatest innovation for such a brief work is the amount of space given to aesthetics, and the fact of aesthetic taste is cited as the best proof that feeling is a distinct and fundamental function of consciousness. Aesthetics has been hitherto largely speculative and deductive; it is becoming genetic, biological and social. But as yet, the speculative method is not superseded with anything like the completeness that has taken place in psychology. It is to historical, experimental, and analytical methods, however, that we must look for the establishment of aesthetic law. Aesthetic pleasure is a distinct kind of functional delight, which is brought about by contemplation. The objects which incite this functional delight we style beautiful. Beauty is therefore relative,—different objects furnish functional delight to different individuals, to different periods, to different races. But there are works of art which have been characterized as beautiful for thousands of years, and by people of widely diversified characters, and we are justified in ascribing *objective beauty* to those productions because they tend to discharge functional pleasure in contemplation to multitudes of individuals. This is found especially true in works of art which represent that which is typical. Indeed, the presentation of the typical constitutes almost the essence of artistic production; and here we see the biological bearing of art; the idea of a type originates directly from the demands of life; is the antecedent of every abstract idea.

The sixth division of the book is devoted to ethics and sociology. That the two should thus be linked together, al-

ready gives the key-note of the discussion to follow. The treatment is genetic and sociological. Two psychological facts are found to be the basis of the moral life; moral judgment of the conduct of others, and conscience, the moral judgments before and after our own volitional choices. Moral judgment may be defined as the "evaluation of an act in its social significance." However, with the development of culture, the general disposition of the individual becomes of greater social significance than the particular act. As the full compliance with moral obligations depends not only on the good will of the individual, but in a large measure on the social order in which he lives, it becomes the duty of scientific ethics to examine the social order and see to what extent it is adapted to the true conditions of life. Thus ethics passes over into sociology.

Throughout the whole volume, the claims of philosophy as an independent and necessary science are vigorously defended, and the possibility of establishing a comprehensive theory of the universe vindicated; a theory which is harmonious and consistent; "*a world theory, moreover, which is adopted to satisfy the requirements of the understanding, and the demands of the heart.*"

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A CONCORDANCE TO BEOWULF, compiled by Albert S. Cook, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. Halle, Max Niemeyer. 1911. Pp. 436.

The Beowulf is surely coming into its own. Every conceivable aspect of it has enlisted the attention of eager investigators, and such a vast mass of "literature" has gradually grown up around it, that an entirely complete bibliography, if not an impossibility, is to be counted anything but a *desideratum*. Now the venerable poem receives the singular distinction of the publishing of an excellent concordance, and it is a pleasure to note that this labor of love has been undertaken by the founder and president of the Concordance Society, who is also known as one of the most tireless workers in the field of Old English literature. Thus we are enabled to test in a practical way, in connection with our study of the Beowulf, the usefulness of this kind of compilation which was so eloquently set forth by Professor Cook (in 1906) in his address to the Modern Language Association of America (see *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxii, 33-35).

The word and phrase collection contained in this beautifully printed volume has been made strictly complete within certain limits. Excepting some of the commoner words, such

as the numerals, prepositions, many pronouns, conjunctions, and adverbs, which have not been included, each occurrence of every word is listed, and all the passages are quoted at sufficient length to show the nature of the context. Difference of opinion may be found regarding the differentiation of homonymous words and the method of orthographic normalization to be adopted in such a work. I for one should have preferred in a number of instances to recognize difference of meaning instead of making the mere form the decisive test of identity. To illustrate, under *cūðe* we find cited not only the preterite of *cunnan*, but also various forms of the adjective *cūð*; *ealdor* 'chief' and *ealdor* 'life' as well as *āht* 'possession' and *āht* 'pursuit' are treated under the same heading; *sīð*, adverb (in *ār ond sīð*) is not separated from the noun (nom. acc. sing.) *sīð*. On the other hand, two distinct headings are provided for such pairs as *sæce* and *sæcce*, *efnan* and *æfnan*, *efnde* and *æfnde*, also *wlenco* and *wlence*, though the use of the phrase *for wlenco* (-e) is exactly the same in the three passages concerned.

The accuracy of the work leaves little to be desired. In the course of a rather extensive examination scarcely any errors have been noticed. The quotation *frēawine folca* 2357 has been changed to *frēawine folces* and inserted under *folces* instead of under *folca*, where two other cases of this combination are found. Several other instances of the noun *næs*: 1600, 2898 (3031) should be added on p. 300. A few typographical errors like *syfore* (for *syfone*) on p. 9, or *ābræd*, *ænlicu*, *wōlde* (under *āglācan*), *āwā* are easily corrected.

Some slight improvements could have been made if the author had not considered it his duty to adhere religiously to the text of Wyatt's edition. This conservative attitude is of course perfectly proper and, on the whole, even necessary, but in some individual cases (e. g., *dēog*, *rēnweardas*, *wēnde þæs yldan*) it is certainly regrettable. A deviation from Wyatt's punctuation could well have been risked in l. 2630 (*Wiglāf. maðelode wordrihta fela*), for a glance at the numerous other examples of *maðelode* (p. 281 f.) shows that the verb *maðelian* is invariably used absolutely,—an interesting illustration, by the way, of the practical value of a concordance.

In the Preface we are informed that this concordance was originally prepared as the first instalment of a concordance to the entire body of Old English poetry. Whether that pretentious scheme will ever be carried out, it would be hazardous to predict, especially as it involves problems quite different from the contemplated rejuvenation of the old Grein. In

the meantime let us be grateful for this generous contribution to the ideal complete thesaurus.

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FOLKNAMNET GEATAS I DEN FORNENGELSKA DIKTEN BEOWULF, af Henrik Schück. Uppsala, 1907.

This monograph is a spirited refutation of Fahlbeck's theory, supported by Bugge, that the Geats mentioned in *Beowulf* were inhabitants of Jutland. Professor Schück argues that the Geats were identical with the Northern *Gautar*, Swedish *Götar*, who, according to his evidence, occupied the region of Sweden corresponding roughly to Västergötland, Bohuslän, and Northern Halland. He maintains that, since *Geatas* is philologically the same as *Götar* and the term does not designate the Jutes, and, since the events of the poem are more easily localized in Sweden than in Jutland, the burden of proof is on Fahlbeck, whose evidence, he declares, is not conclusive.

Fahlbeck's theory, it will be remembered, is that the Anglo-Saxons used two different terms for the Jutes, namely "Iotas" or "Eotas" and "Geatas"; that they were used contemporaneously; and that "Iotas," which was the later, gradually took the place of the older word "Geatas." Fahlbeck cites Alfred's translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, I, chap. 15, where "*Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis*" is rendered "*Of Seaxum, and of Angle, and of Geatum.*" In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the corresponding passage is translated "*Of Ald-seaxum, of Anglum, of Iotum.*" Alfred in his translation of Bede, IV, chap. 16, renders "*in proximam Iutorum provinciam*" as "*on þa nehmægþe, seo is geycd Eota land.*" Schück insists that of the two words "Geatas" and "Iotas" the latter is philologically the same as Jutes, and besides is the word used in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Consequently he thinks it strange that a man should lay stress on the rendition "Geatas" used by Alfred. He emphasizes the fact that Alfred contradicts himself, and he further discredits him as an authority on geographical names by showing that in the narrative of Ohthere in the translation of Orosius he calls Jutland Gotland, while in the narrative of Wulfstan Gotland is used for the island of Gottland.

Fahlbeck saw an eponym for the race in Nennius's genealogy, where Geat stands at the head of the lists of kings which ends in Hengest and Horsa. But Schück replies that fantastic genealogies are untrustworthy as evidence, and besides, that the context shows clearly that this is a reference to Odin,

Gaut being one of his names. Again, Fahlbeck cites one of the laws of *Edward the Confessor*: "*Guti vero similiter, cum veniunt, suscipi debent et protegi in regno isto — — — Ita constituit Ina rex Anglorum.*" He thinks this "Guti" refers to the Geats, but states no reasons for his inference. Schück maintains that it is easier to read "Guti" as a mistake for "Juti." But, if it is to be read literally, he gives some circumstantial evidence which leads him to believe that it more probably meant "Gutar," the people of Gottland.

From the linguistic questions Schück turns to Fahlbeck's geographical reasons for believing that the Geats were not the people of Västergötland. Fahlbeck argued that since Västergötland was not a maritime nation in 1000 A. D., the earlier limit of our information, it was probably not maritime at the time of the events described in *Beowulf*. Besides, he says, the capital and metropolis has, as far as we know, always been Skara, and this is not near the sea. Schück ridicules the contention that the Västergötar probably did not change their boundaries during a period of 500 years, and proceeds to adduce evidence that Västergötland once had a seacoast as far north as Svinesund, and as far south as Warberg. He quotes from chapters 14, 16, and 18 of the saga of Harald Fair-Hair to prove that Harald conquered Västergötland north to Svinesund, east to Lake Wener, south to Göta River, and west to the sea. This took place about 800 A. D. The seacoast thus conquered by Norway corresponds roughly to modern Bohuslän. Schück finds corroborative evidence in chapter 51 of the *Ynglinga Saga*, where the waters on that coast line are called the Gautish Sea.

To fix the southern boundary Schück quotes from Adam of Bremen, Book IV, chap. 23, to show that modern Halland once belonged to Västergötland, and that from Skåne at the South to Skara in Västergötland was a journey of seven days. According to Noreen (*Vårt Språk*, I, 99 seq. and 546) the South Swedish dialect, originally Danish, was separated from the Middle Swedish dialect, of which "Västgötskan" is a group, by a line drawn from the vicinity of Warberg in a north-easterly direction. Consequently, since this was the linguistic boundary of Västergötland, it was doubtless the political and ethnographical boundary as well. With such a coast line Västergötland might well be considered a maritime nation, and one of Fahlbeck's strongest objections to the "Västgöta" theory is overcome.

Another of Fahlbeck's objections to the old theory was that the royal seat of the Geats was near the sea, but that to the best of our knowledge Skara has always been the capital of Västergötland. Further, a large island lay near the capi-

tal, for he insists on translating "*ealand utan*" (2334) as "an island outside." Just why it must be considered a large island is not clear. This island he believed might have been Fyen. Schück prefers Bugge's translation of "*ealand*" as "*waterland*," meaning coastland. But if the word does mean "*island*," it might refer to one of the many isles off the western coast of Sweden. Furthermore, the royal residence need not necessarily have been in a large city. From the poem we learn that the residence of Beowulf was near enough to "*Earnanæs*" to permit his walking there, and far enough away to necessitate a guide. Schück shows that this "*Earnanæs*" might have become the medieval Aranäs, and that Beowulf might have lived at Kungsbacka, which is near the site of this village. A royal castle was situated at Kungsbacka in about 1366, and the place may have been a royal seat in earlier days.

Fahlbeck attached some significance to the word "*Veder*" in "*Vedergeatas*" and "*Vedera land*." "*Veder*" is the same as German "*Wetter*" and Swedish "*Väder*." He maintains that Jutland may appropriately be called "*storm-land*," but that the designation does not apply to Västergötland. Schück reminds us that Fahlbeck has located the royal residence in Eastern Jutland near the island Fyen, and that the name "*storm-land*" is not descriptive of this part of the peninsula; and that on the other hand the old Västergötland, as has been shown above, had a long coastline exposed to the winds of the high seas. Furthermore, it is important to note that the name "*Veder*" still remains in the Väder islands (*Väderöarne*) off this coast.

The swimming match of Beowulf and Breca is next discussed. Breca was driven by wind and sea to the "*Heathoreamas*," and Beowulf to "*Finna land*." Fahlbeck thought that "*Finna land*" meant either Fyen or Finn's land in Friesland. Schück remarks that on linguistic grounds neither translation can be accepted, nor does the geography fit the facts in the case. "*Reamas*" means the Raumar, whose realm, according to the poem, must have extended to the sea, and Breca was driven ashore in Christiana bay. Now, according to Fahlbeck, Beowulf landed either at Fyen or Friesland. If the race began from the royal residence hypothetically placed opposite Fyen, neither landing would fit the facts as stated, for Fyen is too near, and Friesland is on the other side of Jutland. Schück believes that "*Finna land*" was Finnheden in modern Småland. Bugge had rejected this translation on the ground that Finnheden did not reach to the sea. But Bugge inferred from the poem that the kingdom of the "*Reamas*" extended to the sea, hence we may infer

the same thing concerning Finnheden. Schück suggests that the race might have begun at Kungsbacka, where he conjectures Beowulf may have resided, and that Breca finally landed near Fredriksstad and Beowulf near Laholm.

Those who hold the Jutic theory have always sought their stronghold in the statements that the wars between the Geats and the Swedes were fought across the sea. But the phrases "ofer sæ," "ofer wid water," "ofer heafo," etc., may just as well apply to the inland waters of Sweden as to the high sea.¹ That this inland water traffic was extensive is supported by many citations. According to Gustaf Styffe, *Skandinaviën under Unionstiden*, p. 95, the inland traffic of Sweden even as late as the 16th and 17th centuries was carried on chiefly over the lakes and rivers, and portages were frequently made. A detailed account from Thomson's *Ryska Riket's Grundläggning* describes the methods by which the Swedes brought their boats from Novgorod, Russia, down the Dnieper River to Constantinople. Schück also mentions many interesting Viking exploits. For example, in 885 the Northmen brought a fleet of 700 ships up the Seine as far as Paris. Here they were checked, but made a portage around the city and finally pushed by ship as far as Burgundy. These and a number of similar cases cited make it pretty clear that during the 9th and 10th centuries inland water traffic with portages was common. Now, since the ships of the 6th century were doubtless lighter than those of the 9th, it does not seem at all improbable that the Swedes in modern Uppland attacked the Geats in modern Västergötland over the waters lying between.

The course which the Swedes might have pursued in making this attack is given as follows: From Lake Mälär and Roslagen to the Motala River. A portage could be made around the rapids at the mouth of the Motala River. Then up the Motala River to Lake Glän; by the Motala River again to Lake Roxen; then up the river again through Lakes Norrby and Rosen; and finally into Lake Wetter. Then by crossing Lake Wetter the Swedes would have been at the Eastern boundary of Geatland. Had they wished to be more aggressive they might have proceeded by way of Lakes Vik and Örl, then, after a portage of about one kilometre, into the Tida River, and thence into Lake Wener. And finally they might even have proceeded down the Göta River to the high sea.

The rest of Schück's monograph contains some bits of evidence in favor of his theory. First, the close relations be-

¹ Farther on in the monograph it is shown that Ansgarius thought Sweden was a group of islands and called the lakes "interjacentia maria."

tween the Geats and the Swedes indicate that they were neighbors. They were often at war; Swedish political refugees fled to the Geats; and even Beowulf and his kinsman Wiglaf seem to have been descended from a Swedish house. Second, assuming that the Geats and the Jutes were the same, it seems strange that these people should have had no dealings with their neighbors, the Saxons. But if the Geats and the Gauts were identical, their distance from the Saxons would explain the silence concerning them. Third, if the "Geatas" were the Jutes, the "Dene," the Danes, the "Sweon," the Swedes, where were the Gauts? How is it that the constant relations between the Danes, Jutes, and Swedes never involved the Gauts?

Finally, the natural setting of the events in *Beowulf* explicitly demands high cliffs, a mountain stream, a cave, and an elevation for "*Beowulfes beorh*." This topography is not to be found in Jutland, especially not in the region where Fahlbeck localized the events, but on the contrary it is characteristic of the coast of Halland, Västergötland, and Bohuslän.

Into the validity of Professor Schück's arguments we cannot at present enter. It is enough to say that they demand careful consideration, not only for their own sake, but because they place the points at issue clearly before us. The matter cannot be too thoroughly sifted, for a decision in regard to the location of these peoples is of great importance to students of early Germanic literature.

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SVENSK LJUDHISTORIA. Av Axel Kock. Första Delen, Pp. 504, Lund, 1906. Andra Delen, Förra Hälften, Pp. 240, 1909. Senare Hälften, Pp. 241-429, 1911.

No part of the field of Germanics is at present cultivated more extensively or with greater success than the Swedish language in its earlier periods. The material that has been issued, principally from the Universities of Upsala and Lund, during the last decade and a half has been so extensive in quantity and so important in its nature as to make the period epoch-making for the historical study of the Swedish language. And in this work it is the name of Kock that we meet with most often, it is contributions by him that form the milestones of progress in the research into the past of Swedish. In the *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, of which he is Editor-in-chief, there have, to mention only recent ones, appeared articles on U-Breaking, volume XIX, Word-Formation, vol. XXI, Etymological Studies, volumes XX, and XXIV, Sixteenth Cen-

tury Swedish, vol. XXV, and a series of shorter investigations in vol. XXII and elsewhere. To other Swedish periodicals he has made frequent contributions as e. g. *Historisk Tidskrift*, XXV, 1-23 in which he treats the question: *Ær Skåne de germanska folkens urhem?* and in *Nordisk Tidskrift* for 1908 upon: "Svenskans förbättring och försämring under de senaste århundradena." In addition to this he has published several volumes some of them of considerable extent, as *Språkhistoriska Undersökningar om Svensk Akcent* in two parts, *Studier öfver fornsvensk Ljudlära* also in two parts, and *Undersökningar i svensk Språkhistoria*. But he has also often gone beyond the field of Swedish proper into West Scandinavian, and general Germanic as in the articles on the sound-combination—*aiw*, Arkiv, XX, *a*-umlaut, Arkiv, XXVI, studies on some words in the Elder Edda, Arkiv, XXVII, (pages 107-140), and in various contributions in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, as e. g. one on "Vokalbalance im altfriesischen," XIX, 175-193.

Professor Kock's principal work, however, is the present one, the first volume of which was published in 1906. In this work he attempts nothing less than to offer a historical presentation of Swedish sounds from their Germanic equivalents, through the runic period, with special emphasis upon the Middle-age period, down to and including New Swedish. It is planned to issue the work in five volumes to be supplemented by an introductory survey of the development of the Swedish language. Such an exhaustive treatise upon a subject that in the main is wholly technical would seem to be a monumental task for anyone to undertake. For we must bear in mind that it involves familiarity with the literature upon primitive Germanic and general Germanic grammar, the runes and the runic inscriptions, Old Norse and Old Danish and the state of philologic research in Scandinavian in general in addition to the language with which he is immediately dealing. But when we know that a very considerable proportion of the research that had to be carried on before the writing of such a work was possible has been done by Kock himself it becomes truly remarkable that he should have been able to undertake it and, what is more, to have succeeded in completing and issuing nearly half of it (for Part I of vol. III is in press) in so short a time.

Among the most important aids to such a study the author makes due acknowledgement in the preface to the especially valuable lexical work of Schlyter and Collin-Schlyter, to Noreen's *Altschwedische Grammatik* (1904, Pp. 602) and *Altisländische Grammatik* (3rd ed. 1903, Pp. 418), and particularly to the work of Söderwall, whose great dictionary of

Middle-age Swedish has become indispensable to all workers in the history of Swedish, as Fritzner's for Old Norse and Kal-kars for Old and Middle Danish. In his subdivisions of the language into periods Kock adheres to the one adopted in his *Fornsvensk Ljudlära*, II, pages 499 ff. in 1886. According to this the two main divisions, Old Swedish and New Swedish, are again subdivided so that the former consists of three and the latter of two divisions, i. e. oldest, early and late Old Swedish and early and late New Swedish. Old Swedish I is the period of the inscriptions, II, the period of the laws, 1200-1350, III, the period of standard Old Swedish, 1350-1525. Older New Swedish extends down to 1700. The motives for retaining these divisions Kock promises to discuss again in the introductory survey of the language. While linguistic grounds justify this five-fold division and while it certainly is convenient also to be able thus to identify the different periods with certain groupings of the material, it does seem to me that its complexity is a disadvantage. Why not adopt a three-fold division as is done in English and German and as is coming to be done in Norwegian? It matters not that they do not coincide in point of time. The new features that begin to appear in Swedish from 1350 on are sufficiently numerous to set the next 150 years or more distinctly apart as a transition period, and why not call this translation period Middle Swedish and that before Old Swedish? I firmly believe that the introduction of the threefold division here too would be a distinct advantage.

In Part I Kock presented the development of the vowels *i, e, a, ä, å, o, y*, long and short and in Part II, 1 *o*, *o*, and *u*. In II, 2, is accounted for in the same detailed manner the diphthongs *ai, au, öy, io, ia, iä, iu*, and *io*. The starting point is the evidence offered by the runic inscriptions, general Scandinavian forms are cited extensively wherever they reflect Swedish speech. It is the author's intention to treat the question of vowel-quantity in a separate chapter and he has therefore limited the discussion of the vowels for the present to their quality. He emphasizes the vowels of syllables with strong and half strong stress; vowels of unstressed syllables are treated only incidentally as these have been treated systematically by the author elsewhere. Similarly the question of accent is omitted, the student being here referred to the author's works on Swedish accent, of which *Die alt- und neuschwedische Accentuierung* is probably best known to American philologists. The author goes beyond literary Swedish in the discussion of almost every vowel and here he is able to make good use of the vast storehouse of material published in *Bidrag till Kännedom om svenska Landsmälen*, issued by the

dialect societies of Upsala, Helsingfors and Lund and to which Kock himself has been a frequent contributor. And so local departures from standard speech are also taken account of. Here particular emphasis is laid upon the features that characterise the dialect of Gothland, philologically so interesting because in many respects so archaic (retention of the diphthongs) and because in its changes it shows a development peculiarly its own,—linguistically a West Scandinavian island in East Scandinavian territory. Finally the loan element is constantly given attention,—the development of the vowels of the borrowed words and cases of possible influence of these upon native Swedish words.

As has been noted the first part of volume III is already in press; it will contain a survey of umlaut and breaking in Swedish. This will then be followed by a discussion of vowel quantity; the final volumes will present the history of the consonants.

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EXAMINATION OF TWO ENGLISH DRAMAS: "THE TRAGEDY OF MARIAM," BY ELIZABETH CAREW; AND "THE TRUE TRAGEDY OF HEROD AND ANTIPATER, WITH THE DEATH OF FAIRE MARIAM," BY GERVASE MARKHAM AND WILLIAM SAMPSON. = By Arthur Cyril Dunstan, Königsberg v. Pr., 1908; pp. 98.

This is a doctorate dissertation from Albertus University, Königsberg, and has to do with two little known dramatic versions of the Herod story. The work, if not brilliant, is marked by sanity and really contributes much to present knowledge of these interesting examples of Elizabethan tragedy. A brief introduction shows how both dramas have been neglected by other critics, and summarizes two accounts of the Herod-Mariamne incidents as related by Josephus, the immediate source of each drama. The *Jewish Antiquities* was drawn on chiefly for both plays, but the *Herod and Antipater* was also indebted to the *Jewish War*, and both tragedies show some independence in treatment of characters and plot. Each drama is then examined separately in some forty pages dealing with authorship, text, metre, content, source, characterization, structure, and style. A short conclusion declares that neither play influenced the later tragedies on the same subject.

One virtue of the dissertation is that its author makes no claim to having accomplished more than he has done, nor does he lose perspective so as unduly to magnify the importance of

the subject under discussion. Facts and opinions are stated with becoming modesty.

A perennial question with reference to the *Mariam* is the identity of its author. Convincing evidence establishes her name as Elizabeth Carew, but whether she was the elder Lady Carew, to whom her kinsman, Spenser, dedicated his *Muiopotmos* and addressed a sonnet, or whether she was Elizabeth, daughter to that lady and afterwards wife to Sir Thomas Berkeley, is still a subject of dispute. Professor Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama*, a book which was published too recently for Dr. Dunstan to use, mentions the question and favors the mother's claims.¹ Dr. Dunstan makes out a strong case for the daughter on the score of an allusion to her as Diana in a sonnet referring to this play, while the mother's maiden name was Spencer, not Elizabeth Carew. The only difficulty with this theory is a further allusion to a brother of the authoress in the same sonnet, while the younger Carew was an only child. Mr. Dunstan's gloss on "brother" as meaning "future brother-in-law" does not carry conviction.

In the same connection a possible explanation of another difficulty may be ventured. Nash referring to the younger Lady Carew, exclaims, "Into the Muses societie herself she hath latelie adopted and purchast divine Petrarch another monument in England." Dr. Dunstan comments, "This seems to refer to some translation of Petrarch which the younger E. C. wrote, of which no copy is to be found." But surely in an age which knew and imitated so well the sonnets to Laura, "a monument to Petrarch" might mean merely a collection of sonnets. And that Lady Carew wrote certain sonnets which were known to Nash, Dr. Dunstan himself declares on p. 13.

The date of composition for the *Mariam* is placed near 1600, when its author may have been betrothed but not married. But the fact that it is written in alternate rime, *abab cdcd*, and contains several sonnets in the familiar rime scheme used by Shakespeare, suggests a somewhat earlier date, nearer 1595, and before blank verse was so generally used in tragedy. *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, contains much evidence of experimentation with rime, and it belongs not far from 1595. Written in the same alternate riming is Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia*, recently reprinted by the Malone Society, and probably composed two or three years before its first printing in 1598.

That *Mariam* is a true Senecan tragedy of close kin to the *Gorboduc*, the analysis of the play proves beyond question. But Mr. Dunstan nowhere shows acquaintance with Pro-

¹ Vol. ii, p. 8.

fessor Cunliffe's *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* the classic work on that subject.

Herod and Antipater, published nearly a decade after the *Mariam*, seems nevertheless to be a cruder play. The metre of many lines cited evinces special ruggedness. Amidst his discussion of metre, p. 60, and again at p. 76, Dr. Dunstan emends one misprinted verse. The line as originally printed runs:

"Who lives the lives the longest still must end in death." His proposed emendation is to carry "in death" to the next verse, which would then still be short of syllables. But does not the misprint rather consist in doubling the words "lives the," which are altogether tautological when repeated?

Only one other detailed point can be mentioned. The villain of the second play is Antipater, Herod's bastard son, in whom Dr. Dunstan sees some resemblance to Shakespeare's Richard the Third. But the lines cited tempt one to suggest a closer likeness in the Edmund of *King Lear*. Like Edmund Antipater first plots against his father's legitimate offspring, falsely accusing them of filial ingratitude, and then after causing their ruin, turns against his father in the desire to succeed to his titles. Apparently successful at first, he is finally entrapped and dies in misery about the same time as his father.

This general similarity of situation lends color to the possible charge of borrowed phrasing in two passages from the *Herod and Antipater*. On p. 81 Mr. Dunstan quotes the latter play:

"Howere
By birth I am a bastard, yet my wit
Shall beare me 'bove the true-borne."

Compare Edmund's words in *Lear*, i. 2. 14-16:

"if this letter speed
And my invention thrive, Edmund the base
Shall top the legitimate."

Again on p. 86, Dunstan quotes *Herod and Antipater*:

"My life hath runne its Circle, and's come round;

Mount Soule to Heaven; sinke sins into the ground. Dies." The same figure is used in *Lear*, v. 3. 174, by Edmund just before his death:

"The wheel is come full circle; I am here."

Since the *Lear* was composed about 1605 and printed in 1608, while the *Herod and Antipater* bears date of 1622, Markham and Sampson might easily have borrowed. Dr. Dunstan announces his intention of publishing the text of both dramas. That this work is worth doing the thesis shows.

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THE SOURCES OF THE BRITISH CHRONICLE HISTORY IN SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE, by Carrie Anna Harper. Bryn Mawr College Monographs. Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1910. Pp. 190.

One is rather surprised that the subject of this doctor's thesis should not have been snapped up earlier by some other prospective Ph.D. It was a subject that called aloud for investigation, it was definite, and it required the painstaking digestion of a large mass of material. Miss Harper is to be congratulated on capturing it. She is also to be praised for having worked it out methodically and in the main very well.

Section I shows the disagreements and uncertainties of previous scholars, none of whom investigated the matter thoroughly. Section II discusses Spenser's general attitude toward sources, or authorities, as it may be inferred from other work of his, the lost *Epithalamion Thamesis* (later recast for *F. Q. IV*, xi) and the *View of the Present State of Ireland*. Section III catalogues the sources of British chronicle history that were available to him. Section IV gives proof that Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* was his main authority. Section V, the body of the thesis, goes through Spenser's own chronicle story (*F. Q. II*, x, *III*, iii, *III*, ix, 41-43) step by step, and shows, by array of authorities, whence in each case he derived his matter and how he modified it by restatement or deliberate invention. Section VI summarizes the results of the investigation. Finally, in an appendix, it is argued that Spenser's chronicle of British kings was probably first planned and in part executed as a separate poem, taken into the *Faery Queen* as an afterthought.

The thoroughness and orderliness of Miss Harper's work and the soundness of most of her inferences are beyond dispute; in a few matters she lays herself open to criticism. In section II, for instance, after quoting the passage from Spenser's letter of April 2, 1580, about the *Epithalamion Thamesis*, she writes: "It shows that Spenser had no mind, even then, to follow Holinshed slavishly. . . . he planned to add something of value himself." Looking back for the grounds of this explicit statement one is somewhat surprised to find nothing in Spenser's language to support it and very disastrously surprised at being forced to conclude it is derived from the Latin with which he ends—

*O Tite, siquid ego,
Ecquid erit pretij?*

Had Miss Harper looked up the corresponding passage in Harvey's reply (v. Gregory Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 113) she would have been guarded against thus com-

promising her scholarship, for she must then have understood that this Latin had nothing whatever to do with the poet's proposed method of handling the material in Holinshed, but merely expressed doubt whether his projected labors would bring him any reward.¹ That a candidate for the doctor's degree should so badly misinterpret (and be allowed by the supervisors of her work to misinterpret) plain Latin, is most unfortunate. Since a good part of her section on Spenser's methods of work is based on this misinterpretation, the blunder is particularly damaging.

In the detailed examination of the sources which forms the main body of the thesis Miss Harper has done her best work, and very good work it is. She at times sees borrowing, especially in language, where one less preoccupied will see only casual resemblance, but certainty in matters of this kind is almost impossible of attainment, and critics are bound to disagree. In one point her genealogy seems at fault—when she identifies the son of Arthegall and Britomart (pp. 145-147) with the legendary King Conan and is surprised that, in his account of this king, Spenser should depart from the recognized authorities. But Spenser, it would seem, does not intend to be understood so particularly. He has a very delicate transition to make from the almost purely imaginary pair whom he has chosen to work into the royal lineage and the recognized sovereigns of the line. To declare explicitly that the son of Arthegall and Britomart was King Conan would be to make, not a transition, but a jump: he therefore suppresses the name and alters the character, with the result of producing an ambiguous personage, who, as dethroner of Constantine and father of Vortipore, seems to be meant for Conan, but who, in other respects, is altogether vague and unidentifiable. To miss this is to miss one of the few skillful touches of his chronicle.

Another detail of this section may be noticed. On p. 144 the prophecy regarding Britomart (III, iii, 28) is declared to be a possible imitation of the story of Esclarmonde in *Huon of Bordeaux*. Since the love affair of Britomart and Arthegall, however, is copied at almost all points from that of Bradamanta and Ruggiero in the *Orlando Furioso* and since

¹ It is a condensation of the verses quoted at the outset of Cicero's *Cato Major, sive De Senectute* (referred to by Harvey as 'your great Cato'):

O Tite, si quid ego adjuero curamve levasso
Quæ nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
Ecquid erit præmi?

Harvey's 'our little Catoes *Res age quæ prosunt*' will be found among the *Disticha* of Dionysius Cato, IV, 7. The sources of these quotations have not, I believe, been recorded by the commentators.

this particular prophecy closely corresponds to that given in the *Orlando Furioso*, XLI, 61 ff., the new ascription is not particularly convincing.

In the appendix, the argument that Spenser probably planned his chronicle first as an independent poem is ingenious and interesting, but not much more. Since Ariosto had established this kind of complimentary genealogy as a recognized feature of the romance poem, the antecedent probability is that Spenser simply followed his lead and devised his own as an original part of his *Faery Queen*. The evidence of his having the chronicle ready to his hand, as an older and independent poem, is too slight to be of appreciable weight. There is very general danger that, in the absence of all definite knowledge about the beginnings of the *Faery Queen*, too much rein may be given to purely fanciful speculation. It has been suggested by some critic somewhere that this chronicle was the part of the poem first shown to Harvey and disapproved by him. It has also been suggested that the poem as shown to Harvey may not even have been in the famous stanza which the published version has immortalized. Such imaginings, which may of course be true, but for which we have no evidence whatever, seem hardly profitable.

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NOTES

THE SOURCE OF THE STORY OF ASNETH.

My professed ignorance regarding the whereabouts of the immediate source of *The Story of Asneth*, and my proffer of the question "to those more familiar than I with the history of Hebrew literature",¹ seem to Dr. G. L. Hamilton "not a very happy suggestion."² His own communication, however, scarcely lightens whatever gloom attaches to the matter. Any good cyclopaedia will bear witness to his observation, that "the text itself" of some *Historia Assenech* "was published and commented on almost two centuries ago by Fabricius." But does this answer my question? In what respect does Fabricius's text prove superior to that found in Vincent of Beauvais, which I printed? The same essentials, especially the prayer of Asenath, common to the Greek and the English versions, are wanting in both Latin texts,³ neither of which can be the immediate Latin source of the English *Asneth*.

The Latin version in *Alphabetum Narrationum* is lugged in with even less propriety by Dr. Hamilton. It is as he himself says, a deriva-

¹ *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.* X, 224 ff.

² *Ibid.*, XI, 143-144.

³ It may be stupidity on my part, but Fabricius's text appears to me a mere reprint of Vincent.

tive. Still less do his citations of unedited MSS. of some *Historia Assenech* answer my question, though they farce a footnote well⁴. No evidence as to the nature of their contents is furnished by Dr. Hamilton, merely a guess that an examination of them might show some to be "abridged," others "to contain the full text". This is a good guess, no doubt, as it is certainly an easy one. An examination of Lady Cardigan's Chaucer MS. *might* show it to contain the *Squires Tale* complete, or it might not.

My question, meanwhile, though it asks for "only a little knowledge", still awaits its answer from someone more familiar with the history of Hebrew literature than myself.

H. N. MACCRACKEN.

⁴ And yet not well. In the way of footnotes one may cavil on the ninth part of a hair. Dr. Hamilton's reference to Schankl in vol. 124 of the *Wien. Akad. d. Wiss.* should be to Abhandlung III, not I, and no mention of Assenech appears on p. 11, to which he directs us. After the figures "136, V, 6" in the same note read a semi-colon for a comma; otherwise you will search in vain.

"COMMENDATION" IN THE WANDERER.

Mr. Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois has kindly drawn my attention to his valuable article on "The Household of the Norwegian Kings" in *The American Historical Review*, XIII, 439-479, (April, 1908) and particularly to the footnote (p. 461), in which he has anticipated my interpretation (in the January, 1912, number of the *JOURNAL*) of the Old English *Wanderer*, 41-44, as "the earliest complete record of a most important ceremony." I greatly regret my oversight. May I add that Mr. Larson's earlier arrival at this goal of "Commendation" has a twofold interest for me: first, because his different method of approach from the starting point of the Old Norse Court Law increases my conviction of the truth of what he will permit me to call our solution of the *Wanderer* lines; and secondly, because new support is thus indirectly given to the explanation of the phrase, *Hand ofer hēafod*, which was, of course, the main contention of my little article. Blessed be all those who say our good things before us!

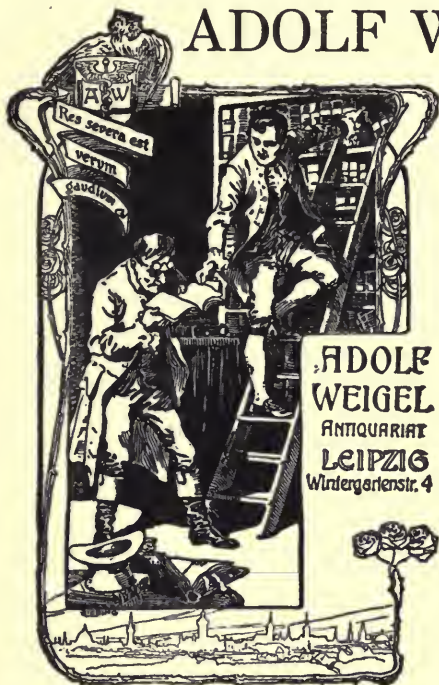
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KONTAMINATIONSBILDUNGEN UND HAPLOLOGISCHE MISCHFORMEN

Dass hie und da eine Mischform in Gebrauch gekommen ist, weiss ja jedermann. Aber dass in der Umgangssprache der verschiedenen germ. Dialekte allerlei Kontaminationsbildungen in grosser Anzahl vorkommen, ist eine Tatsache, die nur wenige anzuerkennen scheinen.

Mischformen lassen sich in drei Klassen einteilen: 1. Solche, die einen Laut oder Lautkomplex angenommen oder eingebüsst haben wegen sinnverwandter Wörter oder durch Volksetymologie. Diese Klasse ist sehr zahlreich und muss seit den ältesten Zeiten existiert haben. Hierher gehören wahrscheinlich viele (vielleicht die meisten) der durch Determinative erweiterten Formen.

2. Komposita, in denen ein Teil durch ein anderes Wort oder einen Wortteil ersetzt worden ist, wie westfläm. *snake-tisse* "Eidechse" aus *snake* "Schlange" + mnl. *(hage)tisse* "Eidechse," Nr. 26.

3. Komposita mit haplogologischer Silbenellipse, wie els. *badaudel* 'dummer Mensch' aus *ba(del)* 'dummer Kerl' + *daudel* 'geistig beschränkter Mensch,' Nr. 30. Hierher gehören die meisten der sogenannten Streckformen. [Wie ich in *Modern Phil.* IX, 157-94, erwiesen zu haben glaube, lassen sich die von H. Schröder sog. Streckformen fast durchweg als haplogologische Mischformen oder Komposita mit syllabischer Dissimilation edklären. Den dort angeführten Beispielen füge ich die folgenden hinzu. "Schr." nach einem Beispiel zeigt an, dass es bei Schröder, *Streckformen*, Heidelberg 1906 vorkommt.]

1. Ne. dial. *baffound* 'perplex, bewilder': *baf(fle)* 'confuse, perplex, annoy' + *(con)found*.

2. Luxemb. *barbuz* 'Haarschneider': *bar(bier)* + *butz* (lothr. *de bart butze* 'rasieren').

3. Ne. dial. *bogfounded* 'perplexed, bewildered': *bog* 'stick in the mire; dumbfounder, confuse' + *(dumb)founder*.

4. Ne. dial. *boldacious* 'audacious, bold, brazen, impudent': *bold* + *(aud)acious*.

5. Ne. dial. *bullrageous* 'raging like a bull': *bull* + (*out*)-*rageous*.

6. Mnl. *drawonkel* 'böartige Geschwulst,' *drawonkelen* 'entzündet sein': *draw-* (md. *ufgedrouwen* 'erwachsen,' ahd. *trouuen*, *crescere*, *pupiscere*,' *triuuit* 'excellet, pollet, floret' etc.) + mnl. (*carb*)*onkel* 'Karfunkel; böartiges Geschwür.'

7. Wfläm. *faluzie* 'confusion, honte': mnl. *fal(ie)* 'Mislingen, Fehler; Fehlen' + (*conf*)*usie* 'Beschämung, Schande.'

8. Lothr. *viseldiere*ⁿ 'durchsuchen': els. *visitiere*ⁿ ärztlich untersuchen; durchsuchen, jemandes Taschen u. Kleider auf etw. Verdächtiges hin aussuchen' + lothr. (*fisse*)*l(n)* 'fühlen, betasten, leise berühren od. auf etw. herumfahren, durchsuchen.'

9. Frühschwäb. *gattieren* 'ordnen' SFrank: *gatt(en)* 'ordnen, anordnen, anstiften' (öfters bei SFrank) + mhd. (*ord*)*inieren* 'ordnen, in Ordnung bringen.'

10. Me. *harrageous* 'bold, violent': *harr(y)* (vgl. ne. dial. *harry-gad*, — *ruffian* 'a wild or reckless person,' *Old Harry* 'devil') + (*cour*)*ageous*.

11. Els. *kanebett*, *kanapet* 'Kanapee, Sofa': *Kana(pee)* + *bett*. Els. Wb. I, 445, II, 113.

12. Wfläm. *Kateie* 'brise-lames, épi': nl. *Ka(dijk)* 'Steindamm' + frz. (*je*)*tée* 'Hafendamm.' *Wvlaamsch Id.* 438.

13. Lux. *klinzech*, lothr. *klinzich*, 'winzig': *kl(ein)* + (*w*)*inzig*. Nicht aus *klein-zig*, das lux. *kléng-zech* ergäbe.

14. Lux. *lutzeätz* 'Luzifer; lüderliches Frauenzimmer': lothr. *luze(fer)* 'Luzifer, Teufel, Nichtsnutz' (vielleicht angelehnt an *lotze*ⁿ 'Lumpen,' els. *lotzer* 'zerlumpter, arbeitscheuer Mensch, Strolch,' *lotzi* 'zerlumpter, träge umher-schlendernder, schlapper Mensch; Lümmel,' *lotz* 'liederliche, faule Dirne,' *lotze*ⁿ 'nicht recht passen, am Leib schlumpfern; zerrissen, zerlumpt einherlaufen' etc) + lux. *ätz* 'Fetzen; lüderliches Weib.'

15. Els. *mangsjón* (*mánsjón*) 'Menge, Masse, grosse Anzahl': *meng(e)* (*maŋə*) 'Menge, grosse Anzahl' + (*nát*)*sjón* 'Nation, Sippschaft, nur in spöttischem Sinne; Gesindel.'

16. Els. *massion* was *mangsjón*: *mass(e)* + (*náts*)*jón*.

17. Els. *meinalisch* 'arg, böse; furchtbar, schrecklich': *mein(eidig)* + (*krimin*)*alisch*. Els. Wb. I, 689.

18. Wfläm. *plavei* in *kerkplavei* 'soort van grooten tegel, veel gebruikt om de kerkvloeren te leggen,' nl. *plavei* 'Flurschiefer,' *plaveien* 'mit Flursteinen belegen, pflastern': mnl. *pavei* (frz. *pavé*), *paveien* + *-l-* (aus *plank* 'Planke' oder *plat* 'Platte, ebene Fläche' oder aber aus hd. *Pflaster* Franck, *Et. Wb.* 736).

19. Ne. dial. *pockmanteau* 'portmanteau': *pock* 'bag, sack, poke' + (*port*)*manteau*. Auch *postmantle*: *post* + (*port*)-*mantle*.

20. Wfläm. *ramulte remulte* (*tremulte*) 'Rumor, Aufruhr': *ram(oer)* 'Rumor, Lärm' + frz. (*tu*)*multe*.

21. Ne. dial. *remetic* 'an emetic; a remedy': *r(emedi)* + *emetic*.

22. Ne. dial. *renterfuge rentafuge* 'rendezvous, esp. a place haunted by birds': *rende(zvous)* + (*re*)*fuge*.

23. Ne. dial. *rumbago* 'lumbago' ('I be a'most crippled with rheumatics and rumbago' Blackmore *Kit*): *r(heumatics)* + (*l*)*umbago*.

24. Els. *schagrillen* 'törichte Sorgen, Kummer': *scha(gringe)* 'Unsinn, Vorspiegelung; Gewissensbisse, Selbstvorwürfe' (frz. *chagrin*) + *grille* 'törichte Sorgen.' Els. *Wb.* II, 401.

25. Els. *schmierasch* 'Schmutz, Unreinlichkeit; Durcheinander': *schmier(e)* + (*men*)*asch* 'Haushaltung; schlechte Haushaltung, grosse Unordnung u. wirres Durcheinander' (frz. *ménage*).

26. Wfläm. *snaketisse* 'Eidechse': *snake* 'Schlange' + mnl. (*hage*)*tisse* 'Eidechse.'

27. Wfläm. *trambooien* 'slaan, lambooien, afrossen': *tr-(avooien)* 'afrossen, afranselen,' 'abprügeln' + (*l*)*ambooien* 'herhaaldelijk slaan,' 'battre.'

28. Zaan. *trawaffel* 'Ohrfeige, Schlag': wfläm *tra(vooien)* + zaan. *waffel* 'Mund; Schlag, Ohrfeige.'

29. Els. *zumpose* 'gesetzt, angenommen (dass)': *zum* (*Beispiel*) + frz. (*sup*)*posé*. Els. *Wb.* II, 904.

30. Els. *badaudel* 'Halbnarr, dummer Mensch'; *ba(del)* 'dummer Kerl' + *daudel* 'geistig beschränkter Mensch' (*herumdaudle* 'in Gedanken versunken herumstehen; herumtaumeln,' *däudlig* 'langsam, träge,' *däudi* 'dummes Kind,' *däude*

‘dummer Mensch,’ lothr. *taudele* ‘einfältig reden,’ *dodel* ‘einfältiger Mensch,’ bair. *tottelt* ‘dumm, einfältig,’ preuss. *dudel-dop* ‘Dummkopf,’ ostfries. *dudden* ‘betäubt sein, wie betäubt hinsitzen, duseln,’ *duddig dudderig* ‘betäubt, sinnlos, dumm, schläfrig, träumerig,’ afries. *dud* ‘Betäubung,’ nisl. *doðinn* ‘schlaff,’ *doðna* ‘nachlassen, ermatten,’ ne. *doddle* ‘zögern, langsam sich bewegen’ etc.). Hierher gehört schweiz. *badaut-le* ‘dumme Person.’ Schr. 10.

31. Els. *badaukel* ‘dummer Mensch’: *bad(el)* + *(b)ogel* ‘Dummkopf,’ mit Anlehnung an *badaukel*.

32. Els. *badederle* ‘Person, die nichts ausrichtet’: *ba(der)* ‘Quacksalber’ + *dätterle* ‘kleiner, trippelnder Mann; alter, kleiner Kerl’ (*dattere* ‘stottern; schwatzen; schlecht arbeiten; beben vor Angst,’ *datteri* ‘furchtsamer Mensch; alter gebrechlicher Mann,’ *datterig* ‘zitternd, furchtsam; weich, teigig, von Obst,’ *dätterig* ‘ungeschickt, energielos,’ schwäb. *datterig* ‘zitternd, angstvoll; sehr weich, etwa von Butter oder ganz jungem Kalbfleisch’; *dättele* ‘unbeherzt, ängstlich, nachlässig arbeiten; langsam, kindisch, ungeschickt handeln, geizt tun; langsam tun, zaudern,’ norw. *dadra* ‘zittern, beben’ etc.)

33. Els. *badutter* ‘Gesäss’: *ba(tterig)* ‘durch Nässe schmierig; weich, vom Obst’ + *dutter* ‘der Hintere.’ Vgl. Nr. 146.

34. Schwäb. *badeinlich* ‘verzärtelt’: *ba(dde)* ‘alberner Mensch’ + *deiⁿle^m* ‘schwächliche, einfältige, ängstliche Weibsperson.’

35. Els. *badutscherle* ‘einfältige Person’: *ba(dli)* ‘dummer Kerl’ + *dutscherle* ‘einfältiges Frauenzimmer’ (*daütsch* ‘langsame Weibsperson,’ *dautschel* ‘blödsinniger Dummkopf,’ *dotsch* ‘verdorbene Teigmasse, misslungenes Backwerk; ungeschickter Mensch, tölpisches Ding,’ *daudel* etc. Nr. 30). Schr. 11.

36. Schweiz. *bagäuggel* ‘Hanswurst, Possenreisser, narisch-mutwilliger Mensch, bes. von Kindern’: *ba(ggel)* ‘schlechtes Gerät; schlechtes, abgearbeitetes Pferd; einfältig-gutmütiger, dummer Mensch’ + *gäuggel* ‘Possenreisser; einfältiger Mensch’ (*gäugge* ‘geckisch tändeln; zum Narren halten’).

37. Els. *bajäkleⁿ*, *bäjäkeleⁿ* ‘rennen, springen; coire,’

schweiz. *bojäggle* 'Unzucht treiben': els. *bä(ckere)* 'schnell gehen' + *jagle* 'umherziehen,' bair. *jägel* 'lärmend hin und wiederlaufen.'

38. Els. *bäjoppi* 'lustiger, zum Springen aufgelegter Knaube': schwäb. *bä(pfe)* 'an einander stossen, z. B. mit den Köpfen von Schafen oder Kindern' + els. *juppe* 'springen.'

39. Wfläm.-*balongen* in *bimbalongen*, *bingbalongen* 'heen en weder bewegen, hangen en slingeren,' 'baumeln': franz. *bal(ancer)* 'baumeln, schweben' + wfläm. *bing-(b)ongen* 'hin u. her baumeln,' *bimbommen* dass.

40. Schwäb. *baladere* 'schwatzen, plaudern': *bal-* (vgl. schwäb. *ball* 'das Bellen,' ofries. *ballern* 'klatschen, knallen, laut schelten, toben, lärmern' etc. oder schwäb. *balle* 'Dummkopf,' schweiz. *bāl* 'Narr') + *(bl)adere* 'plaudern.' Oder besser *baladern*: schweiz. *bä(dere)* 'klatschen' schwatzen' + *(b)ladern*. Schr. 135.

40a. Schweiz. *balâli* 'Laffe, Einfaltspinsel, Töpel': *bāl* 'Narr; ungereimte Frauensperson' + *(b)âli* 'Töpel, Narr.' Dazu *balâle* 'dumm u. einfältig sich benehmen, bes. unverständig lallen.'

41. Schwäb. *balantsche* 'plaudern': *pa(ntsche)* 'schlagen, speciell einem einen Schlag mit der flachen Hand auf einen weichen Körperteil, bes. das Gesäss, versetzen; kräftig, aber unordentlich auf od. in etwas hinein schlagen, drücken; schwatzen' (*pantsch* 'Schlag, bes. mit flacher Hand; Geschwätz, bes. lügenhaftes, boshafte') + *(b)lantsche* 'schwätzen.' Oder *bal*—(Nr. 40) + *(bl)antschen*. Schr. 135.

42. Oberhess. *ballâtschen* 'unverständlich, auch dumm schwatzen,' schwäb. *balâtšə* etc.: schwäb. *pa(tsche)* (*bâtšə*) 'klatschen, von breitem, lautem, unnötigem Gespräch Einzelner od. ganzer Gruppen' + nassau *(b)latschen* 'mit einem Schlage hinfallen; so schlagen, schwätzen' (*blatsch*, *platsch* 'Schlag der klatscht; Knall; Schwätzerin,' schwäb. *blätsche* 'ausschwätzen,' *plätscherin* 'schwatzhafte Person'). Oder *bal*—(Nr. 40) + *(bl)atschen*. Schr. 136.

43. Vorarlb. *barlôtscha* 'unartikulierte u. unverständlich sprechen wie die Kinder': schwäb. *parl(e)* (*barlə*) 'undeutlich sprechen, von Kindern, die das Sprechen lernen; für an-

dere unverständlich reden' (fr. *parler*) + (bl)ätschen 'schwätzen.' Schr. 137.

44. Schweiz. *plippappe*ⁿ 'plappern, schwätzen': *plipp*(eⁿ) 'klatschen, plaudern' + (pl)*appe*ⁿ 'plappern' (*plapp*, *plipp-plapp* 'Nachahmung des Schalles auf-, oder anschlagender Flüssigkeit'). Heirher *plippapper* 'hölzerner Schlägel, der in der Karwoche in den Kirchen statt der Schelle gebraucht wird.'

45. Schwäb. *polätschen* 'undeutlich, fremdländisch sprechen': *pol*(isch) 'polnisch; fremdartig' + (bl)ätscheⁿ 'auschwätzen.' Schr. 175.

46. Fränk. *bobelatschen* 'undeutlich oder unverständlich reden': schweiz. *böbel*(eⁿ) 'eigentümlich blöken; stottern; unnützes Zeug schwätzen, plappern, + (bl)atschen, s. Nr. 42.) Schr. 137 f.

47. Schweiz. *baläutschi* 'Tölpel': *bâ*(li) 'Tölpel, Narr' + *läutschi* 'umherstreichender Mensch; Faulenzer; Wüstling; Tölpel.'

48. Schweiz. *balöffel*, schimpfname: *bâ*(li) 'Tölpel' + *löfel* 'Laffe, einfältiger Mensch.'

49. Schweiz. *baloggi* 'dummer Mensch': *bâl*(i) + (b)*oggi* 'unreinlicher Mensch; einer, dessen Blick keinen Ausdruck noch Geist hat.'

50. Schweiz. *balöli*^A 'Dummkopf': *bâ*(li) + *löl*i 'Dummkopf; Fastnachtsnaar.'

51. Schweiz. *balörig*^A 'tölpelhaft': *bâ*(li) + *lôri*, *lôri* 'Zauderer; Dummkopf.'

52. Schwäb. *balenke* 'Schimpfwort für einen Mann': *bal*(e) 'Kater; Schelte für Menschen: Grobian, Tölpel, Dummkopf, + (p)*enk* 'Mann, Kerl.'

53. Schweiz. *bampelûre*ⁿ 'schlechte kraftlose Brühe, von Wein, Kaffee udgl.': *bambel* 'etwas Herabhängendes; schales Getränk' + (l)*üre*ⁿ 'Leurentränk; schlechte Brühe überh., erbärmliches Getränk, z. B. wässerige Suppe, bes. fader Kaffee.'

54. Bair. *bamazln* 'Zitzen, mammae': *ba*(t_zl) 'kleiner Batzen, namentlich kleines festes Mehlklösschen' (wien. *batzl* 'eine kleine Portion einer dicklichen Masse,' bair. *batzen* 'Klumpen von weicher Masse') + **mazln* 'Klumpchen' (bair.

matz 'nackte Schnecke; knorriger Holzblock, Klotz'). Schr. 20.

55. Steir. *banazel*, *panatzel* 'jungfräuliche Brust': *pan*(*zl*) Demin. von *panzen* 'breites Fass, bauchiges Geschirr; Bauch' + (*b*)*atzel*. Schr. 20.

56. Nd. *bankefett* (in *b. leben* und *pannkefett*, *pännekenfett*, mit Anlehnung an *panne* 'Pfanne,' 'schmausen, schwelgerisch, verschwenderisch leben'): *banke*(*t*) (fr. *banquet*) + *fett*. Schr. 201f.

57. Vorarlb. *barleggisch* 'schlaff, matt, abgespannt, träge': schweiz. *parl*(*isch*) 'Gicht, paralysis' + (*pl*)*ägge* 'eine überaus träge Weibsperson, die sich nicht einmal regen mag' (*plägern*, *plegern* 'faulenzten, immer sitzen u. ruhen wollen.'). Schr. 136.

58. Schweiz. *bastand halte*ⁿ 'stand halten, ausharren': *ba*(*stant*) 'kräftig, stark genug zu etwas' (ital. *bastante* 'genügend') + *stand halte*ⁿ.

59. Wfläm. *bawinde*, **biwinde* 'convolvulus': *bi*(*nde*) 'convolvulus' + *winde* dass. Hier ist *ba-* = *v-*, wie in *baginnen* 'beginnen,' *bamierelen*, *mierelen* 'perlen,' *bazorgen* 'besorgen' etc.

60. Schwäb. *bempempel*, *pimpimbel*: els. *bim*(*pel*) + *bim-pel* 'Glockenschwengel; membrum vir.' (*bimple*ⁿ bimmeln, hin u. her bewegen; coire,' schwäb. *bample*ⁿ 'bammeln' etc.).

61. Els. *bibäbele*ⁿ 'zärtlich pflegen, verzärteln bei Krankheiten; schmeicheln,' schweiz. *bibäbele*ⁿ 'schön tun, schmeicheln, mit übertriebener Schonung und Ängstlichkeit behandeln; verhätscheln, verzärten; aus Zimpferlichkeit oder Schwäche zaudern, tändeln': schweiz. *bi*(*bele*ⁿ) in der Verbindung *Eim bibele*ⁿ u. *bäbele*ⁿ (schwäb. *bibele*ⁿ 'tändeln, mit den Fingern spielen; spielen, ohne Ernst arbeiten,' els. *bippelle*ⁿ 'kränkeln,' *bippelig* 'schwächlich, unwohl') + schweiz. *bäbele*ⁿ 'kindisch schmeicheln, hätscheln, bes. reden u. tun, was jedem, bes. einem Kinde, angenehm ist, meist von Kindern, die man zu weichlich hält,' mhd. *pepelen* 'päppeln.'

62. Schwäb. *buppappen* 'kleine Waren durch Würfel ausspielen lassen,' *buppapper* 'herumziehender Krämer, der seine Waren durch Ausspielen anzubringen sucht,' *buppapperig* 'zerbrechlich, wenig dauerhaft,' -*isch* schwächlich, kränk-

lich, zart,' *verbuppapper(l)en* 'auf unbesonnene Weise, für nutzlose Kleinigkeiten das Geld verschleudern': *verbup(perleⁿ dass. (poppereⁿ böberə* 'rasch, aber schwach schlagen; unnötig, aufgeregt hin und her laufen; würfeln; leicht, aber lange fort zanken,' els. *boppereⁿ* 'pochen, klopfen,' *verb.* 'verschwenden,' ne. *bob* 'schnellen, prellen; baumeln' etc.) + *pappeⁿ* 'kleben,' *pappet* 'breiweich; weichlich' etc.

63. Schwäb. *bibapperer* 'Schwätzer': *pi(ppereⁿ)* 'vorlaut reden' + *pappereⁿ* 'plappern,' *päpperer* 'Schwätzer.'

64. Els. *bollecker* 'frecher Kerl, der andere Leute auslacht': *bol(er)* 'Person, die starr auf einen Punkt sieht; grosses Auge' (*boleⁿ* 'werfen, schlagen; grosse Augen machen, glotzen') + (*b*)*lecker* (*usblecker* 'Verspotter,' *bleckeⁿ* 'die Zähne fletsehen, jem. ein Gesicht ziehen, um seiner zu spotten' etc.). Schr. 140.

65. Schwäb. *blatschäre* 'unförmlich breiter, flacher Gegenstand; spec. breiter Hut': *blätsch* 'grosses, ganzrandiges Blatt, bes. der Kohl- u. Rübenarten; abgetragene, schlappige Kappe oder Haube; überhaupt eine bedeutende Fläche' + (*bl*)*äre* 'grosse Fläche.'

66. Els. *bummeritzeⁿ* (*pùmərītsə, -etsə*) 'poltern; unpers. es hat eine Art': *bummereⁿ* 'knallen, mit Geschützen donnern; mit Getöse schlagen; prügeln' (schwäb. *bummereⁿ* 'dumpf dröhnenden Ton geben') + (**b*)*ützen* (mhd. *butzen* 'stossweise losfahren,' *butze* 'Poltergeist,' ahd. *bōzan* 'schlagen, klopfen' etc.).

67. Schwäb. *bumpummeleⁿ* 'ungescheides Kind, schonend liebkosender Tadel': *bump(eleⁿ)* 'dicker Gegenstand; dickes Kind' (*bumpelig* 'dickleibig u. unbeholfen') + schweiz. (*b*)*ummeli* 'Kleines Vieh, Kleines Kind.'

68. Schwäb. *burrassel* 'entschlossenes Weibsbild von rauher, polternder Art': *bu(rreⁿ)* 'brummen, zanken' + *rassel* (els. *rossel* 'Dirne, schlechtes Mädchen,' *rossleⁿ, raseleⁿ* 'rasseln, poltern, lärmern').

69. Schwäb. *burrätsch* 'stotterndes, unverständlich redendes Weibsbild': *bu(rreⁿ)* 'brummen' + *rätsch* 'Schnarre, Klapper; plauderhafte, freche Weibsperson' Schmid 421, els. *rätsch* 'Klapper; Plaudertasche,' *rätscheⁿ* 'klappern; plaudern.'

70. Schwäb. *pralatzgeⁿ* 'prahlend erzählen, mit Bombast reden,' schweiz. *bralatzgeⁿ* 'dummes Zeug plappern': schwäb. *pral(eⁿ)* + *(br)atzgen* (*bratzig* 'stolz, hoffärtig,' els. *pratzig* 'prahlerisch, grosstuend,' *pratzeⁿ* 'prahlen,' schwäb. *pratzeⁿ* dass.). Schr. 100.

71. Schweiz. *brilatzgeⁿ* 'dummes Zeug plappern': els. *bril(leⁿ)* 'brüllen' + *(br)atzgen*, s. oben. Schr. 100.

72. Henneb. *bramâsche* 'Prahlerci, Grosstuerei': wfäl. *bram(men)* 'brausen' (dän. *bramme* 'prahlen, prunken') + mnd. *(br)âsch* 'Krach, Gebrüll, Lärm, lärmendes Gepränge' (*brâschen* 'krachen; brüllen; prahlen,' thür. *brâschen* 'prahlen' etc.). Schr. 100.

73. Leipz. *bramasseln* 'prahlen': *bram(men)*, s. oben + leipz. *(br)asseln* 'aufschneidung, grosstun, prunken' (*brassen*, *prassen*, etc.). Schr. 100f.

74. Schweiz. *braschalleⁿ* 'viel u. laut (mit behaglicher Breite) reden, das grosse Wort führen, auch mit dem Nebensinn des Prahlerischen od. des Ungeordneten, Gedankenlosen,' *g^ebraschall* 'durch lautes Sprechen Vieler erzeugter verworrener Lärm; lautes, prahlendes Sprechen': *brasch(leⁿ)* 'meist unpers., als Bezeichnung eines starken Geräusches, wesentlich = nhd. prasseln' (*braschel* 'lautes Geräusch, Geprassel, Getöse; Lärm, den viele durch einander Sprechende erzeugen,' mnd. *brâsch* etc., Nr. 72) + *(br)alleⁿ* 'schallen, lärmern; wichtigtuertisch reden, prahlen.'

75. Schweiz. *brolotsch* 'ein Mensch, der sich vor Fettigkeit kaum bewegen kann; fetter dummer Kerl: *brol(li)* 'dicker, fetter, unförmlicher Mensch' (*broll* 'grösseres Steinkügelchen zum Spielen; dummer Mensch,' *prollig* 'derb, vierschrotig,') + *(br)otsch* (schweiz. *brotschel^{ig}* 'obesulus,' els. *brutsch* 'dickes Kind,' oberhess. *brutsche* 'dickes aufgeworfenes Maul,' bair. *brotschet* *bratschet* 'breit, aufgedunsen, dick' etc.).

76. Schwäb. *daladereⁿ* 'nutzlos viel schwätzen': *dal(dereⁿ)* 'sich ungeschickt benehmen; ungeschickt gehen u. reden; schwätzen, ausplaudern' (*dalleⁿ* 'lallen, schwätzen, klatschen, unnütz reden; mit mangelhaften Zähnen langsam kauen; essbares unziemlich in den Händen herumkneten,' bair. *da^{len}*

‘reden oder tun wie kleine Kinder’) + (d)attereⁿ (dādərə) ‘zittern; stammeln; plappern’ (els. dattereⁿ, s. Nr. 32).

77. Schwäb. *dalatscheⁿ* ‘beim Backen ungeschickt verfahren’: *dal(leⁿ)* ‘Essbares unziemlich in den Händen herumkneten’ (*dälle* ‘Schimpfname für ein ungeschicktes Mädchen; kleine, nichtsnutzige Weibsperson; dummer Mensch, Mensch, dem nichts von der Hand geht,’ *dalder* ‘ungeschickter Mensch,’ *daldereⁿ* ‘sich ungeschickt benehmen etc.’ s. oben) + (t)atscheⁿ ‘backen’ (*tatscheⁿ*, *tätscheⁿ* ‘klatschen, pat-schen; mit Teig spielen,’ *tatsch* ‘etwas Breitgefallenes,—gedrücktes; sitzen gebliebenes Backwerk’ etc.).

78. Schwäb. *deliebele^m* (dēliabələ ʌ ʊ ʊ) ‘geliebtes Kind’: *dē(le^m)* ‘Medaille udgl., um den Hals getragen’ + *liebele^m*.

79. Schwäb. *dewedele^m* ‘kindische, läppische Person’: *dä(ttele^m)* ‘fallen gelassene flüssige oder breiartige Masse; schwächliche Person’ (*düttel* dass., *düttelig* ‘schwachlich, ängstlich,’ *dättleⁿ* ‘unbeherzt, ängstlich, nachlässig arbeiten; langsam, kindisch, ungeschickt handeln, geziert tun,’ *datterig* ‘zitternd, angstvoll; sehr weich, etwa von Butter oder ganz jungem Kalbfleisch’ etc. s. Nr. 32) + *wedele^m* *Demin*, von *wedel* ‘schwanz; verächtl. für jämmerliche Menschen.’

80. Schwäb. *drallare* ‘Dummkopf, Schwachkopf; grosser, dummer Mensch,’ els. *trallari* ‘Tölpel’: schwäb. *drall(e)* ‘Cretin Simpel; ungeschickter, dummer, plumper Mensch’ (*drallewatsch,-patsch* ‘ungeschickter, plumper, roher Mensch,’ *drallig* ‘simpelhaft, blödsinnig,’ wahrscheinlich zu *drall*, mhd. *gedrollen* ‘drall, rund, gehäuft’) + (l)ari (els. *lärle* ‘Tölpel, dummer einfältiger Kerl’).

81. Steir. *trallasch* ‘plumpes und dabei dummes Frauenzimmer’: *trall-*, *drall-* wie oben + (tr)aschel ‘Plaudertasche’ (*trascheln* ‘schwätzen, plauschen, Überflüssiges reden, verleumden’), Schr. 134.

82. Els. *tralatschi* ‘fauler, langsamer Mensch’: schwäb. *tra(tsche)* ‘unbeholfener od. ungestalter Mensch; wegen Unreinlichkeit überlästiger Mensch’ (*tratsch* ‘nasser Schnee u. Schmutz auf den Wegen’, bair. *getratsch* ‘schneenasses Wetter’) + els. *latschi* ‘läppischer, träger Mensch’ (*latscheⁿ* ‘träge herumschlendern; faul auf dem Stuhl sich rekeln’ etc.).

83. Schwäb. *drallatsch* ‘dummer Streich’: *drall(e)* Nr. 80

+ (*t*)*atsch* 'etwas Breitgefallenes, -gedrücktes; dummer Mensch' (*tatschig* 'weich, z. B. von unausgebackenem Teig; breit, plump'). Oder *drallatsch* zu *tralatschi*.

84. Bair. *drischedeln* 'geschäftlos und doch mit dem Anschein von Geschäftigkeit umhergehen': *drisch(eln)* 'obenhin dreschen' (*dräscheln* 'im Kot herumtreten,' *dreschen* 'dreschen; schlagen; treten, gehen,' *hindreschen*, *abedr.* 'vom Laufen des Hundes') + (*tr*)*edeln* 'trödeln, nicht vom Fleck kommen. Schr. 101.

85. Bair. *trallatsch* 'Plaudertasche,' nass. *tralatsch* 'Schwätzerin,' rhein. *tralâtschen* 'laut u. anhaltend schwätzen': steir. *tra(tsche)* 'Plauscherin, Klatschbase' (*tratschen* 'plauschen, nachreden, herumreden, schwätzen,' bair. *trät-schen* 'im Nassen, Kotigen herumtreten; plaudern, schwätzen; ausplaudern' etc.) + *latsch* (*latschen* 'schleppend, schlürpfend gehen; breit reden,' nass. *latsch* 'ein bes. im Gehn u. Sprechen träger Mensch, Mensch von unfestem Charakter'). Schr. 134.

86. Nass. *traratsch* 'Schwätzerin': steir. *tra(tsche)* 'Klatschbase' (s. oben) + *ratsch* (els. *rätsch* 'Klapper; Plaudertasche,' s. Nr. 69). Schr. 134.

87. Nass. *trawatsch* 'Schwätzerin': *tra(latsch)* oder *tra(ratsch)* + *-watsch* (aus nass. *klawatsch*, *lawatsch* 'schwatzhafte, oft auch tölpelhafte, träge Person,' *klawatschen*, *lawatschen* 'viel schwätzen,' worüber s. *Mod. Phil.* IX, 181, 183). Schr. 134.

88. Els. *trakel* 'Krakeel, grosser Lärm': *trakele*ⁿ 'schreien, lärmern,' *trakeler* 'Schreier, Lärmmacher': bair. *tra(cks)* 'Becomplimentierung mit Trompeten- und Paukenschall, was Tusch' + (*kra*)*keel*, worüber s. *Mod. Phil.* IX, 182.

89. Els. *trakette* 'Rakete; Ohrfeige': bair. *tra(cks)* wie oben (oder im zweiten Sinne els. *trakiere*ⁿ 'quälen, schlagen, mishandeln, traktieren') + els. (*ra*)*kette* 'Rakete.'

90. Schwäb. *trappatsche* 'täppischer Mensch,' *pl.* 'zertretene Schuhe,' *trappatschen*ⁿ 'drein tapfen': *trapp(e)*ⁿ 'im Trab gehen; stampfen, schwer auftreten' (*trappdrein*ⁿ 'plumper, tölpischer Mensch') + (*tr*)*atsche* 'unbeholfener oder ungestalteter Mensch' (lux. *trattschen* 'schwerfällig auftreten').

91. Els. *trawakle*ⁿ 'angestrengt arbeiten; prügeln': *tra-*

(*walje*ⁿ) 'hart arbeiten' (frz. *travailler*) + *wacklen*ⁿ 'wackeln, wanken; prügeln,' oberhess. *wackeln* 'wanken; prügeln,' lothr. *wackele*ⁿ dass.

92. Els. *trawättle*ⁿ 'geziert gehn, schlendern; schnell, aber mit kleinen Schritten laufen, von Kindern u. alten Leuten': schwäb. *dra(tle)*ⁿ 'zwirnen, drillen; ohne Ernst, langsam, zerstreut arbeiten; zögern, langsam gehen; mit kleinen Schritten laufen' + els. *wädle*ⁿ 'schwerfällig laufen, von kleinen Kindern, rasch mit kurzen Schritten eilen; zimperlich gehn mit kurzen Schritten, von Weibspersonen.'

93. Schweiz. *fagäuggel* 'Possenreisser, Hanswurst, Spassvogel; einfältiger Mensch,' *fagäugge*ⁿ *fagügge*ⁿ 'komische Geberden': *fa(xe)*ⁿ 'Spässe, Possen, Tücke, drollige Streiche; Grimassen, auffallende od. lächerliche Geberden' + *gäuggel* 'Possenreisser, Hanswurst etc.,' *gäugge*ⁿ 'geckisch tändeln; zum Narren halten,' mhd. *goukel gougel* 'zauberisches Blendwerk; närrisches Treiben, Possen,' ahd. *gougarōn* 'umher-schweifen,' mhd. *gogeln* 'sich ausgelassen geberden, hin u. her flattern,' *gugen* 'schwanken' etc.

94. Schweiz. *fagöse*ⁿ 'komische Geberden': *fa(gügge)*ⁿ dass. + *gösse*ⁿ 'Tücke, Einfälle, Dummheiten,' frz. *gausse* 'Schnurre, Aufschneiderei.'

95. Schweiz. *fagüne*ⁿ 'Komische Geberden': *fag(ügge)*ⁿ dass. + (*fad*)*üne*, (*fatüne*, *fortune*) 'seltsame Geberden, Grimassen.'

96. Schweiz. *fagüngger* 'verächtliche Schelte auf einen erbärmlichen Menschen': *fa(gäuggel)* 'einfältiger Mensch' + *gunggele*ⁿ 'müßig herumschlendern,' schwäb. *gunkeler* 'Mensch mit schleppendem Gang,' els. *gunkel* 'Lump, Schnaps-säufer' etc.

97. Schweiz. *vagöle*ⁿ 'zwecklos herumschwärmen': *va(gie-re)*ⁿ + *göle*ⁿ 'gaffen.' So erklärt in Schweiz. *Id.*

98. Preuss. *fjuchel* (zur Verstärkung: *fjuchel vijöl* 'Windbeutel, Liederjan, namentlich von einem liederlichen Frauenzimmer, *fjucheln* 'windbeutelnd, liederlich, leichtfertig, abenteuernd sich umhertreiben, *fjuchlich* 'windbeutelnd usw. sich umhertreibend': *vi(jölen)* 'verlangend sich auf etwas freuen' + *jucheln* 'in Leichtsinne u. sinnlicher Lust leben, umher-schweifen,' *juchelig*.

99. Schwäb. *fasandel* 'leichtsinnige buhlerische Weibsperson; zweideutige herumziehende Weibsperson; Weib, das durch seinen Anzug auffallen will,' *fasandle* 'ohne bestimmtes Geschäft umhergehen,' *fasandlich* 'phantastisch gekleidet, mit fliegenden Bändern u. ä. versehen': *fas(eln)* 'tänzelnd, leichtsinnig, ausgelassen gebaren; unüberlegt, verwirrt reden' + schwäb. (f)*antel* 'Halbnarr' (*fänterlen* 'spielen, tänzeln,' *fante* 'narrischer, überspannter, phantastischer Mensch; herumstreichendes Weibsbild'). Vgl. *vagantel*: *vag(ieren)* + (f)*antel*.

100. Schwäb. *finassel* (*roter f.* 'Schimpfwort beim Militär,' *rote f.* 'desgleichen für ein rothaariges Frauenzimmer'): *fī(sel)* 'Faser; männliches Glied; Bursche, Kamerad' (els. *bechfisel* 'Schimpfname bei Fischart *Garg.* 311, *hundsfiel* 'Feiglinge, Schwächlinge' *Garg.* 407, vgl. Els. Wb. I, 149) + **nassel* (schwäb. *nässeln* 'nach Nässe riechen; den Trunk lieben' Schmid 402).

101. Schwäb. *fineiselt* 'regnet': *fī(sleⁿ)* 'fein regnen' (lothr. *fisleⁿ*, lux. *fiselen*, wflä. *fäseln*, ofries. *fiselen* dass.) + bair. *niseln* 'sachte, dünn, regnen' (els. *neiseⁿ* 'durch Schmutz wattend sich besudeln'). Vielleicht hierher schwäb. *finessleⁿ* 'weinen.'

102. Schwäb. *flattüseⁿ* 'Schmeischeleien': *flatt(erie)* 'Schmeichelei' (*flattiereⁿ* 'schmeicheln') + (f)*ūsen* (schwäb. *flauseⁿ* 'Umstände, Ceremonien, Ausflüchte; scherzhaft prahlerische Reden,' *flauseⁿ* 'gross sprechen; schmeicheln, sich anschniegen') oder (f)*ūsen* (schwäb. *fūseleⁿ* 'klein, zierlich, aber auch unleserlich schreiben; tänzeln, schmeicheln,' *fūseler* 'Weibernarr, Schmeichler' etc.).

103. Ne. *gallivant* 'gad about; spend time frivolously or in pleasure-seeking, esp. with the opposite sex': *gall(ant)* 'play the gallant toward a woman' + *levant* 'run away, decamp.'

104. Schweiz. *galaffeⁿ* 'gaffen, mit offenem Munde dastehn,' schwäb. *galaffe* 'Geck,' *golaffeⁿ* *feil haben* 'müssig im Dorf herum laufen': *ga(ffen)* + (g)*laffen* 'gaffen' (vgl. Mod. Phil. IX, 180) oder els. *ga(leⁿ)* 'gaffen' + (g)*laffen* oder *gal(en)* + (g)*affen*. Schr. 21.

105. Schweiz. *galanggeⁿ* 'nachlässig gehen, schlendern, schleichen; wankend gehen, faulenzen, langsam arbeiten':

schwäb. *ga(nkele)* 'langsam schwingen' (oder schweiz. *ga(lle)* 'spielen; sich müssig herumtreiben; sitzend schaukeln') + schweiz. *(g)langge* 'schaukeln; baumeln; langsam schwankend, unsicher gehen, schlendern; langsam, lässig arbeiten.' Vgl. das folg.

106. Schwäb. *galankes* 'hochgewachsener Mann mit nachlässigem Gang': *gal(e)* 'langer, dürrer Mensch' + *(g)ankes* (*gankele* 'langsam schwingen,' *gunkes* 'alter Mann, lendenlahmer Spielmann,' *gunkele* 'hin u. her schwanken,' *gunkeler* 'Mensch mit schleppendem Gang,' *ginke* 'schaukeln' etc.) oder vielleicht besser zu dem Vorhergehenden. Vgl. els. *schlanggankel* 'langer, schlanker, unbeholfener Mensch': *schlank(el)* 'ein langer, träger Mensch' + *gänkel* 'tänzelnder, närrischer Mensch,' *gankel* 'lose Weiberjacke.'

107. Schwäb. *gallunkel* fem. Schimpfwort: *gall(e)* 'Dummkopf' + els. *(g)unkel* m. 'Lump, Schnapssäufer; f. Säuferin' (schweiz. *gunggele* 'etwas Baumelndes; träge, nachlässig u. schmutzig gekleidete Weibsperson,' els. *gunkle* 'umherlaufen; Wein über die Strasse verkaufen,' schwäb. *gunkele* etc.). Oder *gallunkel*: *ga(nkel)* + *(g)lunkel* zu Nr. 105. Vgl. schwäb. *glunk* 'liederliches Frauenzimmer,' els. *glunki* 'hängender baumelnder Körper; langsamer, dummer Mensch; einer der im Hemd od. leichten Nachtwamms umher geht,' *glunke* 'schlaff herabhängen; schlendern' etc.

108. Schweiz. *gulungger* 'ein verächtliches, schlechtes Ding in seiner Art, lebendig od. leblos': *gu(nggle)* 'baumeln, schaukeln, wackeln' + *(g)lungger* (*glungge* 'schaukeln, schwanken, baumeln, lose, schlaff herabhängen; nachlässig, bes. in schlottrig am Leibe hängenden Kleidern u. mit schlaffen Gliedern müssig, zwecklos, träge, schwankend umher gehen, schlendern, bummeln' etc.). Vgl. Nr. 105.

109. Schwäb. *galluri* 'dummer, alter Kerl': *gall(e)* 'Dummkopf' + els. *(l)uri* 'Faulenzer, langsamer Mensch' (*lure* 'heimlich aufpassen; faulenzten, umherschlendern; halb schlafen, halb wachen,' mhd. *lüren* 'lauern') oder *(gl)uri* 'Schiefer' (*glure* 'anstarren, begaffen; schielen, blinzeln,' mnd. *glüren* 'blinzeln, lauernd blicken').

110. Schwäb. *galättere* 'schnell springen': *gal(abren)*

‘laufen, springen, jagen’ + els. (*g*)*ättere*ⁿ ‘schnell laufen, fliegen.’

111. Schwäb. *gallatten* ‘nach der Obsternte (am Gallustag, 16. Okt.) das Obst von den Bäumen herunter tun’: *gall(eⁿ)* dass. + (*g*)*atten* (mhd. *gaten* ‘zskommen; vereinigen,’ *ver-gatern* ‘vereinigen, versammeln,’ ne. *gather* ‘sammeln, versammeln; pflücken, lesen’).

112. Schwäb. *gänaffe*, *ginaffe* ‘der untätig Hinstarrende,’ *g. feil haben* ‘müßig, dumm herumlungern’: *gän(eⁿ)*, *gin(eⁿ)* ‘den Mund aufsperrn’ (*gänmauleⁿ* = *gänaffen feil haben*) + (*g*)*affen*.

113. Österr. *gramâschi*, *kramâschi* ‘Gerümpel, vielerlei bunt durcheinander geworfene Sachen’: steir. *gram(uri)* ‘Gerümpel, Plunderzeug; Unordnung, wüstes Durcheinander,’ (*gramuren* ‘Unordnung machen, durcheinanderwerfen, wühlend suchen, rumoren’) + (*gr*)*âschi* (**gerâschi*, *râschen* ‘Geräusch machen, rasseln’). Schr. 128, 203f.

114. Bair. *grâmêisch* ‘Haufen unordentlich zsgeworfener Sachen, Gerümpel’: *gram-* wie oben (oder *kram*) + (*gr*)*eisch* (*geräusch*). Schr. 103f.

115. Wfäm. *grameien*, *grameelen* ‘glimlachen, monkeln,’ ‘sourire,’ (Kil.) *gremeelen* ‘subridere, renidere’: *grim-gram-* (*grimmen* ‘ducere vultus, contrahere rugas’ Kil., ‘grimlachen, monkeln, sourire’ De Bo) + (*gr*)*eien* ‘plaître, agréer.’

116. Schweiz. *kramausi* ‘Mengsel von Speisen’: *gram*-Nr. 113 + (*kr*)*ausi* (schweiz. *apfelchrausi* ‘saure Äpfel u. Kartoffeln untereinander gemischt’ etc.). Schr. 128f.

117. Schweiz. *gramusi*, *kramusi* ‘das Kitzeln, Kribbeln,’ *kramuseln* ‘krabbeln, klettern,’ *gramuslen*, *gramüslen* ‘leise kitzeln, krabbeln’: *gram(sen)* ‘mit voller Hand, mit Klemmung betasten; krabbeln, jucken; wurmen, nagen’ + (*gr*)*useln*. Schr. 105.

118. Schweiz. *granitz(l)er*, *gränitzler* ‘mit Kleinwaaren, Nippsachen hausierender Krämer; Schmuggler,’ *granitzlen* ‘den Beruf eines Granitzlers treiben’: *gran-kran-* (*krinnen* ‘auskerben, auszacken; herummarkten’) + (*gr*)*ützen* ‘schaben; schnitzeln; hörbar nagen; keifen, zanken; Kleinhandel treiben.’ Schr. 105f.

119. Els. *kriwat* ‘kränkliche Person,’ *kriwatteⁿ* ‘kränkeln’:

kriw- (*grüblig* 'empfindlich, pünktlich; fast ohnmächtig,' lothr. *kriewelich* 'nervös, reizbar') + els. (*gr*)*ätte* 'beim Gehen die Beine spreizen; in die Kniee sinken, wie alte oder müde Leute' (*grattle* 'auf Händen u. Füßen gehn, kriechen, mühsam gehn' etc.). Schr. 130.

120. Els. *kapetuts* 'langer Mantel': *kaput* 'Kapuzenmantel der frz. Soldaten; weiter Bauermantel' + (*kap*)*uz* 'Kapuze; weiter Fuhrmannsmantel.' Schr. 203.

121. Lothr. *kappeisen* refl. 'sich zanken, streiten, prügeln': *kapp(en)* 'ohrfeigen, durchprügeln' + (**k*)*eisen* (nl. nd. *kēsen*, *kisen* 'beissen,' ofries. 'Zähne fletschen u. grinsen, die sichtbaren Zähne vor Wut aufeinander beissen'). Vgl. *kabbesern*: *kabb(eln)* + (*k*)*ēsern* (Mod. Phil. IX, 181).

122. Wfläm. *kastuifel* 'Klunten, lomperik,' 'Lump': *karst* (*spr. kaste*) 'Kruste, Rinde Wundschorf' + (*k*)*uifel* 'Lump.'

123. Els. *klafinzle* (scherzh.) 'Klavier spielen': *klav(iere)* dass + steir. (*kl*)*inzeln* 'hell tönen, glockentonartige Geräusche hervorbringen; klingeln.'

124. Schwäb. *kluvergle* 'nach der Obsternte das Obst von den Bäumen herunter tun': els *klu(ble)* 'aussuchen, auslesen' (nhd. *klauben* etc.) + schwäb. (*after*)*vergle* 'erlaubte Nachlese nach der Ernte halten an fremden Obstbäumen, Weinbergen, auch auf Kartoffeläckern.'

125. Luxemb. *krabez* 'Eigensinn,' *krabezech*, *krabâzech* 'eigensinnig': ofries. *krab(big)* 'kratzig, streit- u. zanksüchtig, widerhaarig, widerstrebend' + lux. (*kr*)*âzech* 'kratzig, widerhaarig.'

126. Köln. *krabitz* 'zänkische, unverträgliche Person,' *krabitzig* 'zänkisch': *krab(big)* + (*kr*)*itz-ig* (*kritzen* 'zanken, streiten'). Schr. 123.

127. Lux. *krabull* 'Streit': *krab-* (s. oben) + (*kr*)*ull* (ofries. *krul*, *krol* 'kraus, lockig; frech, keck,' wfries. *krol* 'kraus; launig, eigen-, steifsinnig, etc.).

128. Els. *krabutz* 'Kopf; Kragen; pl. kleine Kinder': *krab(be)* 'kleiner runder Seekrebs; (bildlich) regsames muntres Kind, regsames muntres kleines Tier' + els. (*kr*)*utze* 'Kerngehäuse des Obstes; Knirps, auch kosend von einem Kind.' Schr. 124.

129. Els. *gragel kràkél* 'Hals': *kra(gen)* + *kehle*.

130. Frühnhd. *cramanzen* 'schnörkeln; Possen treiben,' els. *kramänzele* meist Pl. 'Schnörkel, Verzierungen in Schrift, Druck, Malerei (Anfangsbuchstaben), modischer Kleidung,' *kramanze* 'schnörkelhaft ausschneiden, künstlich verzieren, schnitzen; schnörkeln mit Feder, Pinsel, ironisch auch: schlecht schreiben' etc.: *kram-* 'zsziehen' (mhd. *krimmen* 'die Klauen zum Fange krümmen; kratzen, kneipen, zwicken,' *kram* 'Krampf,' els. *kramme* 'kratzen,' *krimsel kramsel* 'Geschreibsel,' nhd. *krumm* etc.) + els. *(kr)änzele* = *kramänzele* (*gekränzel* 'feine Schnitzarbeit,' *kranz* etc.). Schr. 112ff.

131. Schweiz. *kramutz* 'Kleinigkeit': *kram-* 'zsziehen' (s. Nr. 130) + *(kr)utz* Nr. 132. Schr. 124.

132. Osterländ. *kramutzchen* 'Läuse': schweiz. *chram(slen)* 'wimmeln, krabbeln, kribbeln; prickeln, jucken' (els. *kramme* 'kratzen' etc.) + *(kr)utzchen* (*krutzeln, krützel* 'kitzeln'). Schr. 129.

133. Steir. *kremeisseln* 'langsam herumgreifen, tändeln': *krem-* (*krammen* 'kratzen') + **(kr)öuzeln* (mhd. *krouz* 'Krebs'). Schr. 130.

134. Els. *kremisi* 'Missgestalt; melancholischer Mensch': bair. *krem(mi)* 'krampfzig, zsggezogen, steif von langem Knieen, Sitzen, Liegen in gekrümmter u. gezwungener Stellung; zsgeschrumpft, mager, kränklich, schwächlich' (mhd. *kram, krimmen* etc.) + **(kr)isi* (zu mhd. *krisen* 'kriechen'?).

135. Mecklenb. *krawaugeln* 'kriechen,' altmärk. *krawauln* 'von Kindern gebraucht, die aus Übermut sich im Bette hin u. her wälzen, dabei jauchzend u. singend allerlei Kurzweil treiben; von Erwachsenen gebraucht man es, wenn ein arbeitsfähiger stets beschäftigt ist, ohne etwas Ordentliches zu leisten': meckl. *kraw(weln)* 'krauen, krabbeln, kriechen' + altmärk. *(kr)auln* 'kriechen, klettern, bes. von Kindern gebraucht, welche die Hände gebrauchen, um sich fortzubewegen; sich viel beschäftigen, unaufhörlich in Tätigkeit sein, mit dem Nebenbegriff, dass die Arbeit eben keine schwere war' (hamburg. *kraweln* 'kriechen, klettern, arbeitsam sich bewegen,' ne. *crawl* 'kriechen'). Schr. 223.

136. Fläm. dial. *krawietelen* 'kriewelen, krevelen,' 'jucken, stechen': *inl. crawl(en)* (*crawwen*) 'krauen, kratzen' + **(kr)ietelen* (mnl. *criten* 'eine Kreislinie machen,' mhd. *kri-*

zen dass.; auch 'kratzen,' ahd. *krizzōn* 'einritzen,' nhd. *kritzeln* 'kratzend fein schreiben,' norw. *kritla* 'kribbeln, jucken').

137. Wfläm. *krawijtelen* 'gedurig en gemeenlijk op eenen klagenden toon een klein keelgeluid geven, kriemen': mnl. *crauw(en)* 'kwaken, van kikkers; rommelen, van darmen' + (*cr*)*īten* 'weinen.'

138. Wfläm. *kremijtelen* 'was *krawijtelen*': *krem-* (mnl. *kermen carmen* 'wehklagen') + *(*kr*)*ijtelen* (mnl. *crīten*).

139. Wfläm. *krevikkelen* 'met den vinger, meet een mes, enz. aan iets peuteren, krabben of kerven': *krev(elen)* 'krauen, kratzen' + *(*kr*)*ikkelen* (mnd. *kriken* 'streicheln,' ndl. *zaan. krikkemikken* 'sich hin u. her bewegen').

140. Wfläm. *krevittelen* 'was *krevikkelen*': *krev(elen)* + *(*kr*)*ittelen*, Dem. von *kritten* 'schaben, kratzen' etc. Vgl. Nr. 136.

141. Wfläm. *krevitselen* 'sterk krevelen,' 'krauen, krabbeln,' *krevitsel* 'kitzlig, empfindlich, mürrisch': *krev(elen)* + (*kr*)*itsen* 'twist zoeken of maken, tergende of spottende met iemand handelen.' Vgl. Nr. 136.

142. Wfläm. *kwabbedoel* 'wabbelachtig mensch, iemand die vadsig is en slap van vleesch': *kwabbe(l)* 'een klomp die, door zijn inwendig vocht of vet, licht bewogen wordt en rilt' (o-fries. *kwabbel* 'Wamme, Wange, weicher Fett- oder Fleischwulst, weicher Klumpen etc., namentl. unter dem Halse; eine Person, die sehr dick, feist, schwerfällig u. unbehülflich ist u. an der alles quabbelt,' wfäl. *kwabbel* 'fetter, hervorschwellender Körperteil' etc.) + wfäm. *doel* 'Dreckhaufen; Erdhügel; Gesäss ('agger, aggesta terra, in quam sagittarii iaculantur sagittas' Kil.).

143. Wfläm. *kwadoel* 'was *kwabbedoel*; Gesäss': mnl. *qua(dele)* 'pukkel, puist' (ahd. *chwadilla quedilla* 'Hautbläschen') + wfäm. *doel*. Vgl. bes. rhein. *quattel* 'kleines, dickes Kind,' schwäb. *quattle* 'dicker, fetter Junge mit watschelndem Gang,' Nr. 145.

144. Els. *quadeterle* (*kwätétərlə*) 'Gefängniss': steir. *qua(trā)* 'Gefängnis' + els. (*ka*)*thederle* (*khätétərlə*) 'Gefängnis, Zuchthaus.'

145. Els. *quadeterle* 'Gesäss': schwäb. *qua(ttle)* 'ein dicker, fetter Junge mit watschelndem Gang' (*quätten* 'fetter,

voller Bauch,' schweiz. *quadi* 'vornehm gekleideter, vornehm tuender Mann; herrschsüchtiger Mann; (grosser) dicker, vierschrötiger Mann') + els. **deterle* 'eine weiche Masse' (*datterig dätterig* 'zitternd; weich, teigig, von Obst,' schwäb. *däterig* 'sehr weich, etwa von Butter oder ganz jungem Kalbfleisch' etc. s. Nr. 32).

146. Els. *quadutter* 'breites Hosengesäss, der Hintere; einer der in allen Dingen hinten nach kommt,' *quadutteri* 'dicker Junge,' *quadutterig* 'weit u. lose anliegend, von Kleidungsstücken, bes. Hosen': schwäb. *qua(ttle)* + els. *dutter* 'der Hintere; aufgebundene Haartracht,' *dutterig* 'weit, von Kleidungsstücken,' *dutteri* 'langsamer Mensch; Schwächling,' *duttere* 'vor Kälte zittern; *unpers.* bange sein,' *duttele* 'langsam gehn; nachlässig arbeiten,' *duttlig* 'langsam, unbeholfen; dumm' etc., germ. Wz. *dud-* 'schütteln; zittern, schlottern, etc.' Vgl. Nr. 33.

147. Schweiz. *chustiere* 'kosten, schmecken,' *ch(oste)* 'kosten' + (*g*)*ustiere* dass.

148. Schweiz. *labuschi* 'läppischer Kerl, Töpel': *lab(et)* 'einfältig, läppisch' + (*l*)*uschi* 'Schimpfwort auf ein Weib, Metze, Dirne.' Schr. 43.

149. Els. *ladutteri* 'langer Mensch': *la(tte)* 'Latte; grosse, schlanke Person' + *dutteri* 'langsamer Mensch; Schwächling.'

150. Els. *lapantúri* 'langer, dummer Mensch': *laband(er)* 'langer, schlaffer Mensch' (vorüber s. Mod. Phil. IX, 183) + els. (*l*)*uri* 'Faulenzer, langsamer Mensch' (*lure* 'heimlich aufpassen; faulenzen; halb schlafen, halb wachen').

151. Els. *läppäprisch* 'elend, schwach': *läpp(isch)* 'unordentlich; matt, entkräftet; lau' + *(*l*)*äprisch*, (*lapperig* 'schlaff, kraftlos'). Schr. 206f.

152. Els. *läppätisch* (*lapatiš*) 'läppisch, verkehrt; unwohl, schief': *lä(pp)isch* + *bēt (pāt)* 'müde, matt, ausgesogen, mitellos, beim Bête-Spiel; unfähig, beiseite geschoben.'

153. Els. *madaüdel* 'dummes Mädchen': *ma(dam)* (vgl. *dreckmadam*, *hosenmadam* 'jüngeres Mädchen, das zu lange Unterhosen trägt,' *hundsmadämmel* 'aufgeputztes, unnatürliches Frauenzimmer' etc. Els. Wb. I, 650) + *daüdel* 'geistig beschränkter Mensch.' Vgl. *badaudel* Nr. 30.

154. Els. *madülle* 'unbedeutende, kränkliche Person; widerliche Frau; träge, schlappe Weibsperson': *ma(dam)* + schwäb. *dull* 'Dohle; Schimpfwort für Weiber: faule, lumpige; wüste; liederliche.'

155. Els. *madüt* (*mätyt*) 'dummes Mädchen': *ma(dam)* + *dutt* (*tyt*) 'dummes Mädchen' (*dutti* 'dummes Frauenzimmer,' *dottel* 'geistesschwacher Mensch; dummer Mensch,' *daudel daüdel* etc. Nr. 30).

156. Luxemb. *maläkech* 'krank, schlecht aufgelegt': frz. *mal(ade)* + lux. (*m*) *äkech* 'matt, schwach.'

157. Kärnt. *manusch'ln* 'etwas verstohlen tun': steir. *man(teln)* heimlich listige Handgriffe tun, um zu täuschen, an etwas heimlich herumgreifen, um Verwechslungen vorzunehmen (z. B. um falsch zu spielen), heimlich verwirren, fälschend vermengen oder mengen' (auch *manken*) + hess. (*m*) *uscheln* 'heimlich, bes. aber betrügerisch verfahren.' Schr. 50.

158. Wfläm. *marankel maronkel* 'verhaal zonder slot of zin, ongerijmd verdictsel, dwaze leugen': *mar(ien)* 'murmeln' + mnl. (*m*) *onken* 'murren, verdriesslich sein' (frühnl. *monckelen* 'leise, heimlich reden,' nhd. *munkeln*). Dass gleichbed. *marantsel* ist eine Kreuzung von *ma(rankel)* + *rantsel*, s. Nr. 186.

159. Köln. *marauz*, Dem. *maräuzche* 'seltsam gemustertes Frauenzimmer, gewöhnlich ein Ausdruck für Puppe': frz. *mar(ionette)* 'an Drähten gezogene Theaterpuppe mit beweglichen Gliedern' (*Marion*, luxemb. *marjongeli* 'lächerlich aufgeputztes Frauenzimmer') + nhd. dial. (*m*) *auze* 'vulva.' Schr. 50.

160. Luxemb. *marjutzel* 'leichtsinniges Frauenzimmer': *marj(ongeli)* 'lächerlich aufgeputztes Frauenzimmer' + bair. (*m*) *utzel* 'vulva' (*mutz*, *mutzen* dass.).

161. Els. *maritzle*ⁿ 'verderben, zerreißen': bair. *mer(ren)* 'in Unordnung bringen, verderben' + els. (*m*) *ützle*ⁿ 'verderben, verstören, zerreißen.' Schr. 51. Oder aus els. *mar(izle)*ⁿ + (*m*) *ützle*ⁿ.

162. Nordhsn. *marunkel* 'grosse Pflaume,' thür. *marunke*, *marunkel* 'Eierpflaume,' 'Art kleiner gelber Aprikosen; grosse gelbe Eierpflaume' Weigand ⁵ II, 137: *mar(ille)* 'Aprikose' + (*m*) *unk*, (*m*) *unkel* 'breit u. dick.' Die Nebenformen

malonken hat ihr *l* von *mellele* bei Duez 30 (vgl. Weigand a. a. O.) Schr. 51.

163. Wfläm. *maskuize* 'malheur, accident': *mesch(ief)* 'malheur, fâcheuse aventure' (frz. *méchef*) + (*mes*)uis 'misbruik, laakbare doening, wanbedrijf' (Kil. *mesus* 'abusus, delictum,' frz. *mésus*). *Westol. Id.*² 589.

164. Luxemb. *matutsch* 'altes, zahnloses Weib,' *matutschech* 'alt u. zahnlos': els. *mät(scheⁿ)* 'mit zahnlosem Munde kauen; zu Brei kauen' (*mätschel* 'alte Frau') + mhd. (*m*)utsche 'ein Brot von geringerer Grösse u. Beschaffenheit; mürbes Gebäck in dreieckiger oder Halbmondform' (els. *motscheⁿ mutscheⁿ* 'missratener, schlecht gebackener Laib Brot; untersetzter, dicker, kurzer, plumper Mensch,' *dampmütschel* 'Dampfnudel,' *mutschig* 'schlecht gebacken' etc.).

165. Wfläm. *padoel* 'der Hintere, Gesäss': lat. *po(dex)*? + wfläm. *doel* 'Gesäss.' Vgl. *kwabbedoel, kwadoel*, Nr. 142, 143.

166. Wfläm. *palodderen* 'streicheln, schmeicheln,' 'cajoler': mnl. *pa(leren)* 'aufputzen, schmücken; polieren' + *lodderen* 'Possenreissen' (*lodderlicken aensien* 'molli adspicere vultu, blandis aspicere ocellis,' mhd. *loter* 'Schelm; Gaukler, Possenreisser').

167. Wfläm. *paloesteren* 'lamoezen, paluffen, streelen,' 'cajoler': mnl. *pal(eren)* + (*pl*)uusteren 'pluizen, plukken' (nl. *pluizen* 'Flocken abpflücken; schlicht kratzen,' frühnl. *pluysen* 'polire, comere, ornare, mundare, scalpere, tergere, detergere, extergere' Kilian).

168. Wfläm. *paluffen* 'streicheln, liebkosen; schmeicheln; schmeichelnd betrügen, foppen': mnl. *pal(eren)* 'polieren, glätten' + (*bl*)uffen 'schlagen, klopfen' (nd. *bluffen* 'durch Gebärden u. Wort Furcht einjagen, poltern' etc.).

169. Wfläm. *palul* 'ein plumper, träger Mensch,' preuss. *pelull* 'schlafmütziger, beschränkter Mensch, langsam in Gang, Rede u. bei der Arbeit': *pa-* (woher?) + wfl. *lul* 'lamlendige vent, die lui en traag is in 't werk, sammelaar, treuzelaar,' *lullen* 'slap en traag zijn in 't werk, geen en voortgang maken, zijnen tijd verluieren en vertalmen,' ofries. *lüllen* 'seine Zeit mit Faseleien u. sonstigen Dummheiten od. Narrheiten verbringen, tändeln,' ne. *lott* 'träge liegen.'

170. Wfläm. *palulle* 'Pfannkuchen': *pa(létte)* 'Pfannkuchen' + *lulle* dass.

171. Wfläm. *palulle* 'Lappen, Fetzen': *pa-* + ofries. *lülle* 'Fetzen, Lappen, bz. schlechtes, wertloses, unnützes Etwas.'

172. Wfläm. *palullen* 'aus Scherz od. Mutwillen plagen, reizen, quälen,' *aan iets gepaluld zijn* 'an etwas betrogen sein': *pa-* + *lullen* 'schwatzen, faseln; betrügen,' ofries. *lüllen* 'schwatzen, faseln, lügen; beschwatzen, hinters Licht führen, zum Besten haben, vexiren.' Mnl. *palullen* 'sich aufzieren, sich herausputzen' (aus *paleren* 'aufputzen, -zieren' + ?) gehört nicht hierher.

173. Schles. *pamuchel* 'Duckmäuser, geduckter Mensch,' altmärk. *pomochl* 'ein kurzes dickes Kind,' preuss. *pamuchel* *pomuchel* 'eine Dorschart': nl. *po(chel)* 'Buckel, Höcker' (mnd. *poche* 'Blatter, Pustel,' ae. *pohha* 'pouch, bag' etc.) + *muchel* (nl. *moggel* 'dickes fettes Kind, Watschel, eine Frau mit schlotterndem Fettbauch,' schles. *muchel* 'Scheltwort, etwa: tückischer Mensch,' mdh. *mocke* 'Klumpen; bildl. plumper, ungebildeter Mensch'). Schr. 52f.

174. Schles. *pamuffel* 'Duckmäuser, geduckter Mensch,' *pamuffelsgeschichte* 'Schelte,' *pomuffelsköppe* 'Spitzname der Gollnower in Pommern' (etwa 'Dickköpfe'): *po(mmel)* (wfäl. *pommel pummel* 'rundes Ding,' hamb. *pummel* 'kleines rundes Ding od. Mensch,' ofries. *pummel pümmel* 'ein kurzes, dickes, untersetztes, unförmliches u. rundlich-volles Etwas od. Ding,' *pummelig* 'dick, rund, unförmlich u. watschelig, bz. aufgetrieben, aufgebauscht od. bauschig, locker, nachlässig,' preuss. *pummel* 'etwas Umwickeltes, Bepummeltes; kleines dickes Kind, kleiner dicker Mensch,' *pammlich* 'dicht, dick, voll,' daneben germ. *pamp-*, *pump-* in preuss. *pumpel* 'kleiner, im Wachstum zurückgebliebener Mensch; Person, die viele Kleider unförmlich über einander gezogen hat,' *pümpel* 'Tölpel,' ofries. *pumpel* 'dicke, plumpe, watschelig gehende Person, od. auch dicke, plumpe, nachlässig gekleidete Person,' els. *pfumpf* 'Stoss; knorriger Auswuchs an einem Baumstamm; kleine, kugelige Nase; dicker, kleiner Kerl,' schwäb. *pfümpfel* 'grober, unbehilflicher Mensch,' norw. dial. *pump* 'liden tyk og tung figur,' *pumpen*, schwed. dial. *pampen* 'aufgeschwollen' etc.) + els. *muffel* 'hässlicher Mund, Maul.'

Oder *pom(mel)* + (*p*)uffel (nd. *puffen* 'aufbauschen,' *puff* 'Bausch' etc.). Schr. 54.

175. Wfläm. *patofelen* 'teedertjes bezorgen, kloesteren, toefelen,' 'zärtlich pflegen, gütlich tun': *pa-* (vielleicht aus *pamperen* 'bekeukelen steukelen, kloesteren, teedertjes bezorgen') + *toefelen* 'lamoezen, teedertjes toeven, bekukkelen, vriendelijk dienen en bezorgen, kloesteren' (*toeven* 'liefskozen, toef doen,' 'blandiri' Kil.). Oder hier wird vielleicht *pa* als ein Präfix gefühlt: *pa-lodderen, pa-loesteren, pa-luffen*.

176. Wfläm. *patuit* 'wordt gezeid van iets dat kleen is,' 'Knirps': frz. *pet(it)* + wfläm. (*p*)uit 'Knirps.'

177. Wfläm. *perdjakken perdjokken* (auch *ker-djakken, -djokken*, worüber s. Mod. Phil. IX, 189ff.) 'geweltig djokken, hard schokken, hossebossen,' 'cahoter': *per-* (mnl. *porren* 'bewegen, rühren,' wfläm. *porren purren pirren* dass., preuss. *pernen* 'jagen,' mnd. *porren purren* 'mit einem spitzen Instrumente in eine Sache stecken od. in ihr herumwühlen,' dän. *purre* 'rühren, stören' etc) + *djakken* 'faire claquer le gros fouet,' *djokken* 'hard stooten, schokken,' 'choquer, heurter.' Oder *per-* kann hier ein Präfix sein oder wenigstens als solches gefühlt werden. Ähnlicherweise in den folgenden: Wfläm. *pardaffen, pardaven, par-, perdoeven* 'knallen; mit lautem Geräusch niederschlagen oder fallen': *doef* 'Stoss, Schlag,' ofries. *dafen daven* 'klopfen, pochen, stossen, stampfen, Geräusch machen, poltern, dröhnen, schüttern,' *dafern* 'klopfen, hämmern; dröhnen, zittern,' mnd. *daveren* 'ein zitterndes Geräusch machen,' nl. *daveren* 'erschüttert, bewegt werden, beben, dröhnen' etc.). Hierher gehören natürlich *pardaf, pardoeft*.—*Pernokkelen,—nukkelen* 'preutelen, morren,' 'murmurer': nl. *nokken* 'schluchzen,' mnd. *nucken* 'seine Unzufriedenheit äussern durch Kopfschütteln, Murmeln.'—Nl. *pardoes perdoes* 'pardauz!,' mnd. *pardūs*: frühnl. *doesen* 'pulsare cum impetu et fragore' Kil. Danach bildet sich *pardauz* aus *pard(ūs)* + (*b*)auz oder (*pl*)auz.—Zaan *parlot perlot* 'Anteil, Portion': *lot* 'Los, Anteil (hier eigentlich aus *par(te)* 'Teil' + *lot*).—Preuss. *pardömpel* 'Dümpel, Pfütze mit schmutzigem Wasser': *dömpel* 'Tümpel, Wasserloch, Pfütze.'—*Permucksch* 'muckisch, mürrisch, maulend':

mucksch dass., *mucken* 'in halblauten, vereinzelt Tönen üble Laune zeigen.'—*Perwupps*, *pawupps*: *wupps*.

178. Wfläm. *perlompen* 'plumpen, in 't water plotsen': *per-* Präfix + (*p*)*lompen*. Danach *perdjompen* 'plumpen': *perdj(okken)* s. oben + (*perl*)*ompen* oder (*pl*)*ompen*.

179. Wfläm. *pernuttelen* 'prutteln, knoteren,' 'murmurer, grommeler': *pern(ukkelen)* s. oben + (*pr*)*uttelen* 'brodeln, sieden; murmeln' (mnl. *protelen* 'prutteln,' nl. *portelen* *preutelen* dass., mnd. *protelen* 'schwatzen, plaudern,' *proten* 'schwatzen,' mnl. *proten* dass., nhd. *protzeln* etc.).

180. Wfläm. *poeljompen* 'plumpen, plonzen': *poel(en)* 'plassen, plumpen' + (*perd*)*jompen* 'plumpen.' Wahrscheinlich sind *paldjompen*, *poldjompen*, *paltjompen* 'plumpen, plonzen' aus *polteren* (groning. 'al spoelende wasschen,' nhd. *poltern*) + *perdjompen*.

181. Preuss. *podempel* 'Sumpf, Pfütze': luxemb. *pu(ddel)* 'Pfütze' (lux. *puddeln* 'manschen, im Wasser herumrühren,' ofries. *pudeln* *puddeln* 'schüttelnd u. plätschernd baden od. waschen,' ne. *puddle* 'Pfütze, Schlammloch,' els. *pfuttel* 'Haufen Kot,' schwäb. *pfudel* 'Kanal, Dohle Pfütze' etc.) + preuss. *dömpel* 'Tümpel, Pfütze.' Oder *podempel* Nebenform von *perdempel*, s. oben.

182. Magdeb.-nd. *rabantern* 'geschäftig, unruhig sein': *rab-* (vgl. nhd. *rabbeln* 'sich hurtig hin- u. herbewegen; sich geschäftig um jem. bemühen; sich unvernünftig gebaren,' schweiz. *räbelen* 'lärmen, poltern,' els. *rapple* 'dass.; tanzen,' *rappel* 'Geklapper; lärmender Tanz; närrischer, verrückter Einfall,' nl. *rabbeln* 'geschwind u. unverständlich reden' etc., mhd. *reben* 'sich rühren') + wfäl. (*r*)*antern* 'sich herumtummeln, balgen; schwatzen' (ne. *rant* 'hochtrabend sprechen, schwärmen, wüten').

In ähnlicher Weise bilden sich: Thür. *rabanzen* 'geschäftig sein, lärmend wirthschaften,' els. *rawanzen* 'tolles Wesen treiben, herum rasen': *rab-* + mhd. (*r*)*anzen* 'ungestüm hin u. her springen'; nass. rhein. *rabâschen* 'geschäftig sein,' leipz. *rawâschen* 'lärmen, jagen bes. von Kindern, wie tobsen': *rab-* + (*r*)*aschen* 'eilig, rasch wozu kommen; Geräusch machen, rasseln, klirren'; preuss. *rabasen* *rabosen* 'tollen, rasen, lärmern,' els. *rabose* 'lärmend streiten, von Kindern': *rab-* +

(*r*)*asen*; preuss. *rabasseln rabasteln* 'geräuschvoll hantieren, lärmend herumwirtschaften, rasselnd arbeiten, mit Geräusch aufräumen': *rab-* + (*r*)*asseln*, (*r*)*asteln* (schweiz. *rasten* 'keine Ruhe geniessen, in einer anhaltenden Bewegung begriffen sein'); oberhess. *rabastern* 'zanken, streiten,' *rabaster* 'jem., der vor aller Geschäftigkeit nie zur Ruhe kommt etc.': *rab-* + altmärk. (*r*)*astern* 'rasseln,; schles. *rabatzen* 'tätig, geschäftig sein,' *rumrabatzen* 'herumschaffen, geschäftig u. tätig sich bewegen,' berlin. 'wild spielen, wie die Kinder z. B. auf dem Sofa tun,': *rab-* + nass. (*r*)*atzen* refl. 'sich zum Zeitvertreib mit jem. herumreissen, jagen, toben (im guten Sinne), sich wechselweise necken, wie z. B. junge Leute, Verliebte tun; berlin. *rabauz* 'grober Kerl,' schweiz. *rabauzen* 'bezeichnet das Wesen eines Menschen, der auffahrend u. rasch, reizbar u. empfindlich mehr in Worten u. Gebärden als in Handlungen ist, zum Teil das Wesen eines cholerischen Temperaments': *rab-* + schweiz. (*r*)*autzen* 'in einem auffahrennden, pochenden Tone sprechen'; thür. *rabessen* 'tüchtig arbeiten': *rab-* + (*r*)*essen* 'graben, hauen'; mnd. *rabūse*, holst. *rebuus rabuus* 'Unruhe u. Geräuschvolle Verwirrung': *rab-* + ofries. *rūse* 'Geräusch, Lärm, Unruhe, Getümmel, Wirrwarr, Unordnung' etc. Schr. 58ff.

183. Wfläm. *rabotsen rabotselen, ravotsen ravotselen* 'badiner, folâtrer d'une manière bruyante; faire du tintamarre, du tapage': *rab-* wie oben + (*r*)*otsen* 'hard rijden te wagen of te peerde; hard loopen te voet.'

184. Wfläm. *rabuischen* 'Lärm machen': *rab-* + (*r*)*uischen* 'brausen, rauschen.'

185. Bair. *rabatschen* 'Spottbenennung einer ältlichen Weibsperson': lothr. lux. *rab(bel)* 'altes, abgenutztes Gerät; leichtsinniges Frauenzimmer' (lothr. *rabbeldorr* 'rappeldürr, sehr dürr od. mager,' *rabbelich* 'was leicht klappert,' weil schlecht befestigt' etc.) + bair. (*r*)*adschen* 'schwatzhafte Person' (*rätschen radschen* 'klappern, schwatzen,' tirol. *rätsch* 'geschwätzige Alte' etc.). Schr. 62f.

186. Wfläm. *ramantsel* 'hetzelfde als rantsel, rantel, dwaas verhall, dwaze praat,' 'albernes Geschwätz,' nl. fläm. *ram(melen)* 'schelten, lärmern, klappern, plappern' (ofries. *rammeln* 'wiederholt u. öfters stossen, schlagen, klopfen od. mit

Lärm hin u. her stossen od. schlagen, klappern, lärmern') + wfläm. (*r*)*antsel* 'dwaze praat,' 'radotage.'

187. Wfläm. *ramenten* 'met handen en voeten hevig werken en gedruisch maken, om ergens door-, los-, uit- of in te geraken,' ofries. *ramenten rementen ramentern* 'Unruhe u. Lärm machen, toben, rumoren, herumreissen, wühlen, rütteln, zurechtsetzen, strafen,' wfläm. *rementen* 'poltern' etc: *ram(melen)* wie oben + mnl. (*r*)*anten* 'zotteklap uitslaan, kletsen' (wfäl. *rantern* 'sich heruntummeln, balgen,' mhd. *ranzen* 'ungestüm hin u. her springen').

188. Wfläm. *ramijsteren* 'een verward rammelend gedruisch maken,' 'klappern, rasseln': *ram(melen)* + *(*r*)*ijsteren* (*rijsselen* 'strepere, strepitare, strepitum edere; strepitu quodam leui moueri, ut virgulae, frondes, stramina; submissum murmur edere, ut frondes' Kil., an. *hrista* 'schütteln,' got. *-hrisjan* dass.).

189. Wfläm. *ramutselen* 'scharmützeln, sich balgen': *ram(melen)* + (*scherm*)*utselen* 'scharmützeln.'

190. Wfläm. *ramoer* 'rumoer, gedruisch, geraas,' *ramoeren* 'rumoren,' (Kil) *rammoer* 'rumor, turba, tumultus, strepitus,' *rammoeren* 'tumultuari,' lux. *ramo^uren* 'rumoren; beim Suchen einer Sache mit Geräusch alles durcheinanderwerfen,' steir. *gramuri* 'Gerümpel, Plunderzeug; Unordnung, wüstes Durcheinander,' *gramuren* 'Unordnung machen, durcheinanderwerfen, wühlend suchen, rumoren': *ram(melen)* 'tumultuari, perstrepere, crepitare, murmurare' Kil. (vgl. Nr. 186) + (*rum*)*oer* 'rumor, turba' Kil. etc.

191. Lux. *ramoschteren* 'rumoren,' lothr. *ramoschtern* 'lärmern, toben': lothr. *ram(oren)* dass. (lux. *ramo^uren* etc.) + (*r*)*oschtern* (altmärk. *rastern* 'rasseln,' meckl. *rastern* 'lärmern,' *geraster* 'Lärm, Geräusch,' lauenb. *rästern* 'rasseln, rappeln, klappern').

192. Mhd. *rambüzen* 'wild umherspringen,' els. *rumpuseⁿ* 'poltern, lärmern,' basl. *rumpûse rumbuse rumpouse* 'argen Lärm verführen, zanken, raufen': *ramb-*, *rumb-* (mnl. *rambelen* 'Geräusch machen,' els. *rambleⁿ* 'sich auf dem Boden, der Erde wälzen,' *rambler*, 'Lärmmacher,' *ramboleⁿ* 'lärmern, toben, Spektakel machen,' aus *ramb-* + (*gramb*)*oleⁿ* 'Lärm machen' [frz. *carambole*]; mhd. *rumpeln* 'mit Ungestüm, ge-

räuschvoll sich bewegen od. fallen, lärmern, poltern, *rumbe-lisch* 'lärmend, polternd,' ne. *rumble* 'rumpeln, rasseln') + mhd. (*r*)*üzen* 'ein Geräusch machen, rauschen; eilig u. mit Geräusch sich bewegen.' Schr. 73.

193. Oberhess. *rambastern* 'zanken, streiten': *ramb-* wie oben + nd. (*r*)*astern* 'lärmern,' s. Nr. 191. Schr. 61f.

194. *Rampampsen* 'stopfen, aufhäufen' in thür. *gerambambste voll* 'gehäuft voll': *ram(sen)* (els. *z"samme"ramse"* 'zusammenraffen,' oder *ram-* aus bair. *rampfen* 'raffen') + preuss. *pampsen* 'viel essen; einstopfen: zunächst in den Magen, aber auch in Tasche od. Sack,' bair. *pampfen* 'stopfen, schoppen,' els. *pfumpf* 'Stoss; knorriger Auswuchs,' *pfumpfe* 'stossen; einstecken, mit Mühe hineinpressen,' *gepfumpft* 'gedrängt voll' etc., s. Nr. 174. Schr. 208.

195. Steir. *ramsampel* 'mutwilliger, übermütig, lustiger, toller junger Mensch, wilder Unordnungsstifter': basl. *rams(en)* 'um die Wette laufen' (els. *ummeramse"* 'umher laufen,' *rämser* 'Springinsfeld,' bair. *rumsen rumseln* 'von Personen: scherzen, sich mutwillig balgen; von Schweinen, Hunden, Katzen: nach der Begattung verlangen, sich begatten') + (*r*)*ampel* (mnl. *rambelen* 'Geräusch machen,' els. *ramble"* 'sich auf dem Boden, der Erde wälzen,' nhd. *rumpeln* etc., s. Nr. 192.

196. Preuss. wfäl. els. *randal* 'Lärm, Skandal': schles. *rant* 'Lärm,' bair. ost. *rant* 'lärmender Spass' + (*skand*)*al*. Weigand Wb.⁵ II, 523.

197. Els. *randese"* 'lärmend umherlaufen, von Kindern u. Erwachsenen; auch vom Vieh, lärmern' (*ràntésə rântésə*): bair. *ran(ten)* 'mutwillige Streiche treiben' (*rant* 'lärmender Spass' etc.) + els. *töse"* (*tésə têsə*) 'dröhnen; lärmern,' nhd. *tosen*. Els. Wb. II, 265, 720.

198. Ne. dial. *rantácket* 'noise, uproar': *rant* 'a rough frolic, noise' + (*r*)*acket* 'noise.'

199. Els. *raübose"* 'in den Reben oberflächlich arbeiten; ein Hemd eilig u. schlecht bügeln; das Gröbste beseitigen': *räub(ere)"* 'übermässig arbeiten, schwer u. hastig schaffen' + (*r*)*asen* (els. *räsə rósə* 'rasen,' *verrase"* 'zerknittern, unordentlich durcheinander werfen'). Schr. 59f.

200. Wfläm. *ravaaien*, *raveelen* 'zijne kleederen onteeren,

vuil maken, schenden en scheuren': *rav(elen)* 'schrappen, scharthen' + *(r)eeuwen* 'bederven, schenden, zwaarlijk beschadigen,' 'gâter, abimer.'

201. Frühnl. *ravot revot* 'caterva sive turba nebulonum, conciliabulum flagitiosorum, sentina sceleratorum; receptaculum nebulonum, lupanar,' *ravotten* 'tumultuari; luxuriari, popinari': *rav(elen)* 'aestuare, agitari; circumcursare; delirare, furere etc.' + *(r)otte(n)*.

202. Schwäb. *robosteln* 'die Haare zerzausen, verwirren,' *verrobostlet* 'zerzaust, etwa vom Wind': steir. *ro(beln)* 'raufen' (bair. *robler* 'Bursche, der sich auf seine Stärke u. Gewandtheit im Ringen u. Raufen was zu gute tun darf, Raufheld,' schweiz. *rubel* 'Mensch mit krausen Haaren,' schwäb. *ropfen* 'sich tüchtig herumschlagen, an den Haaren reissen' etc.) + schwäb. *ver-bostle*ⁿ 'zerzausen, z. B. Haare, Kleider.' Schr. 60.

203. Nl. dial. groning. *ronkonkel* 'klein ongeluk, door stooten, fallen enz.' els. *rungunkel* (*ruckuckel*) (grosse Kuhglocke): *runk(el)* + *(r)unkel* zu nl. *ronkelen* 'rummeln, dumpf rollend u. polternd tönen; tr. rumpeln, rumpelnd durcheinander werfen,' wfläm. *ronkeronken* 'gedurig een geronk geven, herhaaldelijk ronken; het ronkeronken van eene bomklok.' Schr. 219.

204. Bair. *rumpumpel* 'Spottbenennung eines alten Weibes,' steir. 'altes, runzeliges, übellaunisches Weib; membrum feminine': steir. *rum(pel)* 'Drahtgeflecht zum Durchwerfen, Wurfgitter; altes Weib' + *pumpel* 'membrum feminine.' Schr. 215.

205. Els. *rungunkele* 'scherzh. Bezeichnung für sehr dicke Personen': thüring. sächs. *run(ke)* 'übermässiges Stück Brot' (sächs. schles. *runks* 'dickes u. grosses Stück Brot; vierschrötiger, plumper u. ungehobelter, grober Mensch') + schweiz. *gunggele*ⁿ 'etwas Baumelndes; träge, nachlässig u. schmutzig gekleidete Weibsperson,' schwäb. *gunkele*ⁿ 'hin u. her schwancken,' bair. *gaunkel* 'grosse, ungeschickte Weibsperson.'

206. Nhd. *runkunkel* 'altes runzliges Weib, alte Vettel' Weigand⁶ II, 626, 'altes, mürrisches Weib' Frischbier II, 238, steir. *rungunkel* 'altes, runzeliges, übellauniges Weib'

Unger-Khull 513: *rungg(en)* 'brummen, murren' + (*r*)*unkel* (mhd. *runke* 'Runzel'). Schr. 219ff.

207. Els. *salwiege* (*sàlwìakə*) 'durchprügeln': *sàlw(ə)* 'salben; durchprügeln' + (*šm*)*ikə* 'einen Schlag mit der Peitsche versetzen' (zu erwarten wäre **šmìakə*, vgl. *šmìakə* 'vernarbte Wunde,' mhd. *smicke* 'Geissel; Schmiss, Wunde').

208. Wfläm. *schabinderen schavinderen* 'weglaufen, wegeilen': mnl. *schav(en)* 'schaben; sich packen, scheren' + (*sch*)*inderen* 'flackern, leuchten; krachen, schmettern' (spätmhd. *schindern* 'polternd schleppen, schleifen,' md. *schindern* 'auf dem Eise hingeleiten').

209. Wfläm. *schabouwlijk* 'afgrijselijk, schromelijk,' 'horrible, épouvantable': *schab(bigh)* 'scabiosus' Kil. (wfläm. *schebbig* 'âpre et raide, dur et rude,' ofries. *schabbig* 'schäbig od. rüdig; armselig, elend') + (*sch*)*ouwelick* 'horridus, horribilis' Kil. (*schouwen schuwen* 'vitare, devitare, evitare, fugere' etc.).

210. Bair. *schalanzen* 'schlendern, müssig gehen,' kärnt. *schalunzen* dass.: schwäb. *schal(lare)* 'Mannsperson mit schleppendem Gang' (mnd. *schale schaler schaller schaloen* 'herumstreifender Possenreisser') + (*schl*)*anzen*, (*schl*)*unzen* 'müssig gehen.' Schr. 180f.

211. Bair. *schallatzen* 'schlendern, müssig gehen': schwäb. *schall(are)* + kärnt. (*schl*)*atz'n* (*schletz'n*) herumschweifen, nachlässig sein' (mnd. *slatte* 'Lumpen, Fetzen,' nnd. *slatterig* 'schlaff, welk, schmutzig' etc. Schr. 181f.

212. *Schaluderi*, basl. *tschlaluderi* 'Schelte: einfältiger, dummer, unzuverlässiger Mensch': schwäb. *schal(lare)* + *(*sch*)*uderi* (basl. *tschudeli* 'nachlässige Weibsperson, els. *schudi* 'dummes Mädchen'). Schr. 76.

213. Kärnt. *schalaz'n* 'sich mit jemand unterhalten,' steir. *scholatzten scholotzen* 'unverständlich reden': bair. *schal(len)* 'herumplaudern, ausplaudern' + (*sch*)*atzen* 'reden, sprechen, sich unterreden,' steir. 'reden, sprechen, plauschen.' Schr. 181f.

214. Wfläm. *schamakke* 'makke, schaperschup, teulschup,' 'houlette': *scha-* (vielleicht aus mnl. *schacht* 'Schacht, Stange') + *makke* 'schaperschup, eene schup met kleen blad en langen steel,' 'houlette.'

215. Nhd. *scharlenzen* 'gefallsüchtig u. leicht beweglich sich bald da— bald dorthin wenden': *schar(ren)* (vgl. bes. *scharrfusz* 'Kratzfusz, altmodische Höflichkeitsbezeugung') + (*sch*)*lenzen*. Schr. 182.

216. Pomm. *schrajeken* 'laut untereinander schreien u. lachen': wfläm. *schre(jen)* 'schreien' (oder nd. *schrauen* 'laut, ungebührlich schreien') + *(*schr*)*eken* (gött. *schrēkeln* 'schreien, krächzen, kreischen'). Preuss. *scharrjāken* 'rasen, tollern, wild u. unordentlich sich benehmen' gehört kaum hierher. Vgl. vielmehr nd. *scheren* 'eilen, laufen' + schles. *jecken* 'schnell laufen oder reiten,' els. *gejäch* 'wildes Durcheinanderrennen,' preuss. *jachern jackern* 'aus Lust lärmend umherjagen' etc. Schr. 131.

217. Els. *schrapitze* 'Strapazzen': bair. *schrap(pen)* 'scharren, scharren' (schwäb. *schroppen* 'starke, grobe Arbeit verrichten') + (*schr*)*itzen* 'schlitzen.'

218. Preuss. *schlabauks schlabauks* 'Nichtsutz, Taugenichts, Tölpel, Herumtreiber, ungeschickter, ungeschlachter Mensch': *schlab-* (*schlabber* 'schlaffes, weiches, hautartiges,' Fleisch,' lux. *schlabberen* 'schlottern, latschen, schlampen,' *schlabberech* 'fade, unreinlich; schlotternd, hin u. her fließend, von Flüssigkeiten u. weichen Massen,' els. *schlabberig* 'schwach, elend, vom Befinden; kraftlos, von der Suppe' etc.) + preuss. (*schl*)*auks* 'einer, der durch dick u. dünn geht' (*schlauksen* 'schlampen, flüssige Dinge mit ausgestreckter Zunge massig hineinschlingen, so dass die Speise umherschlägt u. die Tätigkeit des Essens hörbar wird; durch eine Pfütze kräftig, geräuschvoll waten'). Schr. 182f.

219. Preuss. *schlabammel schlabommel* 'was *schlabauks*': *schla(bberen)* 'schlottern, schlampen' + preuss. *bammeln bommeln* 'baumeln; ohne Arbeit leben, müssig gehen.'

220. Lothr. lux. *schlabeizchen* 'Schleckerei, Lackerbissen': mnd. *sla(bben)* 'schlappen, schlürfen,' ofries. 'geräuschvoll lecken od. schlürfen, schleckern' etc. + *beizchen* Demin. von bair. *bauzen* 'knollige Teigform, als Mehlspeise üblich' (*beuzel* 'Geschwulst, Beule,' *botzen* 'Klumpchen weicher Materie; Keim, Knospe,' spätmhd. *butzen* 'turgere' etc.). Lothr. Wb. 445.

221. Wfläm. *slabijze* 'sletse, lui vrouwspersoon, die langs de

straten vendelt,' 'nachlässiges Frauenzimmer': *slab-* (Nr. 218 oder els. *schlappe* 'alter ausgetretener Schuh; unordentliches, leichtsinniges Frauenzimmer,' *schlappen* 'nachlässig einhergehen') + wfläm. (*sl*)*ijs* 'Schnitt, Scheibe; bedürftige, armselige Weibsperson.'

222. Steir. *schlabutzig* 'ärmlich, armselig, fadenscheinig, schäbig, abgetragen': els. *schlab*(*berig*) 'schwach, elend, vom Befinden' + (*schl*)*utzig* (kärnt. *schlutzik* 'schleimig, glatt,' bair. *schlützig* 'klebrig, schmutzig, morastig' etc.). Schr. 187f.

223. Els. *schlabutzer* 'Verweis,' basl. *schlaputzer* 'Strafpredigt' (haben trotz Schr. 187 mit schweiz. *schlabutz* 'Schnaps; dünner, flüssiger Frass, üppige Fresserei' nichts zu tun, vgl. Mod. Phil. IX, 187): els. *schle*(*tze*ⁿ) 'zuschmettern, heftig zuschlagen, von der Tür' + *butzer* 'heftiger Vorwurf, tüchtiger Wischer, (*butze*ⁿ 'reinigen, scheuern; schelten; stossen, schlagen,' *abb*. 'abstäuben, reinigen; schelten, Vorwürfe machen,' *abbutzer* 'Verweiss, Strafpredigt' etc.).

224. Heirher gehört els. *schnabutzer* 'Verweis': *schna*(*tz*) 'Narbe,' lothr. 'Schnittwunde; grosser Riss im Kleid' (bair. *schnätzeln* 'klein schneiden, schnitzeln,' *beschn*. 'verkürzen, verringern; bekritteln') + *butzer*. Oder *schnabutzer*: *schn*(*auze*ⁿ) 'grob anfahren, schimpfen' + (*schl*)*abutzer*. Schr. 99f. Vgl. Nr. 245.

225. Wfläm. *slameur* 'beslommering, drokte, last, moeite en zorg,' 'tracas': *slam-* (*slammeren slommeren* 'confundere, intricare, impedire' Kil., nl. *slommer* 'Verwirrung, Verlegenheit') + (*sl*)*eur* 'tractus, syrma' (*sleuren* 'trahere, verrere, humi protrahere' Kil.

226. Els. *schlawack* 'dummer, fressgieriger Mensch; lüderlicher Kerl, Faulpelz; verschlagener, unsauberer Mensch,' lothr. *schlawaken* Menschen, die undeutlich, unverständlich reden wie die Slovaken' (vielleicht in Anlehnung daran, aber gewiss nicht damit identisch): els. *schlab*(*bere*ⁿ) 'dünnflüssige Speisen gierig u. mit Geräusch geniessen; unverständlich plappern' (Nbform *šlawərə*, lux. *schlabberen* 'schlottern, latschen, schlampen' etc.) + bair. (*schl*)*ack* 'träge Person' (*schlack* 'schlaff, nachlässig, träge,' *schlacken schlackern* 'schlaff u. schwankend sich bewegen').

227. Steir. *schlawanker* 'Jacke, Joppe': mhd. *slav*(*enīe*)

‘grober Wollenstoff u. daraus verfertigter Mantel, wie ihn namentl. Pilger trugen’ + (*schl*)*anker* (schwäb. *schlenker* ‘Baurenrock,’ bair. *schlanken* ‘hängen u. sich hin u. her bewegen; müssig herum gehen,’ *schlank* ‘Lappen, Fetzen, hängendes Ding, Stück’). Oder *schlab*- Nr. 218 + (*schl*)*anker*. Schr. 197.

228. Wfläm. *slavent* ‘slenter, flarde, lambeau; aufgebrochen stuk, morceau’: *slav*(*eken*) ‘kleed om vuil werk te doen; kiel, voorshoot, enz. die voor iets anders niet meer dienen’ (mnl. *slave* ‘Sklave’) + (*sl*)*ent* (nl. *slenter* ‘Lappen, Fetzen,’ lothr. *schlenze* ‘unregelmässiger Riss im Kleid, im Holz, im Papier,’ els. *schlenz* dass., *schlenze*ⁿ ‘reissen, schlitzen’ etc.). Vgl. Nr. 227.

229. Frühnl. *slavetse* ‘servula vilis et ignava,’ wfläm. *slavetsa* ‘sloore, sloerie, onachtzaam, vrouwspersoon,’ ‘femme négligente,’ *slavetsen* ‘slenderen, lanterfanten’: mnl. *slav*(*e*) ‘Sklave, Sklavin’ (in neueren Zeiten mit Anlehnung an wfläm. *slafferen* ‘schleppfüssig gehen’) + (*sl*)*etse* ‘mulier ignava, ambubaia’ Kil., wfläm. ‘abgenutzter Pantoffel; arme, lumpige Weibsperson,’ (*sl*)*etsen* ‘schleppfüssig gehen’ (els. *schletz* ‘schlechtes Frauenzimmer,’ bair. *schlötz* ‘Schmutz, Klebrigkeit; träger, fauler Mensch,’ *schlotzen* ‘nachlässig, träge sein’ etc.).

230. Hageländ. *slavodder* ‘slodder’: *slav*- wie oben + nl. (*sl*)*odder* ‘Schmutzfinke, Schlurmichel,’ ‘homo sordidus, incultus, incompositus, negligens’ Kil. (*slodderen* ‘sich schwenken, baumeln, schlottern,’ ‘flaccere, flaccescere,’ nhd. *schlottern* etc.). Vgl. germ. *slab*- in Nr. 218.

231. Meckl. *slawuken* ‘schlecht einhergehen’: *slaw*- (lux. *schlabberen* ‘schlottern, latschen, schlampen’ Nr. 218) + (*sl*)*ucken* (ns. *slukkern* ‘schwanken,’ nass. *schlockern* *schluckern* hin u. her fahren; beschwerlich gehn, sich wankend fortbewegen, gehn überhaupt,’ oberhess. *schlockern* ‘schlottern’). Schr. 197.

232. Nass. *schmaguckes* (**schmoguckes*) ‘heimtückischer Mensch’: lothr. lux. *schmo*(*ck*) ‘schlau, geschmeidig’ (steir. *schmucken* ‘sich schmiegen u. biegen, sich klein zu machen suchen, übertr.: kriechen, heucheln,’ els. *schmucker* ‘Schmeichler,’ *schmuckler* ‘falscher Mensch’ etc.) + nass. *guckes* (*gu*-

ckel) 'Person, welche zu kleine, unverhältnismässige oder schielende Augen hat; welche von unten herauf, diebisch sieht' (lothr. *guggele*ⁿ 'verstohlen blicken,' els. *spitzguckel* 'boshaft witziger, schlauer Knabe,' *gokle*ⁿ 'betrügen, beschwindeln,' mhd. *gucken* 'neugierig schauen, gucken'). Schr. 80f.

233. Els. *schnatull* 'bässliches Frauenzimmer': *schna*(lle) 'Schnalle; feile Dirne' + (*scha*)*tull* 'vag. fem.', lothr. 'verächtl. Ausdruck für altes Weib.

234. Els. *späjäckere*ⁿ 'spähen, lauernd umherlaufen' (mit Anlehnung an *spähen*): ns. *spa*(*kkern*) 'stark laufen u. rennen' + els. *jäckere*ⁿ 'jagen, mit einem Fuhrwerk eilig fahren; im Haus herumrennen u. arbeiten.'

235. Els. *spalack spaläcke* 'Holz-Klapper, womit in der Karwoche Lärm gemacht wird,' *abspaläcke*ⁿ 'entlaufen': *spal*(*e*ⁿ) 'Sprosse in der Wagenleiter; Speiche am Rad' (ofries. *spalke* 'abgespaltenes Stück, Scheit,' *spalken* 'platzen, bersten, spalten, springen,' els. *wit spalte*ⁿ 'grosse Schritte nehmen'; zur Bed. vgl. auch els. *speiche*ⁿ 'mit den Beinen ausschlagen, strampeln; eilig gehen' zu *Speiche*) + (*sp*)*acken* (tirol. *spacken spacklen* 'von den Rindern; von Bremsen verfolgt oder in grosses Hitze wild laufen,' nd. *spackern* 'pöckern, pochen, trampeln, treffen, traben,' ns. *spakkern* 'stark laufen u. rennen, mutwillig herumspringen'). Schr. 79.

236. Els. *herumspaleise*ⁿ 'umherschlendern, ohne eigentlichen Zweck herumspazieren; lauernd herumschleichen': bair. *umme späl*(*lien*) 'müßig schlendern' (els. *herum spuliere*ⁿ 'lauernd herumstreichen') + *(*sp*)*äusen* (els. *spuse*ⁿ 'werfen; lauernd nach etwas blicken').

237. Els. *spanife*ⁿ 'genau horchen': *spa*(*nne*ⁿ) 'spannen; intr. gespannt sein, lauschen, aufpassen' + bair. *nifeln*. 'schnufeln, schnobern.'

238. Nhd. *stibitzen* 'fein u. listig Kleinigkeiten stehlen': els. *stip*(*se*ⁿ) 'stehlen' (*stippe*ⁿ dass.) + meekl. (*st*)*iezen* 'stibitzen, stehlen.' Schr. 79f.

239. Els. *stripitze*ⁿ 'Kleinigkeiten stehlen; mit Schlaueit vor den Augen anderer wegnehmen': *strip*(*se*ⁿ) 'stibetzen' + (*str*)*itze*ⁿ (*strutze*ⁿ) 'stehlen' (mnd. *stroden*, ae. *strüdan* 'rauben, plündern'). Schr. 133.

240. Els. *strapitze* 'stibitzen': *stra(tzeⁿ)* 'stehlen, namentl. Obst' + *(stri)pitzeⁿ*.

241. Fläm. *strabbant* 'straf, sterk, stevig, fel, kloek, dapper, geweldig', wfläm. *strabantig* 'hardnekkig anhoudend': ofries. *strabb(ig)* 'starr, steif; streng, scharf; starrsinnig od. steifköpfig' (*strabben* 'sich starr, steif u. widerspenstig geben') + *(*str*)*ant* (vgl. norw. dial. *strinta* 'sich anstrengen,' *stratta seg* 'sich strecken,' bair. *sich stranzen* 'sich strecken, dehnen, aus Faulheit' etc.).

242. Steir. *strabanzen* 'müßig umherstreifen, landstreichchen, stromen': bair. *strab(eln)* 'Hände u. Füße regen, zapeln' + schwäb. (*str*)*anzen* 'müßig umherlaufen, grosstun' etc. (vgl. oben). Schr. 131f.

243. Schwäb. *gestramunzlet* 'gestreift': *gestram(elt)* (steir. *stramel* Bezeichnung für ein "gestramtes" oder "gestreimtes" Rind,' *stramlo* 'beliebter Name für scheckige Kühe,' els. *stram* 'Streifen,' *strämig* 'gestreift, namentl. vom langgestreckten Federgewölk am Himmel,' schwäb. *g^estraumet g^esträumet* 'gestreift, getigert; gefleckt, gesprenkelt, scheckig,' mhd. *strām* 'strom; streifen' etc.) + *(*gestr*)*unzlet* 'gesprenkelt' (zu germ. *strint-* 'ausbreiten, streuen, spritzen' in schwed. dial. *strinta* 'hervorsprudeln, spritzen,' dän. dial. *strente strinte* 'spröte ud i fine straalere, strø lidt hist og her,' mnd. *strenten* 'spritzen,' *strunt* 'Kot, Dreck,' lothr. *strenz* 'Giess-, Spritzkanne,' *strenzen* 'besprengen, benetzen mit dem Giessbecher z. B. die Stube vor dem Kehren,' lux. *strenzen* dass., steir. *stranzen* 'unreinlich essen u. trinken').

244. Schwäb. *gestrīmunzelt* 'gestreift, bes. von Katzen': **gestrīm(elt)* 'gestreift' (steir. *gestreimelt gestreimt* 'gestreift, von Stoffen,' *streim* 'Streifen, Striemen, färbiger Strich,' mhd. *strīme strīmel* 'Streifen,' *strīmeleht* 'gestreift' etc.) + *(*gestr*)*unzelt*.

245. Els. *straputzer* 'Verweiss': mhd. *strā(fe)* 'Tadel, Verweis' + els. *butzer* 'heftiger Vorwurf, tüchtiger Wischer.' Vgl. *schlabutzer, schnabutzer* Nr. 223, 224.

246. Wfläm. *talouteren* 'beben, zittern': nl. dial. *tal(teren)* (zaan. *tolteren* 'herumdrehen, wackeln,' ae. *tealtrian* 'wanken,' ofries. *talteren* 'schlagen, hauen') + wfläm. (*t*)*outeren* 'beben, schaukeln' (mnl. *touteren* aus *talteren*).

FRIEDRICH SPE AND THE THÉODICÉE OF LEIBNIZ

IV. SPE AND THOMAS AQUINAS; THE RELATION OF LEIBNIZ TO BOTH

In order to determine how much Leibniz was indebted to Spe, it is necessary first to determine whether the *Güldenenes Tugendbuch* was based upon any earlier work of philosophy or theology, and whether Leibniz derived inspiration directly from such an earlier work.

Literary histories of Germany do not, as a general rule, mention the *Tugendbuch*. Spe has earned a place in history of German literature through his *Trutz Nachtigal*, the poetical version of the *Tugendbuch*, but not through the *Tugendbuch* itself. The result is that the *Tugendbuch* has been looked upon by some as a work of originality.

The biographers of Spe seem to take this view of the matter. Balke¹ points out briefly that Spe's book is like other "Erbauungsbücher" of the period, like Loyola's for instance, but he does not discuss the sources which Spe may have utilized. Duhr, perhaps the most thorough of Spe's biographers, expresses himself as follows:² "Dieses Büchlein ist der Spiegel seines eigenen Wandels und für seine Geistesrichtung die wichtigste Quelle." Hölscher,³ who has summed up the contents of the *Tugendbuch* at greater length than have other commentators, claims for Spe's work complete originality of ideas and thought. "Ein fernerer, verwandter Vorzug besteht in der Ursprünglichkeit und Neuheit der Gedanken. Auf die in keiner andern so häufig wie in der Erbauungslitteratur vorkommenden Gemeinplätze hat der Verfasser durchauss verzichtet. Jeder Gedanke ist neu und originell in der Empfindung oder doch im Ausdruck."

We should be surprised, indeed, if we found that Leibniz's intense admiration for Spe was based solely upon the some-

¹ In his edition of *Trutz Nachtigal*, p. xxxiii.

² *Friedrich Spe*, p. 128.

³ Hölscher, *Friederich Spe von Langenfeld*, Programm der Realschule zu Düsseldorf, 1871, p. 8.

what naïvely expressed sentiments and religious thoughts of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*. It is hardly to be expected that Leibniz would be so profuse in his praise for the *Tugendbuch* if the book did not contain deeper thoughts. In the *Tugendbuch* are contained many of the fundamental ideas which later made up Leibniz's philosophical system as expounded primarily in the *Théodicée*.

There can be no doubt, I think, that Spe's *Tugendbuch* is based mainly upon the philosopher upon whom rests the structure of Catholic dogma, the philosopher whose work is looked upon as the main source of Catholic theology—St. Thomas Aquinas.

The system of Thomas Aquinas is contained in his great work, the *Summa Theologica*. Here we find the fundamental thoughts advanced later by Spe in the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*. Inasmuch as Spe's ideas are summed up skillfully in his introduction, inasmuch as Leibniz translated this introduction into French and paraphrased its contents again and again in his letters to friends, a comparison of the ideas expressed in the Introduction of the *Tugendbuch* with the ideas formulated by Thomas Aquinas will show us at a glance that Spe's book is largely a popularization of Thomas's system of philosophy. We are reminded of Thomas Aquinas by several footnotes in Spe's introduction. Spe indicates expressly that these footnotes are taken from Thomas Aquinas.

The *Tugendbuch*, as Spe explains in his introduction, deals with the divine virtues (göttliche Tugenden). They are called divine virtues 'darumb weil sie gestracks ohne mittel auff Gott gerichtet seind: dan durch den Glauben glaube ich in Gott; durch die Hoffnung hoffe ich auff Gott; durch die Liebe lieb ich Gott.' In defining "virtus theologica seu divina" Thomas Aquinas expresses the same idea. "Virtus divina huiusmodi principia (per quae homo ordinator¹ ad beatitudinem supernaturalem) virtutes dicuntur theologicae, tum quia habent Deum pro objecto, inquamtum per eas recte ordinamur in Deum, tum quia sola divina revelatione in sacra scriptura huiusmodi virtutes traduntur."²

¹ Spe uses the phrase "die uns im Tauff eingegossen werden."

² *Summa Theologica* I. II. 62. 1c. An excellent reference book is L. Schütz, *Thomas Lexikon*, Paderborn, 1881.

Spe draws the all-important distinction that faith depends primarily upon the reason whereas hope and love really depend upon the will. "Erstlich stehet der Glaub fürnehmlich in dem verstandt: die Hoffnung aber unnd Liebe stehen eigentlich im willen." Thomas Aquinas makes practically the same distinction. "Fides, quae est proprium principium huius actus, est in intellectu sicut in subiecto." (II. II. 4. 2c). As soon as faith is combined with hope or with love, in other words as soon as an act of faith has been accomplished, we have an act of will power as well as of reason. "Actus fidei procedit et ex intellectu et ex voluntate." (II. II. 5. 4c).¹ Spe, as we shall see, looks upon hope and love as a further development of faith.

Spe states clearly that hope presupposes faith, and that love presupposes both faith and hope. Thomas Aquinas is of exactly the same opinion. He devotes a whole article to the question whether faith precedes hope (II. II. 17.7) and another article to the question whether hope precedes love (ib. 17.8). In both cases his decision is the same as that of Spe. "Respondeo dicendum quod fides absolute praecedit spe" (ib. 17.17.) "Et ideo in via generationis spes est prior caritate" (ib. 17.8.)²

The difference between the two kinds of love, namely the love of desire and the love of friendship—a distinction copied by Leibniz from Spe as is shown in Leibniz's letter to the Electress Sophie—was also carefully pointed out by Thomas Aquinas. Spe described the two kinds of love as follows: "Es seind zweyerley Liebe: die eine wird genennet* [the asterisk refers to a footnote given by Spe thus: 'Amor concupiscentiae, amor benevolentiae seu amicitiae, V. D. Thom. 2, 2, q. 23. art 1. in corp.'] eine lieb der begierlichkeit, die andere wird genent eine Liebe der Gutwilligkeit oder der freundschaft."

¹ See also I. II. 66. 6a. "Cum enim fides sit in intellectu, spes autem et caritas in vi appetitiva."

² See also C. M. Schneider, *Die Katholische Wahrheit oder Summa Theologica des Thomas von Aquin deutsch wiedergegeben*, Regensburg, 1886-1892. In twelve volumes. Volume XII has an excellent register. See vol. XII, p. 86; vol. VII, pp. 115, 116, 117.

The *love of desire* Spe describes thus: "Die Lieb der begierlichkeit wird genent wan ich mir oder für mich etwas begere, wünsche, und haben will oder so ichs habe, mit einer liebeichen neygung und affect umbfange, und mich darin ergetze als etwas da mir nützlich oder bequemlich, annehmlich, gut, schön, wollustbarlich, lieblich, anmüthig und behäglich ist." The *love of friendship* Spe describes thus: "Die Liebe der Gutwilligkeit aber oder die Liebe der Freundschaft wird genennet damit man denjenigen liebet, deme man etwas dergleichen begeret, dass ist, deme man etwas gutes gönnet oder wünschet." As examples of the *love of desire* Spe mentions a cool drink, a good horse, a fine house—things which we like to possess for their own sake. As examples of the *love of friendship* Spe names a sweetheart, a gracious monarch—persons for whom one wishes everything good. A sweetheart in fact, is loved with both kinds of love.

Thomas Aquinas must have been Spe's model. Besides the footnote which Spe takes directly from Thomas Aquinas, Spe has followed Thomas in many other points. A few citations from Thomas will show that Spe learned from Thomas Aquinas about the two kinds of love. Thus: "Amor non dividitur per amicitiam et concupiscentiam, sed per amorem amicitiae et concupiscentiae; nam ille proprie dicitur amicus, cui aliquod bonum volumus, illud autem dicitur concupiscere, quod volumus nobis" (I, II, 26, 4). Again: "Motus amoris in duo tendit, scilicet in bonum, quod quis vult alicui, vel sibi, vel alii, et in illud, cui vult bonum; ad illud ergo bonum, quod quis vult alteri, habetur amor concupiscentiae, ad illud autem, cui aliquis vult bonum, habetur amor amicitiae." (II. II. 26. 4c). Another quotation in which Thomas Aquinas uses examples which Spe also quotes: "Non quilibet amor habet rationem amicitiae, sed amor, qui est cum benevolentia, quando scilicet sic amamus aliquem, ut ei bonum velimus, sed ipsum earum bonum nobis velimus, sicut dicimur amare vinum aut equum aut aliquod huiusmodi, non est amor amicitiae, sed cuiusdam, concupiscentiae, ridiculum enim est dicere, quod aliquis habeat amicitiam ad vinum vel ad equum." (II. II. 23, 1c).

Spe emphasizes the importance of the difference between

the two kinds of love. The *love of desire* may be identified with *hope* (Leibniz uses the term *esperance*¹), and the *love of friendship* may be called simply *love* (Leibniz uses *charité*). It is all-important that God be loved not only with the love of desire (hope) but also with the love of friendship. Thomas Aquinas uses the term *caritas* for this love toward God.² That Thomas Aquinas regards hope as merely an imperfect form of love, and that hope is identical with the love of desire (as distinguished from perfect love, the love of friendship) may be seen from the following: "Respondeo dicendum quod duplex est ordo. Unus quidem secundum viam generationis et materiae, secundum quem imperfectum prius est perfecto. Alius autem ordo est perfectionis et formae: secundum quem perfectum naturaliter prius est imperfecto. Secundum igitur primum ordinem spes est prior caritate. Quod sic patet. Quia spes, et omnis appetivus motus, ex amore derivatur! ut supra habitum est, cum de passionibus ageretur. Amor autem quidam est perfectus, quidam imperfectus. Perfectus quidem amor est quo aliquis secundum se amatur, ut puta cui aliquis vult bonum: sicut homo amat amicum. Imperfectus amor est quod quis amat aliquid non secundum ipsum, sed ut illud bonum sibi ipsi proveniat: sicut homo amat rem quam concupiscit. Primus autem amor Dei pertinet ad caritatem, quae inhaeret Deo secundum seipsum: sed spes pertinet ad secundum amorem, quia ille qui sperat aliquid sibi obtinere intendit." (II. II. 17. 86).

Spe insists, finally, that love alone can help to atone for sin. Repentance and contrition can bring about atonement, but contrition can come only from love (love of friendship). If the repentance does not proceed from this love of friendship then such repentance is not complete and can not bring about atonement for sins. In Spe's own words: "Wan dan nun sie(die Reue) herfleust nicht aus einem affect der Liebe oder dritten Göttlichen Tugend, sonderen auss einer andern obgezehlten wiewol ubernatürlicher ursachen, so wird ein solche reu und leid genent eine unvollkommene Rew, auff

¹ Cf. Leibniz's letter to the Electress Sophie.

² "Amoris proprium objectum est bonum" (I. II. 27. 1c).

"Objectum caritatis est bonum divinum." (I. I. 59. 4).

Latein *Attritio*: und solche Rew tilget die tödtliche Sünde mit nichten, auss es seye dan sach, dass das Sacrament des Tauffs oder der Beicht hinzukomme; Dann das Sacrament tilget sie freylich auss wie bewusst ist."

When repentance is complete, that is, when the repentance proceeds from the love of friendship, then one's sins will be forgiven. To quote from Spe directly: "Wann aber die Rew und Leid herfleust aus einem affect der Liebe: [Spe here gives the footnote "ex motivo Charitate"] das ist, wann ich betrübt bin über meine Sünd, und sie verfluche derenthalben, weil ich auss antrieb der gnaden Gottes von grund meines hertzens Gott dem Herrn alles gutes wünsche; und folgendes, weil die Sünd ihme stracks zuwider ist, und ihn beleidiget, ich sie als ein übel meines so geliebten Gottes mit nichten wil: so wird eine solche Rew und Leyd genennet eine vollkommene Rew, auff Latein *Contritio*, das ist, zerknirschung des hertzens, und tilget auss alle Sünd. Dan sie warhafftig ein werk ist der liebe, oder dritten Göttlichen Tugend. Also, dass es noch war bleibet, was gesagt ist, dass sonst keine einzige andere Tugend den Sünder gerecht mache, als allein die liebe der gutwilligkeit oder der freundschaft. Unnd zwar im alten Testament haben die Menschen kein ander mittel zur gerechtfertigung gehabt, als eben die Rew und Leid welch über die begangene Sünde auss Gottes Liebe herrührte."¹

Thomas Aquinas likewise laid particular stress on the necessity of complete repentance (contrition). Attrition cannot, without an actual deed of love, pass into contrition. A single paragraph from Thomas Aquinas will show how closely his theory anticipates that of his successor, Spe. "Respondeo dicendum, quod super hoc est duplex opinio. Quidam enim dicunt, quod attritio fit contritio, sicut fides informis fit formata. Sed hoc (ut videtur) esse non potest: quia quamvis habitus fidei informis, fiat formatus; numquam tamen actus fidei informis, fit actus fidei formatae, quia actus ille informis transit at non manet veniente charitate: attritio autem et contritio non dicunt habitum, sed actum tantum. Habitus autem virtutem infusarum, qui voluntatem respiciunt, non possunt

¹ The paragraphs here quoted are the closing paragraphs of the introduction to the *Güldenenes Tugendbuch*.

esse informes, cum charitatem consequantur; ut in 3. lib. dictum est. Unde antequam gratia infundatur, non est habitus a quo actus contritionis postea elicitur: et sic nullo modo attritio potest fieri contritio, et hoc alia opinio dicit." (*Summa Theologica*, III (*Supplementum*), question 1, art. 3.)¹

So much for the main points of the *Göldenes Tugendbuch*: they clearly remind one of the *Summa Theologica*. In the matter of details, however, we may also find passages in the *Tugendbuch* for which parallel passages may be found in the works of Thomas Aquinas. One instance may be of particular interest. In Part III, Chapter 25, Spe begins by explaining that his argument in this chapter will be more abstract than heretofore, and that his pupil must pay particular attention in order to understand what is being said: "Mein Kind, da du vernommen hast, das ich noch eine andere neue unnd schöne weiss hette Gott unauffhörlich zu loben: wiltu mir keinen frieden lassen, biss ich dir dieselbe auch zu papeir bringe. Und ob wol ich gesagt, das dise weiss etwas höher und subtiler were zu verstehen, so lasset du dennoch nicht ab, sondern wilt mit gewalt, ich solle sie dich lehren, du wollest wol schawen, dass du sie endlich begreiffest."

Having thus explained to his reader that the arguments are to be abstruse, Spe proceeds to outline the sensations produced upon the mind by various objects. Two kinds of impressions are produced, one upon the "Phantasey" which has its seat in the brain, the other on the "Verstand" which is in the "Seele des menschen." The former impression or sensation is called in Latin *Phantasma*, the latter *Species intelligentes*. The difference is as follows: "Dan erstlich sagen sie [die Gelehrten], dass die gemähl oder Bilder dess verstands vil reiner und subtiler seind, als die bilder der Phantasey. Und zum andern dass die bilder der Phantasey mit dem hirn vergehen, die bilder aber der Seelen oder dass verstands auch nach dem tod verbleiben, wie Seel unnd verstand unsterblich ist. Gleich wie ein Bild so du in Wachs abtruckest zergethet wann das Wachs zerschmeltzet, das aber so du in Kupffer oder marmer geschnitten hast bleibt allezeit, weil das Kupfer und Marmer, darin es gegraben ist, allzeit

¹ See also Schneider, vol. X, p. 315; vol. XII, p. 140.

verbleiben. Verstehestu nun dises auch, so gehen wir noch weiter."

Undoubtedly Spe got the terms *Phantasma* and *Species intelligibiles* from Thomas Aquinas. For instance: "Ad secundum dicendum quod etiam ipsum phantasma est similitudo rei particularis! unde non indiget imaginatio aliqua alia similitudine particularis, sicut indiget intellectus." (I. 84. 7 ad 2). "Sed phantasmata, cum sint similitudines individuorum, et existant in organis corporeis, non habent eundem modum existendi quem habet intellectus humanus, ut ex dictis patet: et ideo non possunt sua virtute imprimere in intellectum possibilem. Sed virtute intellectus agentis resultat quaedam similitudo in intellectu possibili ex conversione intellectus agentis supra phantasmata, quae quidem est representativa eorum quorum sunt phantasmata, solum quantum ad naturam speciei. Et per hunc modum dicitur abstrahi species intelligibilis a phantasmatibus." (I. 85. 1 ad 3). "Sed contra, species intelligibilis se habet ad intellectum, sicut species sensibilis ad sensum. Sed species sensibilis non est illud quod sentitur, sed magis id quo sensus sentit. Ergo species intelligibilis non est quod intelligitur actu, sed id quo intelligit intellectus." (I. 85. 2a).

It is natural that Spe should have followed Thomas Aquinas as his model. When Spe wrote his *Tugendbuch*, Thomas Aquinas had for three centuries and a half been looked upon as the source of Catholic Theology. To the present day, in fact, he is regarded as the fountain-head of Catholic theology. The question might arise, however, whether Spe, in writing his *Güldenenes Tugendbuch*, was directly influenced by the *Summa Theologica*, a work running through thousands of pages and requiring years of study, or whether he followed a more immediate source. Either alternative is possible. If we choose the latter, the *Compendium Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, a kind of resumé of the *Summa Theologica*, may have been Spe's model.

The *Compendium Theologiae* is one of the most useful of Thomas Aquinas's works. In the words of one of his biograph-

ers:¹ "It is a model of simplicity, lucidity and reasoning. Most probably it was written specially for the use of missionaries who went into distant parts amidst pagans and barbarians - - - - -. It was originally proposed to be in three grand divisions: the first treating of matters which could be reduced to the general heading of Faith, the second to that of Hope, and the third to that of Charity. The Angelical, however, had time only to complete the first portion; at his death he had not got beyond the beginning of the eleventh chapter of the second part, in which he designed to prove the possibility of obtaining the kingdom of heaven. On the whole, especially in the first part of the *Compendium*, Scripture is but scantily made use of, whilst the Fathers are seldom referred to. Simplicity, order, brevity, and clearness of reasoning, seem principally to have been studied here, whilst the Angelical keeps within the rigid bounds of a genuine Breviloquim."

In the *Compendium*, then, Thomas Aquinas popularizes his *Summa Theologica*. He presents clearly the attributes of God, the nature of Good and Evil, the harmony of the universe, the power of divine love. He avoids all theological arguments, and addresses himself directly to the everyday reader. He divides his work into three parts dealing respectively with Faith, Hope, and Love. Is it not probable that in the *Compendium* Spe found a model for his *Güldenens Tugendbuch*?

One paragraph from the *Compendium Theologiae* will suffice to show how clearly Spe's method follows that of Thomas. In the introduction to the *Güldenens Tugendbuch* Spe explained how faith must necessarily precede hope, and how faith and hope must necessarily precede love. Without faith no hope is possible, without faith and hope, no love is possible. The first page of the first chapter of the *Compendium Theologia* brings out the same point. "Ut igitur tibi, fili carissime Reginalde, compendiosam doctrinam de christiana religione tradam, quam semper prae oculis possis habere; circa haec tria in praesenti opera tota nostra versatur intentio. Primum

¹ R. B. Vaughan, *The Life and Labours of S. Thomas of Aquin*, London, 1872, vol. II, p. 760.

de Fide, secundo de Spe, tertio vero de Caritate agemus. Hoc enim et apostolicus ordo habet, et ratio recta requirit. Non enim amor rectus esse potest, nisi debitus finis spei statuatur; nec hoc esse potest, si veritatis agnitio desit. Primo igitur necessaria est fides, per quam veritatem cognoscas; secundo spes, per quam in debito fine tua intentio collocetur; tertio necessaria est caritas, per quam tuus affectus totaliter ordinetur." ¹

Here, then, we have the guiding principle of the *Compendium*. This principle is consistently followed by Spe in his introduction to the *Tugendbuch*. The similarity between the *Göldenes Tugendbuch* on the one hand and the *Compendium Theologiae* and the *Summa Theologica* on the other, indicates how frequently Friedrich Spe followed his master, Thomas Aquinas.

Did Leibniz draw directly from Thomas Aquinas? That the great system worked out by Thomas Aquinas contains the germs of many of the dominating principles in Leibniz's philosophy may readily be admitted. In attempting to prove, therefore, that Leibniz was indebted to Spe, we must first settle the question whether Leibniz derived directly from Thomas Aquinas those ideas which Spe emphasized in the *Tugendbuch*. Without depending solely on the many letters and essays in which Leibniz refers specifically to the *Tugendbuch* as a source of inspiration, we can convince ourselves that Thomas Aquinas was no more a definite source for Leibniz than were any of the countless other philosophers from antiquity down to his day.

That Leibniz was acquainted with the philosophy of the Scholastics, and, therefore, of Thomas Aquinas, cannot be doubted. Leibniz's earliest work, *De Principio Individui*, written at the age of seventeen, dealt with an important and difficult problem of scholasticism. From this time on, however, Leibniz seems to have lost interest in the scholastics. In his old age he wrote, in a letter to Remond von Montmort, of a struggle he underwent as a youth of fifteen regarding the advisability of adhering to the doctrine of scholasticism. In his *De Arte Combinatorum* he directly opposed the Scholastics

¹ See Vaughan, vol. II, p. 759.

in several instances; in his introduction to the works of Nizolius he boldly advocated the use of the vernacular in philosophical writings—in direct contrast to the vocabulary and terminology of the Latin works of the Scholastics. In the *Notata Quaedam de Imperio Romano-Germanico*, he charged them with misinterpreting the main idea of Christ's victory over the temptations of Satan. In a letter to the Magdeburg scholar Guericke in the summer of 1671, he says: "Es ist für allen Dingen acht zu haben, dass man nicht nach Art der Scholasticorum etwa sich solcher worth bediene, so wohl gesagt aber nicht ausgelegt oder verstanden werden können."¹ In the *Nouveaux Essais* of 1703—one of his most important productions—he states that he knew something of the systems of the Scholastics, but he cared nothing for the details, in fact he was actually confused by them.²

The literature on the subject of Leibniz and Thomas Aquinas can easily be reviewed. Koppehl³ cites many parallel passages, but his case is weak. Nostitz-Rieneck⁴ ironically ridicules the "New Scholastics" who think that Leibniz got his "hellste Erleuchtungen" out of the middle ages. Willareth⁵ agrees with Nostitz-Rieneck that Leibniz did not get his best thoughts from the middle ages. By far the most scholarly and painstaking work on the subject is by Rintelen.⁶ His citations all go to prove that Leibniz got little from Thomas Aquinas or the other Scholastics.

Leibniz got little from Thomas Aquinas; his system shows, nevertheless, many of the principles of Thomas Aquinas. Here, then, the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* of Spe plays its part. Spe followed his master Thomas Aquinas; Leibniz during a period of almost fifty years was deeply interested in the *Tugend-*

¹ Gerhardt, I, p. 98.

² *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement Humain*, IV, 8, § 5; Erdmann, p. 371.

³ Hermann Koppehl, *Die Verwandschaft Leibnizens mit Thomas v. Aquino in der Lehre vom Bösen*, Jena, 1892.

⁴ *Leibniz und die Scholastik* (Phil. Jahrbuch, 1894, p. 55).

⁵ Willareth, *Die Lehre vom Uebel bei Leibniz, seiner Schule in Deutschland, und bei Kant*, Strassburg, 1898.

⁶ Fritz Rintelen, *Leibnizens Beziehung zur Scholastik*, Berlin, 1903.

buch. It is fair to suppose that the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* was, to a large extent, a stepping stone between the *Summa Theologica* and the *Théodicée*.

V. THE TRANSITION FROM SPE TO LEIBNIZ

How did Leibniz happen to become interested in the works of Friedrich Spe, so intensely interested, in fact, that he continued to study and recommend these works during the rest of his life? A brief survey of the early years of Leibniz's activity as a philosopher will make clear this interest.

We must remember, first of all, that the years in which Leibniz lived and worked, the early years at all events, were separated by only a generation from the years in which Spe worked. The *Güldenes Tugendbuch*, editions of which appeared in 1649, 1656, 1666, 1688,¹ and *Trutz Nachtigal*, editions of which appeared in 1649, 1654, 1656, 1660, 1664, 1683, 1709, were still known to German readers, and may have been known to Leibniz even before they were specially recommended to him by the Archbishop of Mainz.

The Archbishop of Mainz, Johann Phillip von Schönborn, and his minister of state, Johann Christian von Boineburg, had much to do with shaping Leibniz's future. In 1666, when in his twenty-first year, Leibniz met at Nürnberg the man through whom his career was to be ultimately decided—the Baron von Boineburg. Leibniz had just declined a professorship at the little university of Altdorf, and was in doubt regarding his next step. Boineburg, although still in his prime, had already acquired fame as one of the ablest diplomats of the age. Born in Erfurt in 1622, he had studied law under Conring at Helmstädt, had lived at the court of Queen Christina of Sweden where he came in close contact with the warrior-chancellor Oxenstierna, had returned to Germany in 1650, and had in 1652, at the age of thirty, been called into the service of the Archbishop of Mainz.

The Archbishop of Mainz was the most important dignitary in the Empire after the Emperor himself—the first of the electoral princes and the highest prelate in Germany. Johann

¹ A Latin translation *Exercitia aurea trium virtutum Theologicarum* and a Bohemian translation (1622) are noted by Balke, p. xxxiii.

Philipp von Schönborn was one of the most eminent men of the time. At the age of forty-two he had been called from the bishopric of Würzburg to the archbishopric of Mainz. This was in 1647 when the Thirty Years' War was drawing to a close. He was a worthy priest to succeed to the important electorate at this time. How important the archbishops of Mainz had been, may be learned from the words of one of Leibniz's biographers:¹ "Hatto and Willigis governed the Empire; Gerhard boasted of having the emperors under his thumb; Diether, long before the reformers, curtailed the pretensions of the Papal Chair; Berthold was the first advocate of general peace and of the imperial courts of justice; Johann Philipp the maintainer of the Empire and of the peace of Europe."

The archbishop was to play an important part in the years immediately following the Peace of Westphalia; Johann Philipp was a remarkable man for the part. His prime minister Boineburg was a Protestant when called to Mainz, but became a Catholic during the twelve years of his premiership. During those twelve years, both the archbishop and his minister had to act as the mediators between France and the house of Hapsburg. In those twelve years many important events took place—the death of the Emperor Ferdinand III (1657), the election of his son Leopold I (1658), the formation of the Rhine League (1658), the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659), the death of the French statesman Mazarin and the beginning of the independent reign of Louis XIV (1661), the war against the Turks in Hungary (1663).

Boineburg was an important figure in every event. He played a part in the imperial election, he was the archbishop's representative at the Peace of the Pyrenees where he became a friend of Mazarin, he secured for the Emperor the support of the Empire in the war against the Turks, he was one of the founders of the political system which had for its object the maintenance of the Peace of Westphalia, he was the intermediary between France and the Empire and drew upon himself the hostility of both. In 1664 he was dismissed by the Archbishop who, through a misunderstanding, suspected

¹ Merz, p. 27.

him of treachery. The quarrel was soon made up, but Boineburg refused all positions, though his daughter married the Archbishop's nephew. From 1664-1668, Boineburg lived in Frankfurt. In 1668 he returned to Mainz where he lived in high esteem as a private individual.

In the fall of 1666 Boineburg met Leibniz in Nürnberg. Boineburg was astounded at Leibniz's keen mind; Leibniz was awed by Boineburg's great career. A friendship was formed, Leibniz followed his friend to Frankfurt, completed his article on the teaching of civil law, dedicated this writing to the Archbishop of Mainz to whom he had been recommended by Boineburg, and in 1667, at the age of twenty-one, arrived at the court of Mainz. Here he stayed from 1667 until the spring of 1672, and during that period he published many philosophical and political articles. In 1672 he was sent to Paris on a political mission; at the end of the same year Boineburg died, and at the beginning of the next year the Archbishop of Mainz.

The importance of the "Mainzer Periode" of Leibniz's life can hardly be overestimated. As a young man of twenty-one he arrived with little means and no plans for the future. Five years later he was sent to Paris to the great Louis XIV as the representative of the Archbishop of Mainz and as a friend of the famous diplomat Boineburg. His future was assured; henceforth his career was to be that of the independent scholar, his patrons were to be the foremost princes of Europe. Instead of living in obscurity as a professor at Altdorf, he was to become one of the most widely known scholars of his day and of all time. His meeting with Boineburg marked the turning point of his career; the friendship with the archbishop started him on the road to fame.

But how did Leibniz's stay in Mainz bring him into touch with the writings of Spe, and why should the *Güldenens Tugendbuch* have exerted upon him such an unusual influence? As stated above, Leibniz during his years in Mainz was separated from Spe by only a generation. This gap was bridged by the Archbishop of Mainz who had known Spe personally.

While Johann Philipp von Schönborn was a young canon at Würzburg he met Father Spe, who was only eleven years his

senior. Schönborn had asked Spe why the latter's hair was gray at so young an age, and received the answer that the experience of leading two hundred condemned witches to the stake had turned the hair of their father-confessor prematurely gray.¹ Schönborn later became bishop of Würzburg and finally archbishop of Mainz. He knew that Spe was the author of the anonymously printed protest against the witch persecutions, the *Cautio Criminalis*—a work which appealed so strongly to him that when he became archbishop he forbade, in the territory under his jurisdiction, the persecution of suspected witches. He was one of the first rulers to do so; his example was soon followed by the Duke of Brunswick and many other princes.² Through Schönborn the witch persecutions were checked, and Spe's book, according to Leibniz's opinion, was the original cause.

We can imagine how intense was the archbishop's love for Spe, and how highly he valued Spe's works. From the very beginning he seems to have impressed upon Leibniz the importance of the *Cautio Criminalis*, of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*, and of *Trutz Nachtigal*. Leibniz expresses his gratitude to the archbishop in practically every letter in which he mentions Spe. How great an impression the story of Spe—coming as it did from the lips of one who had known Spe personally and was now the foremost prelate of the Empire and one of the foremost princes of Europe—made upon the youthful Leibniz, can only be surmised. From the archbishop's own hand he received a copy of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*,³ and from this *Tugendbuch* he derived an inspiration which lasted until his death almost fifty years later.

One other point should not be lost sight of. Johann Philipp was one of the most liberal-minded of princes, as is shown by the appointment of Boineburg, at that time a Protestant. Both the archbishop and his minister of state were leaders in the movement for reuniting Catholicism and Protestantism. Leibniz entered the plan with all his soul, and wrote numer-

¹ The story is told by Leibniz in his letters to Morrell and to Placcius.

² Leibniz brings out this point in the *Théodicée*, § 97.

³ Cf. the letters to Mlle. de Scudéry (1698) and to Baron Imhof (1708).

ous theological articles to justify his stand. For many years he entertained hopes of being able to consummate his plan of reunion. In reading Spe's book, he must have been impressed by the absence of all controversial arguments. Spe was essentially a humanitarian. The latter's life had been devoted to bringing back to his Church the lost Protestant districts, one of which (at Peine) he won back by his own unaided efforts. In doing so he was attacked by an assassin, and almost lost his life. These things must have impressed Leibniz, and must have increased the interest aroused in him by the archbishop.

Thus we have the transition from Spe to Leibniz through Johann Philipp von Schönborn, Archbishop of Mainz. Through Leibniz's letters and through his *Théodicée* the world knows that Spe wrote the *Cautio Criminalis*. Through these same letters and through the *Théodicée* we know how great an influence the *Göldenes Tugendbuch* exerted upon Leibniz.

VI. THE WRITINGS OF LEIBNIZ REFERRING TO SPE

The extracts and letters are arranged chronologically. In each case I have indicated where the letter or extract may be found. One letter—that by Leibniz to Morell—has never been published; I obtained my copy through the kindness of the authorities at the Royal Library at Hanover. All the letters and extracts, with four exceptions, refer directly to Spe and mention him by name. These four—the extract from the *Codex Juris*, the first letter to Mlle. de Scudéry, the letter to the Abbé Nicaise, and the extract from the *Nouveaux Essais*—are included because their bearing on my subject is obvious.

1. *Grundriss eines Bedenckens von Aufrihtung einer Societät in Teutschland zu Aufnehmen der Künste und Wissenschaften*. (1669-70).¹

2. *Elogium Patris Friderici Spee. S. J.* (May 1677).²

¹ Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1900, vol. II, p. 8ff.

² *Die Werke von Leibniz* gemäs seinem handschriftlichen Nachlass in der Könighchen Bibliothek zu Hannover von Onno Klopp, Hanover, 1864-84, vol. VIII.

3. Letter to Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels (Autumn 1680).¹
4. The *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus*. (1693).²
5. Letter to Herzog Rudolf August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg, zu Wolfenbüttel (Mar. 9, 1693).³
6. Letter to Andr. Morell (Dec. 10, 1696).⁴
7. Letter to the Electress Sophie. (1697).⁵
8. Opinion on a book by the Archbishop of Cambray (1697).⁶
9. Letter to Vincentius Placcius (April 26, 1697).⁷
10. Letter to Mlle. de Scudéry (Nov. 17, 1697).⁸
11. Letter to Mlle. de Scudéry (Jan. 14-24, 1698).⁹
12. Letter to the Abbé Nicaise (1698).¹⁰
13. The *Nouveaux Essais sur L'Entendement Humain* (1703).¹¹
14. Letter to Baron d'Imhof (1708).¹²
15. Letter to DesBosses (Oct. 2, 1708).¹³
16. The *Théodicée* (1710).¹⁴
17. Letter to DesBosses (Feb. 8, 1711).¹⁵
18. Letter to DesBosses (July 8, 1711).¹⁶

¹ Chr. von Rommel, *Leibniz und Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels*. Ein ungedruckter Briefwechsel über religiöse und politische Gegenstände, Frankfurt, 1847, vol. I, p. 253.

² *Die philosophischen Schriften von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz*, herausgegeben von C. J. Gerhardt, Berlin, 1875-90, vol. III, p. 387.

³ Klopp, vol. VIII. ⁴ Never published. A brief summary is given in Edward Bodemann, *Der Briefwechsel des Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Hannover*, Hanover, 1889, p. 190.

⁵ Klopp, vol. VIII. ⁶ God. Guil. Leibnitii *Opera Philosophica quae existant Latina Gallica Germanica Omnia*, instruxit Joannes Eduardus Erdmann, Berlin, 1840, p. 789.

⁷ Vincentii Placcii, *Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum*, Hamburg, 1708, p. 234.

⁸ J. F. Feller, *Monumenta Varia Inedita*, Jena, 1715. Trimestre Quartum, XXIV, p. 253.

⁹ Feller XXV, p. 254. ¹⁰ Erdmann, p. 791.

¹¹ Erdmann, p. 246 (*Nouveaux Essais*, 10 § 5.) ¹² Klopp, vol. III.

¹³ Gerhardt, vol. II, p. 362. ¹⁴ Gerhardt, vol. VI, pp. 156ff.

¹⁵ Gothofredi Guillelmi Leibnitii *Opera Omnia*, nunc primum collecta—studio Ludovici Dutens, Geneva, 1768, vol. II, 1, p. 292.

¹⁶ Gerhardt, vol. II, p. 423.

In reading over the letters and extracts in which Leibniz mentions Spe's name, one is impressed by four important facts—first, the number of years over which the various communications and extracts extend; secondly, the consistency with which Leibniz expresses his gratitude to the Archbishop of Mainz who first called his attention to Spe; thirdly, the class of people to whom and for whom the letters and extracts are written; finally, the one work—the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*—with which the letters and extracts which mention Spe's name are concerned.

A brief comparison of the dates of composition of the letters and extracts will be of value. The *Grundriss eines Bedenkens von Aufrichtung einer Societät in Teutschland zu Aufnehmen der Künste und Wissenschaften* was written in 1669 or 1670, when Leibniz was a young man of about twenty-three; the flattering *Elogium Patris Friderici Spee* in 1677, when he was thirty-one; the letter to Landgraf Ernst of Hessen-Rheinfels in 1680, when thirty-four; the *Codex-Juris* and the letter to Herzog Rudolph August in 1693, when forty-seven; the letter to Morell in 1696, when forty-eight; the review of the book by the Archbishop of Cambray and the letters to the Electress Sophie, to Placcius, and to Mlle. de Scudéry in 1697, when fifty-one; the second letter to Mlle. de Scudéry and the letter to Abbé Nicaise in 1698, when fifty-two; the *Nouveaux Essais* in 1703 when fifty-seven; the letter to Baron Imhof and the first letter to DesBosses in 1708, when sixty-two; the *Théodicée* in 1710 when sixty-four; and the two other letters to Des Bosses in 1711, when sixty-five.

Leibniz therefore knew Spe's works from about 1667 (the date of his arrival in Mainz), when he was twenty-one, until his death in 1716, when he was seventy. Whether the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* and *Trutz Nachtigal* were known casually to Leibniz before he met the Archbishop is difficult to determine. Roughly speaking, however, one might say that Leibniz was intimately acquainted with the works of Spe for about fifty years, and that during those fifty years he expressed his admiration and indebtedness in a series of letters and quotations which leave no doubt regarding his purpose to call attention to Spe.

Remembering that the Archbishop of Mainz was the first of Leibniz's patrons, and that at Mainz Leibniz began his career as an independent investigator and scholar—a career which might never have been realized if Leibniz had not come in contact so early in life with so magnanimous a prince—we can understand what an influence the Archbishop must have had upon Leibniz, and how much importance must be attached to the fact that Johann Philipp Schönborn called Leibniz's attention to Spe. Schönborn was an admirer of Spe, Leibniz was an admirer of Schönborn, and Leibniz reiterates again and again his debt to Schönborn for calling his attention to the works of Spe.

In the letter to Landgraf Ernst of Hessen-Rheinfels (1680) Leibniz refers to "le grande Jean Philippe" who put an end to the witch persecutions in his province as a result of Spe's ringing protest; in the letter to Herzog Rudolph of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1693) Leibniz again refers to the "Churfürst zu Mainz Johann Philipp" who praised highly Spe's *Tugendbuch*; in the letter to Morell (1696) Leibniz mentions "Jean Philippes Electeur de Mayence" as the first man who called his attention to the *Tugendbuch*; in the letter to the Electress Sophie (1697) he thanks "le grand prince, qui estoit en même temps un grand prelat" for recommending Spe's book; in the famous letter to Placcius (1697) he tells the story of Spe's gray hair and cites Spe's books which he commended to many friends of both creeds and which he first learned of "ex ore Eminentissimi Electoris Moguntini Johannis Philippi"; in the letter to Mlle. de Seudéry (1698) he states that Johann Philipp had given him a copy of the *Tugendbuch*; in the letter to Baron Imhof (1708) he again states that he received the *Tugendbuch* from "l'Electeur de Mayence Jean Philippe de Schönborn"; in the *Théodicée* (1710) he refers once more to the "grand Electeur de Mayence" who first directed his attention to Spe. Johann Philipp Schönborn, Archbishop of Mainz, as has been stated before, must, therefore, be looked upon as the important connecting link between Spe and Leibniz.

A third point deserves special consideration—the class of people to whom the letters mentioning Spe are addressed. All

these letters are addressed to persons who were prominent in life and who wielded great influence. It was evidently Leibniz's intention to make Spe's works known by recommending them to people of influence. Many of the letters were written to members of the nobility—to the Landgraf of Hessen-Rheinfels, to the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, to the Electress Sophie of Hanover, to the Baron Imhof who at that time was accompanying to Barcelona the Princess Elizabeth Christine, wife of Archduke Carl who became King of Spain and later Emperor Charles VI. The whole *Théodicée*, moreover, was written primarily for Sophie Charlotte, Queen of Prussia. A few letters and extracts were written for members of the clergy—the Archbishop of Cambray, the Abbé Molanus,¹ the Abbé Nicaise, and Father DesBosses who translated the *Théodicée* into Latin. The remaining letters were addressed also to well known personages—to Morell, the famous collector of coins who was at one time head of the mint in Paris; to Placcius, the scholar of Hamburg who published large volumes of letters received by him from many people; and to Mlle. de Scudéry, the distinguished French writer. Those of Leibniz's works in which occur passages closely connected with our subject—*Codex Juris*, the *Nouveaux Essais*, the *Théodicée*—are to be classed with his most important productions. Finally, the two documents which are neither letters nor extracts from larger works—the *Grundriss* recommending the establishment of an academy of sciences, and the *Elogium Patris Friderici Spee*—are peculiarly interesting. They prove Leibniz's own personal esteem for Spe's works. In the former he avails himself of the ideas advanced in the introduction of the *Tugendbuch* and utilizes these ideas for the argument in favor of a great national academy; in the *Elogium*, which was not published until a century and a half after Leibniz's death, the great philosopher pays a glowing tribute to the author of the *Güldenens Tugendbuch*.

This brings us to the fourth and most important point—that all the letters and extracts, which are quoted because

¹ In his letter to Morell, the famous collector of coins, Leibniz states that he recommended Spe's works to Molanus. I have been unable to find any trace of the Molanus letter.

they mention Spee's name, deal primarily with Spee's *Göldenes Tugendbuch*. The *Grundriss* does not mention the *Tugendbuch* by name, but Leibniz's paragraphs show the unmistakable influence of the introduction to the *Tugendbuch*, and the sixteenth paragraph containing the sentence "Und sind dahehr zu loben die herrlichen Gedanken des Patris Spee Soc. Jes., eines trefflichen Mannes, welcher einen Vorschlag gethan, wie man sich gewöhnen solle, fast nichts soviel möglich *ohne Reflexion zur Ehre Gottes* vorbey passiren zu lassen" leave no doubt as to the work of Spee that is referred to. In the *Elogium* several pages are devoted to an enthusiastic praise of the *Tugendbuch*: "quem vellem in omnium Christianorum esse manibus." In the letter to the Landgraf of Hessen-Rheinfels is stated: "j'en trouve gueres de la force du livre du P. Frederic Spee Jesuite intitulé '*Göldenes Tugendbuch*.'" The letter to the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg was sent with a copy of Spee's book which was highly recommended; in the letter to Morell the book is again praised and the statement is made that the Abbé Molanus had also been greatly pleased with it; in the letter to the Electress Sophie, Leibniz develops his own ideas on love, but these ideas are adaptations of the ideas presented in Spee's *Tugendbuch*, a French translation of the introduction of which Leibniz encloses in his letter; in the review of the Archbishop of Cambray's book the *Tugendbuch* is not mentioned by name but the reference to Spee's success in emphasizing "le pur amour de Dieu" is unmistakable; in the letter to Placcius Leibniz states that the "libri ἀσκητικοὶ" of Spee in which the latter demonstrates "artificium indefinenter laudandi Deum" deserve to be particularly recommended; the letters to Mlle. de Scudéry again emphasize the power of divine love and the second letter particularly recommends the *Tugendbuch*; the letter to Baron Imhof is sent with a copy of Spee's book and requests the baron to call Spee's book to the attention of the Queen (the wife of Charles, King of Spain and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire); the first letter to DesBosses again refers to "elegantissimo libello" of Friedrich Spee; the *Théodicée* devotes two sections to Spee and his book. Of unusual interest are the last two letters to DesBosses. In the

first Leibniz asks DesBosses to look up the descendants of Spe in Düsseldorf in the hope that some inedited works of Spe may be found; in the second, Leibniz thanks DesBosses for some information concerning Spe.

All these references alone would indicate that Leibniz not only admired Spe's efforts as a humanitarian and writer, but that he agreed heartily with the ideas developed in the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*, particularly in the introduction to this book. We have more proof, however, that Leibniz practically adopted as his own the introduction of Spe's book. Among Leibniz's papers in the Royal Library at Hanover there are found ¹ not only the original French translation, in his own handwriting, of the introduction to the *Tugendbuch*, but a number of copies corrected and approved by him.

The French translation ² which Leibniz sent to the Electress Sophie is faithful to Spe's original. Leibniz indicates that he agrees with the original by means of various short comments enclosed in brackets. These comments seem to be inserted mainly for the sake of making perfectly clear what Spe has in mind. Leibniz, by first developing in his letter to the Electress his own ideas on the power of divine love (and these ideas as we saw in an earlier chapter are practically the same as Spe's), by then translating into French Spe's introduction, and finally by adding in brackets his own comments, accepts in its entirety Spe's introduction; this introduction, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, contains the gist of the whole *Tugendbuch*.

VII. THE INFLUENCE OF THE THÉODICÉE

If it has been established that Spe exerted some influence upon Leibniz, the importance of this influence can be emphasized if we trace briefly the influence of the *Théodicée* upon the thought and literature of the eighteenth century.

Upon its publication, the *Théodicée* began to be read by people of every rank and confession, by Catholics and Protestants, by princes, scholars, men of the middle and even of the lower classes. Its entertaining style, its digressions into so

¹ Klopp, vol. VIII, p. XV.

² A copy may be found in Gerhardt, vol. III.

many branches of learning, above all its cheerfulness appealed to everybody. Though written in French, it was regarded by Germans a monument of German scholarship, and Leibniz's fame became greater than ever before.

The popularity of the *Théodicée*, however, was by no means confined to Germany. Written in French, it was eagerly read in France where, according to one biographer,¹ it is studied more thoroughly than in any other country. Even before the *Théodicée* was finished, Leibniz had arranged with the Jesuit father DesBosses to have the work translated into Latin. This Latin translation was adopted by Dutens in the first edition of Leibniz's works (1768), and thus became accessible to scholars all over the world. Many French and at least two Latin editions followed one another in rapid succession. Between 1720 and 1744 four editions of the German translation appeared, and a fifth was issued by Gottsched in 1763. In England, the *Théodicée* circulated less widely, yet in 1716, the year of Leibniz's death, the Princess of Wales was active in trying to provide for an English translation.

In short, the *Théodicée*, dealing as it did with some of the most vital problems of mankind, occupied the attention of Europe. Philosophers read it eagerly, for it indicated a distinct advance in philosophical thought; many theologians readily accepted its principles which conformed in the main with doctrines emphasized by leaders in both churches; laymen became interested, for it proved by learned arguments that the existing world was the best possible world, and that life in general was worth while.

The reason for this widespread popularity of the *Théodicée* is not difficult to understand. For centuries the world had frequently been looked upon as a place of woe, of sin, of pain. Evil had been looked upon as a crime which could be atoned for only by suffering, perhaps by eternal damnation. The idea of the vicarious atonement had been emphasized by both churches. The wars of the preceding century in the Netherlands, and France, and England—Germany was still staggering under the blow of the Thirty Years' War—had only confirmed men in their belief that there was more Evil in the

¹ Guhrauer, vol. II, p. 255.

world than Good. Suddenly the *Théodicée* appeared; men were willing to listen to its arguments.¹

Once recognized, the *Théodicée* made its influence felt on contemporary thought and literature. Only the briefest outline is possible in this chapter. In 1734 Haller in his poem *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels* summed up poetically the leading thoughts of the *Théodicée*. Uz followed with a *Théodicée*. Gottsched not only got out a translation of Leibniz's work, but also wrote a *Hamartigeneia* ("Verteidigung der besten Welt").²

In the realm of pure philosophy, Leibniz had his followers in Wolf, Reimarus, Moses Mendelssohn, Thüming, Bilfinger, Baumgarten, Meier, and numerous others.³ Though modified by these men in some features, Leibniz's system formed the basis for their own views. It is a well known fact that Kant, during the first period of his philosophical development, also was a follower of Leibniz and an admirer of the *Théodicée*.⁴

Of greatest importance, however, was the influence of the *Théodicée* upon German literature through the great writers Lessing, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller. So vast is the subject of tracing Leibniz's influence upon these men that only the barest facts must suffice.

Lessing and Herder were directly interested in Leibniz's philosophy. In the words of one biographer:⁵ "Two men more than their many friends and allies, stand out as true heirs to the spirit of Leibniz; Lessing (1729-1781) and Herder (1774-1803)." And again: "Both of them had inherited the true spirit, if not the systematizing tendency of Leibniz's philosophy."⁶

¹ For an excellent account of the effect of the *Théodicée* see Biedermann, vol. II, pp. 267ff., and especially Josef Kremer, *Das Problem der Théodicée in der Philosophie und Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1909, and Lempp, *Das Problem der Théodicée in der Philosophie und Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1910.

² Biedermann, vol. II, p. 262.

³ Cf. Willareth, p. 29ff; also Kuno Fischer, vol. II, pp. 743ff.

⁴ Cf. Kremer, p. 155ff.

⁵ Cf. Merz, pp. 195, 196.

⁶ Merz, p. 198.

Of Lessing's philosophical writings at least four have been mentioned as showing distinct Leibnizian traces—*Das Christentum der Vernunft* (1753), *Pope ein Metaphysiker* (1755), *Die Freimaurer-Gespräche* (1778-1780), *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1780).¹ In Lessing, Leibniz had one of his greatest admirers. In fact Lessing had even contemplated writing a biography of Leibniz, and had begun to collect material.²

Herder, like Lessing, was a follower of Leibniz; traces of Leibniz's influence are found in his *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774), and in the famous *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784-1791).³

To trace Leibnizian principles in the "Weltanschauung" of Goethe is not difficult. We need only remember Herder's great influence on Goethe. In *Faust*, for instance, we find the problem of Evil treated in much the same way as in the works of Leibniz. Goethe's pantheism was essentially the Leibnizian pantheism of the *Monadologie* and the *Théodicée*.⁴ Goethe sympathized with Spinoza in so far as the latter was a pantheist, particularly, however, with Leibniz who solved the problem of the continuity of matter by his conception of the identity of Nature and spirit, of mind and body.⁵

In Schiller those elements of Kantian philosophy which in general agreed with Leibniz's system predominated. He believed in the harmony of the world as the highest goal of mankind. All perfections of the universe are united in God. Love is the ladder upon which we ascend to God-likeness.⁶

When we realize that four great figures in German literature—Lessing, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller—were faithful adherents of Leibnizian optimism, we can understand what an

¹ Willareth, p. 77.

² T. W. Rolleston, *Life of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing*, London, 1889,

³ Willareth, p. 87.

⁴ Cf. Kuno Fischer, vol. II, p. 869.

⁵ Kuno Fischer, vol. II, p. 870.

⁶ Kuno Fischer, vol. II, p. 874. Cf. also R. Boxberger, *Schiller's Théodicée* (*Archiv für Lit. Gesch.*, Vol. VIII, 1879, p. 120).

influence Leibniz exerted. When we realize, therefore, how enthusiastic an admirer Leibniz was of Spe and of the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*, also how much stress he laid on the importance of divine love, the conception of which he found worked out so consistently in the *Tugendbuch*, only then can we appreciate the part played in the history of German thought and German literature by Friedrich Spe.

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A HISTORY OF ENGLISH RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

We desire to return to the original meaning and force of "the which." It has been shown that it often had the force of a demonstrative pointing to a following asyndetic determinative clause. Attention has also been directed to the fact that in this construction there was originally no strong demonstrative before the antecedent with a correlative in the subordinate clause. It is now desired to give a few more examples of this older type of determinative clause to throw light upon the further development.

There is often in Middle English a personal pronoun as antecedent followed by "the which" pointing to a following determinative clause, where in modern English the antecedent is a stressed demonstrative with a correlative relative in the following clause: "ȝyt preyde he God of more grace, / þat he myȝt knowe *hem* by face, / þe *whyche* receyued hyt wurþyly" (Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne," 10191-3) "He prayed God for grace that he might know *those* by sight who received it worthily," literally "that he might know them by sight, those, [they] received it worthily." We also find the form "which that" here: "He *which that* hath the shortest shall beginne" (Chaucer's "Prolog," 836). The "which that" like "the which" points to the following clause. The asyndetic construction with "that" is also used here: "And to *hem* speke I alþermoost / þat ledeþ her lyues in pride & boost" ("Cursur," 251-2, Trinity MS.) "And to those I speak the most who spend their lives in pride and boasting." The "þat" points to the following clause just as "the which" and "which that," differing from them only in that it is lighter in weight and indicates a little less pains to be exact and definite. The Cotton MS. has the stressed demonstrative "þoo" *those* here instead of the personal pronoun "hem." This is the new hypotaetic type. The common Old English determinatives here were "se seðe." In Middle English this became "he that." The choice of the personal pronoun "he" here for the antecedent shows very clearly that the original

construction was asyndetic. Both "he" and "that" were without stress. Hypotaxis with the strongly stressed demonstrative before the antecedent began in Middle English in the plural as here in the Cotton MS. with the form "*poo that those that*". The corresponding singular form "that that" was impossible as there was already a "that that" in use with the force of "what." The modern English form "that one who" became available here, but for some reason its use has never become common as are the similar German forms "*der-jenige welcher*" or "*der welcher*." Hence the old asyndetic form "he that" lingered on for a long while almost to our day. The feeling for this old form and the modern variation "he who" has not entirely disappeared. These forms are still often seen and heard in biblical language, old saws and modern sayings couched in the phraseology of the older saws, also very often in grammar and dictionaries as a convenient terse rendering of foreign correlatives. In looking over this treatise the writer observed that he has used them himself. He is quite sure, however, that he does not employ them in ordinary conversation. The simplicity of older speech has here been replaced by a great variety of expressions which truly reflect the modern desire for accuracy of expression. We now usually say, with general force "any one that," or more commonly "any one who," "every one who," "that person who," "that man or woman who," "that man that" or more commonly "that man who," "that boy who," etc., plural "those who," or to be precise, "those men who," "those boys who," etc. Thus this hypotactic form has entirely supplanted the older "he the which" and "he which that" and also the simpler "he that," "they that." The forms with "which" have largely disappeared as "which" no longer refers to persons. We can of course still use "which" with reference to things: "These books and *those which* I sold yesterday." The "the" in "the which" and the "that" in "which that" gradually disappeared after the thoro establishment of the strongly stressed demonstratives "that" and "those" as antecedents. The office of pointing was assumed by the stressed demonstrative and "which" became a mere formal relative correlative to the preceding demonstrative. Thus "they the which" and

"they which that" became with reference to things "those which."

Altho the older asyndetic forms have been supplanted by hypotaetic types, asyndesis is too firmly rooted in English feeling to be easily suppressed. Modern asyndetic forms are very common here still wherever there is no occasion to be especially definite. We say: "this man and *the one* we met on the bridge; these men and *the ones* we met on the bridge"; "the man we meet every morning," not any more in colloquial speech "*he that* or *he whom* we meet every morning." When the pronoun in the subordinate clause is in the nominative relation we use the fuller asyndetic type with "that": "*a man that* would do such a thing": "*the man that* met us on the bridge." With reference to persons the present usage is inclined to employ "who" here: "*A man who* would do such a thing," etc. The "who" here may be felt as a real relative pronoun, but historically it has grown up out of the old asyndetic construction with "that." The "who" simply replaces "that" as a clearer expression for the idea of personality. The "that" itself, however, is often considered a relative, so that the original force of "that" as a demonstrative pointing to a following asyndetic clause is fading away from our consciousness.

A strong clear light is thrown upon the meaning of "which," "the which," and "which that" by the fact that they cannot be used when the antecedent is a vague, indefinite pronoun. This force of clear precise reference is still today so strong that we cannot say: "I gave him all *which* I had," but must use "that," which is not so definite: "I gave him all *that* I had," or "all I had." Thus we say: "Nothing *that* I had pleased him" rather than "Nothing *which* I had pleased him." Compare also: "I gave him everything *that* I had" (indefinite) and "I gave him every thing *which* I had" (definite). Of course, "which" can be employed after indefinites when the reference becomes definite: "these books and all those *which* are lying on my table." The writer feels that there is a difference of meaning here if the word "those" is omitted. If the "those" is expressed the reference is definite and the use of "which" is natural. If it is omitted the

reference becomes less definite and there arises a natural impulse to employ "that." Thus also in broad sweeping statements, especially after a superlative, "that," not "which," is used: "That is the best book *that* I have ever read." After a superlative "that" is also used with reference to persons: "She is the prettiest woman *that* (not *whom*) I have ever seen." Of course, also in the predicate relation where the reference is to the abstract idea of quality rather than to a definite individual "that," not "who," is used: "Fool *that* I am to expect such a thing!" "He is not the man *that* he used to be." Do not confound the indefinite relative "that" with the definite demonstrative "that": "this fruit and *that* (definite demonstrative) I bought yesterday." "Nothing *that* (indefinite relative) I bought pleased him." We may, however, regard "that" as an indefinite relative only in a *comparative* sense. It is indefinite only as compared with "which." At the beginning of the Middle English period it was very much more used than "which." The form "who" had not yet come into use as a relative, so that "that" was the *usual* relative. It was replaced by "which" only when it was desired to make the reference more definite. Thus the indefinite force attached to it in comparison with "which." It is still very common and is used very often where the reference is entirely definite: "the book *that* I hold in my hand." It has been largely replaced by "who" with reference to persons and by "which" for accurate definite reference in case of things. In long intricate sentences "which" is now also often preferred to "that" because it has "greater carrying power" as expressed by Mr. C. Alphonso Smith in his "Short Circuit in English Syntax" in "Modern Language Notes," XIX. It marks more clearly than "that" the adjective relative clause as such and thus enables us to get a clear view thru a long series of clauses, while "that" does not distinguish an adjective relative clause from a substantive or adverbial clause and thus sometimes obscures the view. Let us now return to the older use of "which," especially "the which."

There is in early Middle English often no definite article *before* the antecedent as the following demonstrative "þe quilk" assumes the function of pointing to the following asyn-

detic relative clause: “þas er four vertus principals, / þe quilk man clepes cardinals” (“Cursur,” 10007-8) “These are the four principal virtues men call the cardinal virtues.” Notice that in modern English we place the demonstrative, i. e. the definite article *before* the noun. To bring out the *full* force of “the quilk” in the original it would be necessary to place “those” before the noun: “These are those four virtues men call,” etc. The author of the “Cursur” desired to determine the four virtues more definitely and accurately. Otherwise the form “þat” or the simple asyndetic type without “þat” might have been used here instead of “þe quilk.” Similarly there was often no definite article nor modifiers of any kind *before* the antecedent as the following demonstrative “þe quilk” pointed to the following determinative clause: “Pepins þen he gaue him thrin, / þe quilk a þe appel tre he nam þat his fader ete of, adam” (“Cursur,” 1366-8) “He gave him those three kernels that he had taken from the apple-tree that his father Adam had eaten of.” Here there is no modifying word before “pepins.” The author might have placed the definite article before the antecedent and then have used “that” instead of “þe quilk” and this he often does. Again in this example the desire to become accurate and concise is apparent. The word “those” used in the translation was selected to bring out the force of the original. It seems to us too exact. The definite article would accord better with present usage. In Middle English, however, “the which” often stood before the determinative clause where we would today not desire to be so exact. The author of the “Cursur” used “the which” in fairly moderate bounds, but there is already a slight tendency to employ it where the more modest “that” or the simple asyndetic construction without “that” would be more appropriate. Later in the period this tendency increased everywhere. This desire to be definite appeared most commonly in official language, where the labored attempt to be exact manifests itself in all languages. The authors of works of polite literature, learned scholars, and the writers of the official records vied with one another in accuracy of expression. At the close of the fourteenth century the whole situation had changed. The great simplicity

of early Middle English was replaced by a clumsy labored attempt to be accurate. Simple "That" was replaced by "the which" "the which that," or "which that." The excessive fondness for these long forms and their frequent use where the original proper shades were not observed led to the loss of their distinctive meanings and helped to bring them into disrepute.

On the other hand, there are cases where the old demonstrative construction in both modern and Middle English tends to clearness and is much employed, especially where a relative clause has already preceded and it is desired to add another one to make the reference more definite: "þat þai þe yongeist bring in place / þat þai lefte at þeir fader in, / þe quilk þai clepid beniamin" ("Cursur," 4982-4) "that they should bring their youngest brother that they had left at their father's house, the one they called Benjamin." We no longer use "the which" here, but modern "the one" is a faithful rendering of the spirit of Middle English "the which," indeed it is the modern continuation of the older asyndetic usage. This is nicely illustrated also by the following sentence: "His brade blissing he him gaue / þe quilk his broþer wend at haue" (ib. 3713-14) "He (Isaac) gave him (Jacob) his ample blessing, the one his brother (Esau) expected to receive." Here the construction with "the one" does not seem as justifiable as in the preceding sentence. As we look at it closer it makes upon us the impression of an afterthought as if the proper form should have been if we had had time to frame the sentence carefully: "He gave him *the* ample blessing that his brother had expected to receive." In Middle English the clause is not an afterthought. It is the regular form for the definite precise determinative clause. The demonstrative *followed* the antecedent *regularly*. The writer invites the reader to look at the first modern rendering of this sentence once more and examine if there is not something of this very precise form left in the form "the one." Is the clause after all an afterthought? Is it not rather the old precise form that has been preserved in colloquial language? There is one particular case where this old precise form still lingers on. In Middle English a determinative clause intro-

duced by "the which" often limited a noun preceded by the *indefinite* article: "a godd had laban in his bure / þe quilk þat he was wonnt anure" (ib. 3921) "Laban had in his dwelling *the* god *that* he was wont to worship." It is quite evident that the reference is to a definite god and modern English requires the definite article before the antecedent. In older English it was the custom in narrative to introduce by the *indefinite* article an object mentioned for the first time. After the object was introduced it was further on referred to by the definite article or a demonstrative. This common Middle English sentence reflects this old usage. Even modern English can approach this old construction closely: "Laban had in his dwelling a god, *the one* he was wont to worship." Again the writer is convinced that the clause is not an afterthought, but a real old construction that has been preserved to us in colloquial speech.

As we have seen above "the which" was used as a demonstrative pointing to a following determinative clause corresponding to Old English "seðe" and "se." We should not forget, however, that "seðe" and "se" were also employed in Old English as regular relative pronouns. Now as "the which" assumed the function of older "seðe" and "se" it also assumed their relative function: "For if we luf god in al oure hert, þar es na thyng in vs *thurgh þe whilk* we serve to syn" (Richard Rolle of Hampole's "The Form of Perfect Living," Horstmann's ed. p. 37). The presence of the preposition before "þe whilk" shows clearly that the construction is relative, not *asyndetic*. In the "Cursur" the real relative use of "þe quilk" after prepositions is quite rare, as the old simple *asyndetic* construction still prevails. The relative construction of "quilk þat" is also little used here: "and þe haligast i-wiss, / *wit quilk þat* he smerd is" (19987-8) "and surely the Holy Ghost with which he is annoited." Even in Chaucer, who has such a pronounced fondness for "the whiche" and "which that" in the *asyndetic* type, we find these forms very little used after prepositions in the relative construction. The relative points *backward* to the antecedent and at the same time marks the beginning of the determinative clause. Thus the "the" in "the which" and the "that" in

"which that" are perfectly useless and out of place in the *relative* construction, while in the *asyndetic* type they perform a useful function in pointing forward to the following asyndetic determinative clause. From the very beginning of the Middle English period simple "which" was more common after prepositions than the longer forms, as it more readily adapted itself to the real relative construction by reason of its lack of clear demonstrative form. On account of its frequent use here and the growing tendency in later literature to employ the hypotactic form, the boundaries of simple "which" were widened as over against "the which" and "which that."

Clear hypotactic form also appeared wherever a stressed demonstrative was placed before the antecedent: "*pat* name the whylke gyffes comforthe to me in all angwys (Richard Rolle de Hampole," p. 1). "And in our yerd *tho* herbes shall I finde, / the whiche han of hir propretee by kinde, / to purgen yow binethe and eek above" (Chaucer's "The Nonne Preetes Tale," 131-2). Attention has already been called above to the appearance of this new type in cases where the antecedent was a pronoun. Both where the antecedent was a stressed demonstrative and where it was a noun preceded by a stressed demonstrative the stressed form with its strong demonstrative force robbed "the which" of its old function of pointing to the determinative clause and reduced it to the rank of a mere correlative relative pronoun. The "the" in "the which" and the "that" in "which that" in time disappeared as the demonstrative force was incompatible with their new rank of correlative relative pronoun. Thus the new form became "that name which," "those herbs which," etc.

The writer cannot find anywhere any attempt to explain the rise of this very important new type. To him the placing of the demonstrative before the antecedent belongs to the general movement affecting the position of adjective elements. In oldest English adjective elements might stand after the noun where today the position before the noun is imperative. The complicated history of the word order of the adjective elements cannot be given here. The adjective elements that once followed the noun occupied this position in a functional

capacity. For instance, the demonstrative followed the noun that it might point to the following asyndetic relative clause. The demonstrative that once had the function of standing at the end of the principia proposition to point to the following clause took this function with it when it followed the general movement of the adjective elements to the position before the noun. It was not at first more strongly stressed than it was in its old position. A study of a large number of the oldest examples reveals that there is no tangible difference of meaning or emphasis between the old and the new construction. As it now in its new position stood before a noun it was often for the sake of emphasis strongly stressed just as the regular attributive "that." With this emphasis came a distinct differentiation of this type from the older form. Of course, *the stress was not always present nor is it today*, but it became the characteristic feature of the construction, for the "that" was always capable of stress whenever there was need of emphasis. The new attributive demonstrative did not like the usual attributive demonstrative point to a visible individual or object but to the description of an individual contained in a following clause, the beginning of which was marked by the correlative relative. Where did the correlative relative come from? The original form of "þat tre þat was sua suete" ("Cursur," 8292) "that tree that was so sweet" was "þe tre þat was sua suete." In case of a plural antecedent the "þat became "þaa," or "þo," later "those," as the demonstrative that stood *before* a noun had a plural form: "to þaa men þat boodword bar" (ib. 14174) "to those men that bore the message." When "þat" moved into the position before the antecedent it displaced "þe." This change left a gap after the antecedent, for "þat" had taken the place of "þe" before the antecedent. In the examples from the Cursur, however, there is a "þat" where this gap ought to be. This is a later development. We now select a sentence that shows the gap: "þat ilk cupe þai soght þai fand" (ib., 4916) "that very cup they sought they found." Modern English as can be seen by the translation preserves this form. It is still common: "I have just bought *that* book we looked at yesterday." This development gave the language a new asyndetic form. In-

stead of an *unaccented* article before the antecedent there is in the new type a demonstrative which is more or less *accented*. Here as elsewhere the asyndetic construction without "þat" can be replaced by the fuller form with "that," "which," "the which," "the which that," or "which that." All of these forms occur. The demonstrative after the antecedent, however, has lost its importance on account of the presence of the stressed demonstrative before the antecedent. The new type was soon felt as a hypotactic construction and the "the" in "the which" and the "that" in "which that" finally dropped out. This new hypotactic type with the stressed demonstrative before the antecedent influenced the old asyndetic type "he that," "they that." The unstressed personal pronoun became a stressed demonstrative as in "those that."

John Purvey was very fond of the new hypotactic type with the stressed demonstrative before the antecedent or in case of a pronominal antecedent a demonstrative instead of a personal pronoun: "*tho* thingis that ben of God, ben ordeyned" (Romans, 13.1). "And he bihelde *thilke* (= *tho*) that satan about hym" (Mark 3.35). Wyclif has here: "and beholdyng *hem* aboute that saten in the cumpas of hym." The northerner Wyclif uses the old asyndetic type, while the Midlander employs the new hypotactic form. Purvey himself very often uses the old type, but his pronounced fondness for the new form explains his dropping the "the which's" of Wyclif in his revision. Hypotactic form was deeply rooted in his feeling. The new hypotactic type with its greater terseness and elegance of form adapted itself better than the clumsy older type to the general tendency toward terseness of expression. Purvey seemed to follow instinctively the newer tendencies of the language.

The rise of this new type with an accented demonstrative before the antecedent did not destroy the old asyndetic form. It survived, however, only in the simplest forms. Early in Middle English it was possible to say: "the book *that*, *which*, *the which that*, or *which that* I hold in my hand. Of these different forms only two survive: "the book *that* or *which* I hold in my hand." Historically considered they are both

asyndetic in structure. Both "that" and "which" were originally demonstratives pointing to the following asyndetic determinative clause. Why did the "the" and the "that" drop out of the long forms? There seems to be only one answer. The determinative clause was felt as a relative construction and there was no longer need of a demonstrative form to point to the following asyndetic clause. The great abuse of the long forms had brought them into disrepute and the growth of hypotaxis was decidedly unfavorable to them. The relative of the hypotactic construction was a mere formal connective without inner meaning. Thus the long forms with their unwieldy size and their meaning significant but suggestive of things that no longer harmonized with their new rank of mere formal connective became gradually more and more foreign to the feeling of a time that had learned to prefer in speech elegance of form to awkward forcefulness.

In the preceding pages the use of Old English "seðe" and "se" and Middle English "the which" and "the which that," "which that" and simple "which" has been discussed. The relation between the principal proposition and the following determinative clause was in all these constructions quite close. In Old English "se" was also used in the South and Midland to join loosely to some word in the principal proposition an explanatory statement or a clause containing some additional information: "Ðæt is swiðe sweotol to ongitanne be sumum romaniscum æþelinge, *se* wæs haten Liberius" (King Alfred's "Boethius," Sedgefield's ed. p. 36) "That is to be seen very clearly in the case of a certain Roman nobleman whose name was Liberius." Originally parataxis was employed for such a loose relation and this older construction is still very common in oldest English: "þa wæs sum consul þæt we herotoha hatað, Boetius wæs gehaten" (ib. p. 8) "There was a certain consul or duke as we say whose name was Boethius." Parataxis is the natural English construction here. The relative construction arose under Latin influence. In early Middle English "se" became "ðe," but it soon disappeared entirely as it was not felt as a clear relative form. The relative "which" which was employed in determinative restrictive clauses was also introduced into these clauses

where the connection was loose. This usage prevailed thruout the South and the Midland. In the North the corresponding form was "þe quilk." This corresponds to the northern use of "seðe" in Old English. This longer form occurs with remarkable regularity in the Lindisfarne Glosses, while in the southern writers simple "se" is more common; "Mið ðy efern uutedlice geworden were cuom summ monn wlong from arimathia ðæs wæs noma ioseph seðe ðe discipul was ðæs hælendes" (Matth. 27.57) "When the evening had come there came a certain rich man of Arimathea who was called Joseph who also himself was Jesus' disciple." In this sentence there are two relatives each introducing a loose relative clause. The first relative is "se," the second is "seðe." In the Corpus Ms. "se" occurs in both clauses. Thus the glossarist of the Lindisfarne MS. knows both forms in this use, but he very often employs "seðe" where we in the South find simple "se." The North seemed to prefer the longer form here and elsewhere. Hence when "seðe" had disappeared the form "þe quilk," which was elsewhere used with the same force as "seðe," took its place, not only where the connection was close but also here for loose connection: "þat ilk dai a propheci said symeon of vr leuedi, / of hir and of her sun iesu, / þe quilk i sal sai yow nu" ("Cursur," 11357-6 0). This "þe quilk" spread southward in the form of "the which" and enjoyed for a long while great favor, but later it disappeared here as also elsewhere. Now we employ here "which" for things and "who" for persons. Altho Old English "se" was generally replaced in early Middle English by "which" and "the which" the neuter form "þæt," later "that," lingered on for a long while in the Middle English period wherever it referred to a sentence: "Lo, nece, I trowe ye han herd al how / the king... / hath mad eschaunge of Antenor and yow, / that cause is of this sorrow and this unreste" (Chaucer's "Troilus and Criseyde," 876-9). Later "which" replaced also here the older form.

Both "which" and "the which" were not only used as pronouns as in all preceding cases, but they were also used as adjectives standing before a noun: "For-þi lete god þam lijf sua lang / þat thai moght seke and vnderfang / þe kynd o

things þat þan were dern, / curs o sun and mone and stern, /
 þe *quilk* curs moght nan fulli lere / þat moght noght liue an
 hundret yere" ("Cursur," 1541-6) "Therefore God let them
 live so long that they could understand the nature of things
 that then were hidden, the course of sun and moon and the
 stars, which course no one could fully learn who could not
 live a hundred years." The loss of inflection made the refer-
 ence much less definite than in the older inflected language and
 the antecedent was often repeated preceded by "which" or
 "the which" to make the reference perfectly clear. The
 weakness of the new uninflected form became apparent at
 once, and so we find this adjective use in the oldest northern
 documents. The adjective form sprang up out of the pro-
 nominal form, which as we have seen above was originally a
 demonstrative. As the pronominal relative form sometimes re-
 tained the older demonstrative form so also the adjective
 form: "The king gredy of commune slaughter caste him to
 transporten up al the ordre of the senat the gilt of his real
 majestee, of *the whiche* gilt *that* Albin was accused" (Chaucer's
 "Boethius," I, Prose 4) "The king planned to prefer
 against the entire body of the senate the charge of high trea-
 son of which Albin had been accused. The rough transla-
 tion does not at all bring out the intricate tangle of the lan-
 guage. The words "the which that" are the old demonstra-
 tive asyndetic type and originally pointed to something fol-
 lowing, so that they originally meant: "that charge, that one,
 Albin was accused of [it]. In Chaucer's sentence the prepo-
 sition *before* the relative indicates clearly that the construc-
 tion is relative. The old demonstrative and the new relative
 type had been mingled.

This new construction was often more convenient than elegant:
 "And anon a man in unclene spirit ran out of a biryel
 to hym goynge out of the boot, *the whiche* man hadde an hous
 in graues or biriels" (Wyclif's Mark 5.2-3 about A. D. 1380).
 John Purvey who has simplified so many of Wyclif's sen-
 tences wasn't able to solve this difficulty. Gradually it became
 evident that the antecedent must be brought as near to the
 end of the principal proposition and as near to the relative
 as possible so that the reference might become definite: "And

when he was come out of the shyp there met hym out of the graues a man possessed of an vnleane sprite / which had his abydyng amonge the graues" (Mark 5. 2-3, William Tindale, A. D. 1534). The authors of the King James version usually follow Tindale quite closely, but they here improved upon his language in that they chose the new relative form "who" instead of the older "which" so as to bring out the idea of personality more clearly: "And when hee was come out of the ship immediately there met him out of the tombes a man with an vnleane spirit who had his dwelling among the tombs" (A. D. 1611). It is quite probable that it was from such cases that the use of "who" began to encroach upon the province of "which" and "that," so that its almost uniform use today without regard to the closeness of the connection wherever there is a reference to persons threatens to break down the old distinction that "who" indicates a looser connection than "that": "those that are heavy" (of things); "those who are heavy"; "the man whom we met on the bridge." Of course wherever there is a reference to *things* in such involved sentences as those cited above the simple expedient of using "who" cannot be employed and recourse must sometimes be had to the inelegant "which" and the repeated antecedent.

The adjective form is not only used as in the preceding examples where the connection between the relative clause and the main proposition is loose, but also where the connection is close as in the determinative construction: "But what shall I saye of delices of body of whiche delices the desiringes ben ful of anquishsh and the fulfillingss of hem ben ful of penaunce?" (Chaucer's "Boethius," III, Prose 7). Here there is an evident desire to connect the relative closely with the word "delices," and hence the repetition becomes necessary. Perspicuity is the highest law in language, and even elegance must yield to its demands.

The rise of this construction is contemporaneous with French influence, but it would be very difficult to prove that its origin is due to this source. It arose naturally from the loss of inflection and the new and difficult problems that resulted from that new condition. It came as naturally and

as inevitably as the change in the word-order. The development was natural because in early Middle English when this construction arose "which" was often a demonstrative adjective and stood *before* the noun which is limited: "*Wulc wræcche folc swa mihte fleh ut of þeode*" (Layamon's "*Brut*," 29143-4) "Those wretched people who could fled out of the country." At this same time "which" was also used as a relative. That it should be used as a demonstrative and at the same time as a relative is what we have seen repeatedly above in case of the *relatives* "which," "the which," "which that," which had not yet laid aside their former distinctive *demonstrative* forms. The fact that similar conditions had existed in French is convincing proof to some scholars that our English forefathers simply borrowed this construction from the French. We have the example of the development of the relative "which" in English and the relative "welch" in German. There is not the slightest relation between these parallel developments. The writer speaks a language full of French words and he knows that French has greatly influenced the English vocabulary, but he has learned to acknowledge the influence of French upon the *grammatical* structure of English only when the proof is indisputable.

Just as Old English "*swa hwylc swa*" developed from the indefinite general relative into the definite relative "which" Old English "*swa hwa swa*" *whoever* developed into the definite relative "who." The development has been sketched above in connection with the history of the relative "which." Altho the oblique cases of "who" were early in Middle English used as genuine relatives as described above the nominative form "hwa" in the original indefinite expression "*swa hwa swa*" was used as a demonstrative. The literal meaning of this expression is "that that one that." The first "swa" dropped out later and the second "swa" was usually replaced by "that." Thus tho "whose" and "whom" were widely used as relatives the nominative "who that" had the force of a demonstrative pointing to a following asyndetic relative clause: "*for who þat entreþ þer, / he his (=is) sauff euere-more*" (William of Shoreham's "*De Baptismo*," 5-6). "*For that one that enters there is safe for evermore.*" The same

usage also occurs in the oblique cases in spite of the fact that "who" is here usually employed as a relative: "Me thinketh this that thou were depe y-holde / to *whom that* saved thee fro cares colde!" (Chaucer's "Legend of Good Women," VI, 70) "deeply indebted to *that one that* saved you," etc. Later also the nominative "who" as described above was used as a relative. The general indefinite form "who that" was replaced by "whoever."

In the same manner the general indefinite neuter form "swa hwæt swa" *whatever* developed into the definite relative "what": "Sell me, Peterr, for erpliȝ fe / off hali Gast swile mahte, / þurh *what* ice muȝhe spekenn wel / wiþþ alle þede spæchess" ("Ormulum 16060-2) "Sell me, Peter, for earthly goods that power of the Holy Ghost by which I can speak the languages of all peoples." This relative use of "what" is still found in Shakespeare: "I fear nothing *what* can be said against me (Hen. VIII V.1). This usage was never widespread for there was no real need of "what" as a relative as "which" or "that" could always take its place.

The use of "what" as a relative developed from older demonstrative force just as in case of "who" and "which." This demonstrative meaning developed very early and is still often observed. It was already clearly developed in Old English: "þonne mihte we micle þe eð gepolian *swa hwæt* earfoðnessa *swa* us on become" (King Alfred's "Boethius, Sedgefield's ed., p. 23). "Then could we all the easier endure *what* hardships would befall us," literally *that that* of hardships *that*, [it] would befall us." This Old English example explains fully how a neuter form could stand before a noun with a different gender. The "hwæt" is a neuter pronoun modified by the following genitive "earfoðnessa." In early Middle English the grammatical relations here could no longer be seen as the loss of inflection obscured the vision and "what" was interpreted as a demonstrative adjective modifying the following noun: "*What* mann *se* shall forrwerppenn piss / to lefenn and to trowenn, / þat mann iss nuȝu demnd" ("Ormulum," 17747-9) "That man who will refuse to believe this, that man is condemned." Old English "swa" appears here as "se." The literal force is "that man, that

one." The demonstrative "that" is also often used instead of "se": "*What man that* is norissed by fortune she maketh him a great fool" (Chaucer's *Melibeus*, 2643-5). "*What that* I may helpe, it shal not fayle" (id., *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 938). The modern form here is "whatever": *Whatever* claim I had I resign." "*Whatever* I suffer I have brought upon myself." In Middle English simple "what" was often employed instead of "what—that" in a sense a little less general and indefinite: "For it is set in your hand . . . *what* fortune yow is levest" (Chaucer's "*Boethius*," IV. Prose 7). Simple "what" is now widely used: "The entertainer provides *what* fare he pleases." "I gave him a list of *what* books I needed." Here "what" is a demonstrative still, followed by an asyndetic relative clause. We might with only slightly changed meaning substitute "those" or with weak force "the" for "what": "I gave him a list of *those* or *the* books I needed." Modern usage makes a slight difference between "what" and "those" or "the." We can only use "what" when the reference is somewhat vague. Thus we cannot say: "I gave him the name of *what book* I needed." The plural without the article is always indefinite and hence we can say: "I gave him the names of *what books* I needed." Of course we can use "what" before a singular noun if the reference is indefinite: "I told you *what book* I needed," but with definite reference: "This is *the book* I needed." In the latter case the reference is perfectly definite, in the former case something is introduced without exact and definite description. The idea of indefiniteness that now dwells in the demonstrative "what" makes the following lines of Milton seem a little quaint: "He it was whose guile / stirred up with envy and revenge deceived / the mother of mankind, *what* time his pride / had cast him out from heaven." We would now say "the" instead of "what" as the reference is definite. The older language did not distinguish so nicely here. Even prominent grammarians have misinterpreted modern usage here and represent "what" as declining in usage. On the contrary, it is even necessary in modern usage where a general or indefinite idea is to be expressed. We must say: "We say *what* we know," not "We speak *that* we do know" (St. John,

3.2.), nor "*that that we know*" as formerly. We use "what" exclusively in substantive clauses. The reference often seems definite, but it will usually appear upon closer thought to be indefinite as something is introduced without exact and definite description: "Here is *what* I was looking for." Shakespeare's "If this be not *that* you look for" (*Taming of the S.*, 4, 4, 97) seems to us today too definite. This indefinite use of "what" occurs also in a question: "*What* are you looking for?" The use of "what" is not declining, but it has received more definite boundaries. It is often used today where it was not employed in earlier periods and is often obsolete where it was once common.

The development of "the which" out of "seðe suæ hwælç" has been given above. It would be natural to expect the development of the corresponding form "the who," as we find in the Lindisfarne Glosses the corresponding Old English form "seðe sua hua": "*Seðe sua hua mec onfoað onfoað done ilca seðe mec sende*" (Luke 9.48) "He who receives me receives him who sent me." The corresponding Middle English form "the who" occurs only rarely: "The ferste of hem so as I rede, / was Morpheus, *the whos* nature / is forto take the figure / of what person that him liketh" (Gower's "Confessio Amantis," IV 3038-41). "And as it were a wilde beste, / *the whom* no reson mihte areste" (ib. II, 161-2). Three more examples from Gower are given in Morris' "Historical Outlines of English Accidence," p. 131. These few examples are the only ones that the writer has been able to find altho he has spent a good deal of time in a fruitless search for more. There is such a long period of time and a large stretch of space between the Lindisfarne Glosses of Durham and the language of this southerner that it seems absolutely impossible to see a relationship between the language of the two documents. It is much more probable that "the who" is a mere analogical formation after the pattern of "the which." The form "seðe sua hua" of the Durham glossarist was not as deeply rooted in the speech-feeling of his northern countrymen as "seðe suæ huælç" and disappeared entirely. Later the southern poet Gower had a similar inspiration, but it likewise found no warm sympathetic reception.

The development of the general indefinite relative has been treated above in connection with the definite relative. It is only desired to say a word here about the late form "who-ever." In oldest and Middle English there is here some sort of a demonstrative after the relative: "swa hwa swa," "wha se," "qua sa," "who that," "quatsum," etc., often, however, the simple form "who," "qua," "what." At the close of the Old English period a new form arose in which the adverb "ever" took the place of the demonstrative: "el þat æfre betst wæs" (Chronicle for the year 1048) "Whatever was best." "All þatt æfre iss sinne and woh / all comm þatt off þe defell" ("Ormulum," 18767-8) "Whatever is sin and wrong came from the devil." "To gedir wrightes far and nere, / *quareuer* þat þai funden were" ("Cursur," 4671-2, Cotton MS.), "quare þai *euer* fundyn were" (Fairfax MS.), "quare þat *euer* þai funden were" (Göttingen M.S.) "to gather workmen far and near wherever they might be found." "Quatsum *euer* þou se or here" (ib. 10508) "whatever thou seest or hearest." "And who *euere* schulen not resseyue, ne here þou" (Wyclif, Mark 6.11) Here as so often elsewhere Chaucer by the almost uniform use of "whoso," "who that" "Whatso," "What that," "Wher that" shows that he is in touch with older English, while John Purvey by the use of "who euer" (Wyclif's "who euere"), "What eure," "where euer" makes manifest that he feels the newer life of the language. It is so evident that this new usage which began at a period when English was free from French influence is a natural English development that the writer does not think it necessary to reply to Mr. Eikenkel's claim of influence from Old French "qui que onkes."

The form "who" is so deeply rooted in present speech-feeling as a relative or an interrogative that its original use as an indefinite pronoun with the meaning "some one" is entirely forgotten. This oldest meaning, however, has come down to the present period in one peculiar idiomatic saying "as who should (or would) say": "The Father of the Marshalsea glanced at a passing Collegian *as who should* say, 'An enfeebled old man this'" (Dickens L. D. 19), literally, "as if one would say," or "as if *he* would say," for "who

in this particular idiom is indefinite in *form* but definite in *meaning*. Similarly Bosshart in "Die Barrettlitochter, p. 136 has said: "Wer's könnte, wie er!" "If *I* could only do as he did!" There is here the force of a condition in the clause introduced by "wer." This conditional idea often occurs in this construction: "Fragen ist keine Schande, *wer* ein Ding nicht weiss" (Grimm) "It is not a disgrace to ask a question if one doesn't know." "þe hali writte lies na wight, / qua can vnderstand þe right" ("Cursur," 14702-3) "Holy Writ doesn't lie if one can understand the right." There is often in Middle English a subjunctive in such conditional clauses where they follow the conjunction "as": "Syþþen loked God vppon Iudas, as who sey, 'aske mercy for þy trespass'" (Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne," 5193-4) "Afterwards Jesus looked upon Judas as if we would say: 'Ask mercy for thy trespass.'" The subjunctive here seems to point to quite ancient usage, for the subjunctive was once common in such clauses altho the writer has not been able to find cases in older English in this one particular saying. It seems to be a colloquial expression that had not found its way into the older literary language. The subjunctive is the particular use found in indefinite general clauses: "He that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he *be*" (Galatians 5.10, King James version). We now usually employ "maybe" here. In Middle English the subjunctive tho not common was more frequent than today: "And qua oþer ouercom in field / þe toþer folk al til him yeild" ("Cursur" 7463) "Whoever may overcome the other in the field let the other party yield to him," or "If one of you should overcome the other in the field let," etc. The subjunctive here has exactly the same force as in the sentence from Robert of Brunne and the construction is also the same in the two clauses. Both are indefinite general clauses introduced by "who" *whoever*. Hence the literal meaning of the passage from Robert of Brunne is: "Jesus looked upon Judas as *some one who* or *whoever* may say," etc., or "Jesus looked upon Judas as if he would say," etc. Here as so often elsewhere the indefinite general force developed into definite reference. The position of the clause after "as," which in Middle English often

meant "as if," gradually led to the idea of a conditional clause. This development was very easy and natural as the original general relative construction with the present subjunctive was little used and not vividly felt, while the conditional idea was elsewhere often associated with clauses introduced by "who" *whoever* as illustrated above. As the conjunction, "as" *as if* usually was associated with the past subjunctive, the form for the expression of unreality, the present subjunctive in this construction was replaced by the past, usually the past subjunctive of an auxiliary verb: "Ho turned her ouer wiþ hit in arme / *as qua sulde sai*: 'I know na harme' " ("Cursur," 8611-12, Fairfax MS.) "She turned over with it (the child) in her arms as if she would say: 'I know of no harm.' " The older construction with the present subjunctive is more common in the "Cursur." The newer form alone has come down to the present period.

Parallel with the construction with the present subjunctive described above is the use of the indicative to represent the statement not as a mere conception but as an actuality: "But of the thinges that ben taken also it is necessarie, *as who sayth*, it folweth of that which that is purposed biforn" (Chaucer's "Boethius," IV Prose 4) "It is a necessary result of the things that have preceded, *as we say* (literally *as one says*), it follows from that which was planned in advance." Here "as who seyth" has the force, of "in other words." In this translation Chaucer uses "as who seyth" a great many times, often over and over again on the same page. In his struggle to translate accurately he seeks as in the above example a second expression for the thought of the original that he has just rendered. In one passage at the opening of Book II, Prose I after essaying a translation of the introductory sentence he starts again introducing the second rendering by the words: "as who mighte seyn thus" *one might express it thus*.

In "Anglia XXVII pp. 136-9 and in Paul's "Grundriss" p. 1119 Mr. Eikenel essays to prove the French origin of "as who says." He argues that the use of the subjunctive form "say(e)" described above must have come from a *foreign* source as the English subjunctive had almost disappeared.

The subjunctive in general indefinite clauses, however, was as we have seen above actually in use not only in this one saying but also elsewhere and is even found much later. Mr. Einkenkel cannot accept the English origin of "as who say(e)" as there are no examples in Old English usage, but he assumes Old French origin altho he has not been able to find any cases of the subjunctive form in actual use. The modern French form is "comme qui *dirait*" with the conditional but he assumes that there must have been an older form "Comme qui *disse*" with the subjunctive as the subjunctive is used in the Middle English, that is, he discovers an unknown Old French syntactical construction from its presence in English. Even if he could find actual cases of it in Old French the French origin of the English usage would not be assured. There is something peculiarly West Germanic in this construction as attested by the close correspondence of German and English here as illustrated above.

Mr. Einkenkel has written a number of interesting things about French influence upon English, but he is so bent upon discovering French influence that he often jumps to conclusions, so that we must in general be on our guard in reading him. We have room here for the consideration of only one more of these discoveries. On page 1119 of Pauls "Grundriss" Mr. Einkenkel remarks: "Sicher sind die häufigen *chose qui* = *thing that* = ne. *what*, z. b. afrz. *s'il avoit dit chose qui fust contre l'honneur* Comm. > me. *alday fayleth thinge that fooles wenden* Ch." The writer has spent a valuable part of his life in deciphering such German hieroglyphics, but as he is not brilliant by nature he is not real sure that he has caught the meaning. As the passage is with a number of others that show French influence upon English he assumes that this sentence means that Old French "*chose qui*" led to the frequent use of "thing that" in Middle English, which in the modern period has become "what." It is strange that a student of English could have failed to notice the fondness of Englishmen for a noun where other languages would use a relative pronoun: "cyþaþ iohanne þa *dīng* þe ge gehyrdon" (Matth. 11.4, Corpus) "sægga ge [iohannes] *ða worda* geherdon" (Lindisfarne Glosses) "renuntiate iohanni *quae*

audistis" (Lindisfarne Latin text) "Shew John again *those things* which ye do hear" (King James Version). In the writer's own feeling it is still common and natural to say: "Tell John *the things* you have heard." Of course "what" is also sometimes heard here, but it certainly is not true that it has replaced "the things" as indicated in the hieroglyphic formula of Mr. Einkenel. Similarly we use "the things" where in other languages we may find a demonstrative pronoun: "bige þa þing þe us þearf sy" (John 13.29, Corpus) "ema ea quae opus sunt nobis" "buy *the things* we need."

The relative "as" arose in early Middle English in the combination "such as": "wiþþ all *swille* rime *alls* her iss sett" ("Ormulum," dedication 1.101) "With just such a poetical measure as is presented here." This usage survives. Its spirit is the same as that which characterized the early Middle English construction, i. e. is asyndetic. The "alls" (=all so) in "Ormulum" is a demonstrative pointing to the following asyndetic relative clause. The construction has undergone no development and hence remains asyndetic. It is now limited to the combinations "such—as," "the same—as," "as (or so) much—as," "as (or so) many—as." It was once more widely used following a noun or any demonstrative: "The first Soudan was Zarocon...*as* was fadre to Sahaladyn" (Mandeville's "Voiage," v. 36). "Those *as* sleep and think not on their sins" (Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of W. 5.5).

In looking back over the development of the English relative constructions the distinctive feature of the earlier periods is the asyndetic structure of the sentences. Thus there is often no sign to indicate the conditional idea: "*Qua* has to wenden ani wai, / god *es* to go bi light of dai" ("Cursur" 14194-5) "*If* one has to go on a journey it is good to go in the light of day," literally "Whoever has to go on a journey, it is good to go in the light of day." The two propositions simply lie side by side without any formal sign of subordination. The causal idea likewise has no formal expression: "And she that was not lernyd to recyue suche gestes sore hard was his queyntaunce to her" ("Caxton's "Blanchardyn," p. 67) "As she was not experienced in receiving such guests his

company was a sore trial to her," literally "She, that one, [she] was not experienced in receiving such guests, his company was a sore trial to her. Thus there is a series of utterances connected not by the form but by the thought. Notice that this sentence is exactly like the following saying of King Alfred: "Se seþe hine forðencð se bið ormod" ("Boethius," Sedgefield's ed. p. 19) "That, that one there, [he] despairs, that one is sad." Old English "se seþe" should become in Middle English "that that that," but the awkward and ambiguous combination was avoided and the new form "he that" arose. Thus Caxton's sentence resembles King Alfred's in every particular. No real change had taken place in the language. Mr. Leon Kellner in his "Historical Outlines of English Syntax" p. 65 remarks on such sentences: "The adjective clause of the older periods is deficient in point of consistency and unity—it is pleonastic and anacoluthic—the modern one grammatically correct." There is, however, no lack of consistency or unity in the older sentence. It is consistently asyndetic. The unit is each utterance. It is also not ungrammatical as Dr. Kellner implies. Each utterance is as grammatical as the most finished sentence of a modern master. By "ungrammatical" and "anacoluthic" Dr. Kellner undoubtedly means such sentences as: "A knight ther was and that a worthy man, / *that* fro the tyme that he first bigan/ to ryden out, he loved chivalrye" (Chaucer's "Prolog," 43-5,. At first sight it seems that the "that" after "man" is a relative and introduces a relative clause and that later the poet changed the construction and employed the personal pronoun "he" as subject of the verb "loved," forgetting that he had already made "that" the subject. The sentence is, however, in the strictest sense grammatical, but fashioned after a very old pattern. The "that" after "man" is a demonstrative. It points to the following asyndetic relative clause: "fro the tyme that he first bigan to ryden out he loved chivalrye." Here the pronominal subject of the clause, "he," is expressed. It is usually understood but in such a setting is expressed also in Old English. Attention has been called above to a sentence from Hans Sach which is exactly like it: "Mein Herr, ich bin *der* man, die männer ich

gefressen han, die selber waren Herr im Haus." ("Der Narrenfresser" 11.59-61). In both the German and the English sentence the demonstrative points to a complete clause which describes what kind of a man the person in question is.

The great difference between the older and the modern type is clearly seen in the following example: "Ðonne wæs Biise Eastengla biscop, þe we sægdon þætte in þæm foresprecean seonoðe wære" (Beda's "Ecclesiastical History," p. 280.11-12) "Then Bise was bishop of the East Angles, who, we have already said, was present in the before-mentioned synod," literally: "Then Bise was bishop of the East Angles, that one, we have already said that, [he] was present in the before-mentioned synod." The subject of the last clause is usually omitted, but it is sometimes expressed, which proves conclusively that "þe" cannot be a relative particle: "in þære cirican seo cwen gewunade hire gebiddan, þe we ær cwædon þæt heo Christen wære" (ib., p. 62, 5-6) "The queen usually prayed in the church, who, we have already said, was a Christian," literally: "In the church prayed the queen, that one, we have already said that she was a Christian." The two forms are quite different altho they are both asyndetic. In the first form the proposition after "þe" is a parenthetical insertion and thus separates the parts of the sentence, while in the second form "we ær cwædon þæt heo Christen wære" is as a whole an asyndetic relative clause to which the preceding "þe" points. Within this asyndetic clause "þæt heo Christen wære" is an object clause, object of the verb "cwædon." These two forms remain intact in Middle English: (first form): "I am he that thou knowe that dyd doo destroye Rome" (Caxton's "Charles the Grete," 52.30) "I am he who, you know, caused Rome to be destroyed," literally: "I am he, that one, you know that, [he] caused Rome to be destroyed. (Second form) "Her sorrowe that she contynually made for her right dere frende blonchardyn, that for the loue of her she trowed that he had other be lost or ded" (id., "Blanchardyn," 120.11) "the sorrow which she continually felt for her very dear friend Blanchardyn, who, she believed, for the love of her had either been lost or was dead," literally: "the sorrow which she felt for Blanchardyn, that one,

for the love of her she believed that he had either been lost or was dead." In the second form the "that" introducing the object clause can usually be omitted: "They know *that* he is rich," or "They know he is rich." By glancing at the modern free rendering of these two forms it will become evident that the modern form is a blending of the two older forms. As in the second form it drops the "that" before the last clause, but otherwise it has the construction of the first form. The clause after the relative is a parenthetical insertion. The word after the antecedent, formerly "that," now more commonly "who" for persons and "which" for things, is now felt as a *relative* pronoun which is the subject or object of the verb in the last proposition. The construction has become hypotactic. This development seems perfectly clear to the writer, but two well-known scholars have given quite different explanations, Leon Kellner in his *Historical Outlines*," pp. 69-70 and Alois Pogatscher in "*Anglia*" XXIII, pp. 290-3. Earlier in the period the nominative of the relative clause was sometimes replaced by an accusative as it was felt as the object of the following verb: "Of Arthur *whom* they say is kill'd tonight" (Shakspeare's "King John," IV, 2.165). Mr. Kellner follows this usage in his "Historical Outlines" p. 70, where he translates the first sentence from Caxton quoted above: "*whom* thou knowest did cause to be destroyed." The writer feels that this usage is now dead. The hypotactic form as used today is a model of simplicity and compactness compared with the older asyndetic type.

From a comparison of the modern and the older form of the examples given in the last two paragraphs it becomes quite evident that the real difference between modern English and the language of the older periods is that older English is asyndetic and modern English hypotactic. The hypotactic type was the prevailing form of the language after the close of the fifteenth century, but as we have seen above it had appeared long before that time and was slowly but surely gaining ground.

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OLAF LILJEKRANS AND IBSEN'S LATER WORKS

In a previous article of this Journal (Vol. IX, No. 1, 1910) the writer attempted to point out the essential relation of Henrik Ibsen's *Paa Vidderne* (1859) to his famous dramatic poem, *Peer Gynt* (1867.) In both of these works the influence of Romanticism is still apparent in the fantastic and imaginative setting, in the highly colored poetic thought and in the use of verse form instead of prose. *Peer Gynt* is perhaps the greatest work of art in Scandinavian literature and therefore in itself well worth a close and appreciative study. But from the view-point of the author's literary development it is by all means the most important of Ibsen's works, since it not only contains the germs of philosophic thought which are later developed in the great social dramas that follow but in that it also breathes the life and tradition of ballad folk-lore poetry upon which the literary ideals of the author had been based during the early period of his life. The transition from the Romantic ballad poetry to the philosophic themes which constitute the modern problem play or rather the fusion of these two literary ideals is nowhere more marked or more skillfully effected than in *Peer Gynt*. The problem of self-realization ('at være sig selv'), the satirical attacks upon the self-sufficiency of the Norwegian people, the general hostile tone assumed towards the half-heartedness, the deceit and selfishness of human character, the glorification of woman's fidelity and self-sacrifice; in short, the whole inner significance of the work is essentially a prelude to the great storm which was to follow in that long series of attacks upon human institutions, political and social, which have inseparably connected the name of Henrik Ibsen with the modern problem play. The imaginative and poetic form, on the other hand, in which the author moulds this thought, belongs to the earlier period in his life in which folk-lore and ballad, Welhaven and Oehlenschläger left their trace of Romantic idealism.

It is to this period that we must turn our attention if we are to arrive at a true appreciation of the fundamental form and nature of this work, for *Peer Gynt* was conceived in the

spirit of Romantic thought and is essentially a product of Romantic ideals. The exquisite poetry clad in the garb of Norwegian folk-lore, so fanciful and so artistic, is the perfection of a literary art which the author had previously practised with perhaps less skillful hands in his early Romantic dramas. His use of Asbjørnsen's and Moe's, 'Norske Folkeeventyr' (1842), and Asbjørnsen's, 'Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn' (1845), to form the legendary basis of his story show the Romantic conception with which he started. Scandinavian folk-lore forms the basis of his early Romantic productions and it is folk-lore which is likewise the basis of *Peer Gynt*. Folk-lore in *Peer Gynt*, the diffuse imagery of mountain scenery and the imaginative setting in which the poetic thought of *Paa Vidderne* is framed, are the expression of the same tendency that the author showed when he wrote his first dramas, *Kjempehøjen* (1850), *Sankt Hans Natten* (1852), *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1855) and *Olaf Liljekrans* (1856). So filled was the author at this time with the spirit of folk ballad-poetry that he affirmed in an article upon this subject ('Om kjempevisen og dens betydning for kunstpoesien' in the *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, 1857), immediately after the publication of *Olaf Liljekrans*, that of all types of literature the heroic ballad was the most suitable for dramatic purposes. While under the influence of this conviction and inspired with the aesthetic ideals of this phase of the Romantic movement in the North, Ibsen attained to the height of his poetic art. After the publication of *Peer Gynt*, Georg Brandes remarked that the poet's Pegasus had been shot from beneath him. With the extinction of Romantic ideals poetic inspiration seems to have forsaken Ibsen, and in its place grew up that perfect and exact sense of truth in life which he expressed in his prose dramas, unexcelled in their mechanical structure.

If *Peer Gynt* is the last product of Ibsen's purely poetic genius, it is of great importance to trace the relation of the Romantic elements in this poem to his early works when the spirit of this movement was his chief inspiration. There is much in both *Peer Gynt* and *Paa Vidderne* that had its inception long before. One of the most important of Ibsen's early

productions, which has a more or less direct bearing upon certain fundamental conceptions in these two works, is *Olaf Liljekrans*.

Little heretofore has been known about this drama, inasmuch as it was not published until 1902, existing previous to this date in only two manuscript copies: one, in the library of the Bergen Theater until sometime during the eighties but subsequently transferred to the author's private property, and the other, in the library of the University of Christiania. But in the year 1902 the drama was given to the public in a 'Supplementsbind' of Ibsen's 'Samlede Værker,' provided with excellent biographical notes by Halvdan Koht (for bibliography of *Olaf Liljekrans*, see pp. V-VI). This drama was the outgrowth of a previous work, likewise founded upon Norwegian folk-lore: namely, *Rypen i Justedal*, *nationalt Skuespil i fire Acter af Brynjolf Bjarme* (Ibsen's early pseudonym), 1850. *Rypen i Justedal* was founded upon a similar story called *Justedalsrypen*, which was contained in A. Faye's collection of folk-lore tales (A. Faye. *Norske Folkesagn*. 2nd Edition. Chra. 1844. p. 129), the first version of which is now in the library of the University of Christiania. Only two acts of *Rypen i Justedel* were ever completed.¹ The piece remained untouched for several years until the author's enthusiastic study of M. B. Landstad's collection of Norwegian folk-ballads (*Norske Folkeviser*. 1852-53), directed his attention again to the subject. Discarding the previous title the author now worked his material over into a new form under the influence of the heroic ballad, *Olaf Liljekrans* (Landstad. 1853). *Olaf Liljekrans* ('A Romantic Drama in Three Acts') was finished in 1856 and acted in Bergen, Jan. 2 and 4, 1857, but with only mediocre success. The play was met with sharp criticism from many quarters and was performed only these two times. Nor did Ibsen, himself, seem to be entirely satisfied with it. After he left Bergen in the

¹ Fortunately this interesting and important fragment is now available to students of Ibsen literature through the publication of the author's 'Posthumous Works' (Efterladte Skrifter, udgivne av Halvdan Koht og Julius Elias. Chr. og Kjøbenhavn. 1909. p. 339 ff). The study of Ibsen is also materially furthered by the illuminating introduction which furnishes many heretofore unknown facts.

summer of 1857 and had taken up his residence in Christiania, he renewed his work upon it in 1859, with a view towards working it over into an opera, entitled *Fjeldfuglen*. But he never finished more than the first act (*Efterladte Skrifter*. p. 433 ff.), now preserved in the library of the University of Christiania. In a letter of July 18, 1861, he asked the composer M. A. Udbye of Trondhjem to write the music for his new opera, but soon afterwards, in 1862, expressed his conviction that the drama itself was not a suitable theme for operatic treatment. He then laid the work aside for all time, to enter into a new sphere of literary ideals inspired by the Old Norse sagas which had marked the dramas of Oehlenschläger and his school. It was this new literary ideal dawning upon the poet's consciousness, which rendered him powerless to complete the old as he had conceived it before the Romantic ballad poetry had begun to give way to the Saga literature. In Olaf Liljekrans Romanticism had reached its high-water mark and already begun to recede. Prose and poetry struggle for the upper hand. Alfild and Olaf sing now in the wild tones of the Norse ballad, children of phantasy, feeling and nature, and now reason with the consciousness of purely rational beings, seeking a satisfactory solution of a life's problem. The vital sentiment of this work foreshadows the gigantic struggles for self-mastery which characterized Ibsen's subsequent works, while the ballad form and Romantic setting reflect the coloring of an already decadent period in his literary ideals. *Olaf Liljekrans* marks, in Ibsen's literary career, the wane of ballad poetry which had its beginning in *Sankt Hans Natten* (1852), the most phantasmagoric of all his works. Yet even in *Sankt Hans Natten* the marked similarity in the phantastic, hob-goblin spirit with the ballad tone in *Peer Gynt* cannot be denied. In fact, it has been pointed out (*Fredrik Paasche. Smaaskrifter fra det literatur-historiske seminar*. V. Gildet paa Solhaug. Chra. 1908) that the second ballad in *Sankt Hans Natten* (*Efterladte Skrifter*. p. 409 ff.) is 'very probably' the source of Solvejg's song in *Peer Gynt*: 'Kanske vil der gaa baade vinter og vaar.' In *Olaf Liljekrans* we have still more that is later reflected in both *Peer Gynt* (cf. Georg Brandes. Henrik Ib-

sen. Kjøb. 1898. pp. 126-133),¹ and *Paa Vidderne*. The great struggle for self-realisation that involves self-annihilation from which alone perfect love can be attained, the longing for the heights far above the common life of prosaic toil and trouble where the spirit of nature and the love of God exalt the soul into a new and ideal existence, these fundamental concepts of *Paa Vidderne* and *Peer Gynt* are traceable also in *Olaf Liljekrans*, though to a much less marked degree. These elements which are essential to the redemption of the human soul form the rudimentary basis of that psychological thought which afterwards developed to gigantic proportions in the author's social dramas. On the other hand, the phantastic and dreamy spirit of the 'gallant' Peer, the perfect child of God and nature which we meet in Solvejg reflect the spirit of early Romantic idealism which received a far more extravagant expression in the characters of Olaf and Alfhild.

Let us consider in detail those elements which *Peer Gynt*, *Paa Vidderne* and *Olaf Liljekrans* have in common. First, the feeling of limitation and the desire to attain to a new and ideal existence upon the heights is an unmistakable motif running throughout all three works, especially strong in *Paa Vidderne* and *Olaf Liljekrans*. In *Paa Vidderne* the main theme is founded upon this sentiment, in *Olaf Liljekrans* it is a mere incident lending the quality of moral character to a Romantic conception, while in *Peer Gynt* it receives attention only at certain moments of profound moral conviction. The relation of *Peer Gynt* to *Paa Vidderne* in connection with this symbol has been discussed in a previous article (Journal. IX. No. 1. 1910. Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* and *Paa Vidderne*), but will here be somewhat extended in view of the new light which *Olaf Liljekrans* has shed upon this question. In *Olaf Liljekrans* both Olaf and Alfhild feel intensely the limitations of their former existence when the magic charm of love had not yet captivated their hearts. In the ballad *Olaf Liljekrans*, (Landstad p. 355) Olaf meets a band of elf-women upon the mountains who are determined to give him a love-potion that he

¹ Georg Brandes here compares the general atmosphere and form of *Olaf Liljekrans* with that of *Peer Gynt*, and cites a passage in Act IV, Sc. 2 of *Olaf Liljekrans*, which bears resemblance to the general tone of satirical allusions in the Dovregubben scenes in *Peer Gynt*.

may forsake his betrothed, but he rejects their seductions with heroic fidelity. Thereupon the elves determine he must die. In Ibsen's drama, Olaf, who is betrothed, wanders away from his home and meets upon the mountains a beautiful elf-maiden with whom he falls desperately in love. This beautiful child of the mountains is so artless and charming that Olaf is completely bewildered by her loveliness. His whole soul is as completely charmed as if he actually had drunk the fatal love-potion. Child of nature, intensely human yet with that wild, unrestrained spirit of the elf, Alfhild transports him into a new world of physical and spiritual emotion which leaves his former love in complete oblivion. Both now realize the dreams which had come to them long before they met. Olaf recognizes in Alfhild the flower which, according to his dream, should symbolize perfect happiness and Alfhild in Olaf realizes 'the gallant knight, with the falcon upon his arm' who was to come and bear her away as his bride. They meet in a secret valley on the other side of the mountains far up beyond Olaf's home and hidden from the eyes of the whole world below. After the realisation of their love, the valley below becomes too narrow and oppressive for further existence. Their new life becomes synonymous with the higher valley among the mountains while their former existence, devoid of the great revelation of love, is associated with the narrow confines of the valley in the plains below. When Olaf returns from his meeting with Alfhild he is accosted by Hemming, the servant of his betrothed, to whom he relates his wonderful experience with the elf-child upon the mountains (Act I. Sc. 8). He first tells of the mystical dream in which the flower of love was promised him by the elf-women. 'From that moment on,' he says, 'my mother's room became *too narrow* for me. Over stone and ridge to that fair grove I sped *ever up* with bow and arrow! There I found my elf-maiden.' Alfhild too has felt the stifling narrowness of her former home before 'the gallant knight' came to make her his bride. In the confession of her love to Olaf, she says (Act I. Sc. 10); 'then the valley seemed too narrow for me to live in,' and when Olaf leaves her to visit his mother's home again, she bids farewell to her native valley for it is too narrow for her new life with

Olaf; she must follow him to joy and happiness in the great world beyond. Both Olaf and Alfhild use the same metaphor in connection with the limitations of their former existence.

Olaf. Act I. Sc. 8. *Fra denne stund det blev for trangt i min moders stue!*

Alfhild. Act I. Sc. 10. *Dalen blev mig for trang.*

Alfhild. Act I. Sc. 14. *Farvel, min dal, du est mig for trang, mig vinker alverdens jubel og sang.*

In Act I. Sc. 10, Alfhild gives most beautiful expression to the intense loneliness and the yearning for a new life which she felt before the dream of love had been realized. She compares her former life to a lonely birch-tree on the steep mountain side where the barren soil yields but little life. 'High up upon the mountain is a slope so steep that not even the eagle can fasten his claws upon it; there stands a lonely birch-tree, ill it thrives and poor in leaves it is; but it bends its branches down towards the valley that lies far beyond; 'tis as if it longed to join its sisters in the fresh, fertile grove, as if it yearned to be planted in the sun-lit life far below—. As the birch on the mountain so was my life, I longed for the world beyond, for thee I longed many a weary hour, ere I knew that thou didst live. Then the valley seemed too close and narrow'—etc. Fredrik Paasche (*Smaaskrifter fra det litteraturhistoriske seminar*. V. p. 89. Chra. 1908) sees in this longing for a new life of larger experience and realisation a Romantic motif which Ibsen uses after his journey through Germany in 1852, and points out the fact that it is always the young women who experience this emotion; Blanka in *Kæmpehøjen* (of 1854), Eline in *Fru Inger til Ostraat*, Margit in *Gildet paa Solhaug* and Alfhild in *Olaf Liljekrans*. 'All long for the larger life of the world beyond but none so fervently as Alfhild in *Olaf Liljekrans*.' This sentiment is, to be sure, an expression of Romantic vision upon life but is by no means essentially a Romantic conception. It is rather a part of the Norwegian temperament enhanced by the limitations of Norwegian life, physical and social. Fredrik Paasche might have added to this category the name of Martha Bernick in *Samfundets Støtter* (1877) who, caged within the narrow limits of her small circle of life, longs for the release of

her imprisoned soul over the wild sea. Bjørnson, too, has given literary expression to this intense feeling of limitation which Norway naturally imposes upon her sons in his beautiful lyric poem, *Over De Høie Fjelde*. Arne's heart-breaking cry of an imprisoned soul, his enjoyment of the birds which take their winged flight to lands unknown, is the artistic expression of this suffocating feeling which the natural barriers of Norway inspire. Here the natural limitations of Norwegian life are emphasized, in *Samfundets Støtter* the limitations of social conditions imprison the soul. In both there is that groping after something better which will release the victim from its surroundings and afford it a life in which its own individuality may be realized. Such a motif is, therefore, not essentially Romantic but rather an expression of the spirit of Norwegian life which in the author's early works found expression according to Romantic ideals and colored with the variegated hues of a Romantic vision.

In *Olaf Liljekrans* the release from mere prosaic existence into the new life of perfect love is, as is self-realisation in *Paa Vidderne*, an exaltation which is contrasted with the lower life in the valley. After this wonderful revelation Olaf tells Alfild (Act I. Sc. 10): 'No longer could I *thrive down there below*; I felt compelled to rise to the new valley *above*, before I could find peace.'

men *dernede* kunde jeg ikke *trives mere*;

Til dalen måtte jeg *op*, før var der ikke fred for mig.

even as the hero of *Paa Vidderne* says:

Dagens dåd har intet mærke,

slig som den *dernede* drives;

her blev mine tanker stærke,

kun *på vidden* kan jeg trives.

Furthermore, the heights, as symbolical of moral purification, which is the distinctive mark of life's victory in *Paa Vidderne*, appear likewise in *Olaf Liljekrans* as the symbol of renewed strength and a higher courage. To live above the sorrows of life is the exalted mission of every great soul; a moral victory which character alone can acquire. In *Olaf Liljekrans* the time comes when the hero realizes that the happiness which he has been seeking can be attained only

through the sacrifice of all worldly considerations. Through this conviction he experiences a clearness of spiritual vision which he has never known before, for he now realizes that he must first conquer himself before he win back the priceless treasure of love which he has so ruthlessly forfeited. Through moral weakness he has rejected Alfild and trodden her love under foot. Alfild, in revenge, has set fire to the church during the wedding ceremony which was to have united Olaf to his former betrothed. Olaf escapes with his life but is entirely broken in spirit, for he is overcome with remorse for his faithlessness. He has forfeited his love, and thus wrecked his life's happiness. In deep despair he hastens back to that valley upon the mountains where his first dream of love had been realized. There he feels that exaltation which gives him the hero's courage to win the battle of life, just as does the hero in *Paa Vidderne*. He can hardly explain this mysterious inspiration which fills his heart with new blood and imparts a new life to his whole being. He says (Act III. Sc. I): 'strange it is that when I come here, high up above the village, it seems as if there were a new air playing about me, as if fresher blood coursed thro' my veins, as if I had received another spirit, and thought with another mind.' Even so does the hero of *Paa Vidderne* express the exaltation which he experiences upon the high mountains: 'winter life on the wild mountain plains steels my weakened thoughts, here no sentimental song of birds beats through the blood.'

Alfild too experiences the same feeling upon the heights but with her they represent more nearly that spirit of self-mastery which marks *Paa Vidderne*. When she realizes that her ideal life has been shattered, that her fair dream of 'the knight with the falcon upon his arm' will never be realized, she feels impelled to seek the mountain heights that her soul may harden and she may forget the tender memories of the past. Up amid the snow and ice of the bleak mountain-tops, just as the hero of *Paa Vidderne*, she thinks to attain that grand mastery over self which Brand, the priest, glorifies in his single-handed battle with the spirit of compromise. She says, (Act III. Sc. 7): 'Down here I see Olaf, wherever

I go, I must away high up on the heights, that my heart may harden! I must forget and deaden this grief, I must hush to sleep all these tender memories! Up then, up 'mid the snow and ice,—for whether here or there my only refuge is the grave.'

Hernede ser jeg Olaf, hvorhelst jeg færdes;
jeg må op i højden, at mit sind kan hærdes!
 jeg må døve og glemme den tunge lære,
 må dysse i blund alle minder kære!

Velen da! Op mellem is og sne,—
 både her og hist er kun gravens læ!

Paa Vidderne is Ibsen's first poetic expression of the philosophic concept of self-realisation as a life principle, but in *Olaf Liljekrans* we catch the outlines which form the inception of this idea and its connection with the poet's symbol of the mountain heights. In "*Peer Gynt*" the general concept of life upon the heights as a symbol of a higher life appears in the last act. In the sermon over the body of the boy who avoided his duty to the state, in order 'to be himself' within the narrow circle of his own modest life, we hear that he took refuge upon the mountain heights. There above the conflicting interests of the life in the valley below, he completed the circle of his individual existence. He was a criminal in the eyes of the state, but he lived in accordance with a higher law; an unwritten law whose sacred dictate is the complete development of self through the sacrifice of all selfish interests. This is exactly what *Peer Gynt* did not do because he never lost sight of self. This higher law Ibsen compares to a row of clouds looming far up above the white capped peaks of the *Glittertind*. Act V. Sc. 3.

En brostling imod landets lov? ja vel!
 Men der er et, som lyser over loven,
 så visst, som *Glittertindens* blanke tjeld
 har sky med *højre tinderad foroven*.

'Such a man will hardly stand a cripple before his God.' II
 When *Peer Gynt* has finally lost all hope of salvation, his first thought is to find comfort in a farewell visit to the highest mountain peak where he may once more see the sun rise and look upon the promised land, a mystic vision of a new life.

Ibsen still keeps the heights as the general symbol of an exalted and better life.

Act. V. Sc. 10

Jeg vil opad, højt, på den bratteste tinde;
 jeg vil endnu en gang se solen rinde,
 stirre mig træ på det lovede land,
 se at få dyngen over mig kavet;
 de kan skrive der over: "her er ingen begravet";
 og bagefter,—siden—! lad det gå, som det kan.

Here in the very last scenes of "*Peer Gynt*" the inner significance of the mountain heights appears like the last ray of light before the eternal darkness. These words of despair are in direct contrast to those uttered by the hero of *Paa Vidderne*, when his life's crisis has come. *Peer Gynt's* life has been a failure; therefore, the last visit to the mountain heights is the beginning of the end. One more breath of the mountain air, one more sight of the promised land and then he must meet the fate of all men who have lived according to the dictates of selfish interests. He must die and die a most ignoble and disgraceful death. Not so with the hero of *Paa Vidderne*, he is not to die, for he has won the crown of life. He has lived according to the highest dictates of self: 'at være sig selv, er, sig selv at døde' (*Peer Gynt*. Act V. Sc. 9). He has something better than self (i. e. selfish interests) to live for, and as he stands there upon the mountain peak we hear the poet Ibsen giving the most powerful expression to his own doctrine of life, when he says: 'Now I am as firm as steel, I shall follow the voice that bids me wander upon the heights. My life in the low-lands I have outlived, up here on the mountain plains there is freedom and God; down there below, the others are still fumbling about in the darkness.'

Ibsen never lost sight of this exalted doctrine of life nor the symbol of the heights as its poetic expression. In his very last work, "*Når Vi Døde Vågner*," (1899) this same conception still appears. Here the heights again symbolize the attainment of life's goal, which Professor Rubeck, the famous sculptor, has missed through a defective sense of the divine relation of his intellectual and artistic nature to the

demands of spiritual love. But now the day of revelation has come. Irene, his famous model, through whom he was enabled to produce his masterpiece, holds the key which can unlock the mystic secrets of his heart and give him back the treasure of love which in his overweening ambition he had forfeited. He had promised her, before their separation, to take her up to the highest mountain peak and from its majestic height show her the glory of the whole world. But in this he had deceived her, for the real glory of life which Irene was to realize in his love he had confused with the perfection of his own art. They now propose to reach that high mountain peak which neither had seen before. At the time of their meeting, Prof. Rubeck is upon a journey along the coast of Norway. Irene proposes instead that he journey with her 'high up among the mountains, as high up as they can climb, higher and still higher.'

Act. I.

Irene.

Rejs heller højt op mellem fjeldene. Så højt op du kan komme. Højere, højere,—altid højere Arnold.

The real significance of her words cannot be mistaken. Together they start out to spend the night upon the high mountain-plain. Through fog and storm, oblivious to all the warnings of the approaching avalanche, they climb up the mountain side. Irene sees the light of happiness beyond and urges her companion to ever greater heights. She will reach the very highest peak, that magic peak, where the glory of life will be revealed.

Act III.

Irene.

Nej, nej—op i lyset og i al den glittrende herlighed.
Op til forjættelsens tinde.

Prof. Rubeck.

Der oppe vil vi fejre vor bryllupsfest, Irene,—du min elskede!

Irene.

Ja, gennem alle tågerne. Og så helt op til tårnets tinde, som lyser i solopgangen.

Thus the highest mountain peak symbolizes the highest and best in life which both attempt to reach in vain, for past opportunities cannot be made good when the psychological moment of fulfillment has passed even though the bitterness of remorse urges the soul on to unwonted efforts.

The love of nature is one of the most marked characteristics of the Romantic movement and one which is given most beautiful expression in *Olaf Liljekrans*. Alfild, herself, is a child of nature, isolated from intercourse with human society. Her friends are the trees and the flowers, the birds and the sunshine, and she worships unconsciously the God who has wrought all these beauties of the natural world. Such a charm does she exert upon Olaf that he is divested of his former self and becomes like her, half human and half elf, a child of nature. When, after the magic sojourn with Alfild, he encounters Hemming on his way home, Olaf cannot remember where his mother's home is. His home is with Alfild upon the mountains for the elf-charm is still upon him. He says (Act I. Sc. 8): 'My mother's house! Where is it? Here in the woods, me thinks, is my home and not in my parents' house; better can I understand the sighing of the tree-tops and the brook's ripple, than my mother's voice. Ah, how beautiful, how quiet it is here! Behold, my palace is adorned for a royal feast.' So too in *Peer Gynt*, Solveig loves the woods and the beauties of nature. When she joins Peer Gynt upon the mountains (Act III. Sc. 3) she feels at home among the trees and expresses to Peer Gynt the assurance, just as Olaf does to Hemming in *Olaf Liljekrans*, that her real home is no longer with her parents but amid the sighing fir-trees and the song of the winds. The phraseology of both passages in *Peer Gynt* and *Olaf Liljekrans* is very similar.

Olaf Liljekrans.

Act I. Sc. 8.

Min moders gård! Hvor er det den står?
Her tykkes det mig, jeg har hjemme!
Skoven er bleven mit fædrenhus,
grantoppens kvæder og elvens sus

kan jeg bedrre forstå, end min moders stemme.
Ej sandt, her er fagert! Ej sandt, her er stille!
 Ser du, min højsal er smykket til gilde.

Peer Gynt.
 Act. III. Sc. 3.

Solvejg.

Ringt eller gildt,—her er efter mit sind.
 Så let kan en puste mod den strygende vind.

Men her, *hvor en hører furuen suse,—*
for en stilhed og sang!—her er jeg tilhuse.

More striking still is the resemblance of Peer Gynt's dream, in which he fancies himself as emperor riding upon a magnificent steed and greeted by a throng of ardent admirers, with the dream which Olaf has of his future wedding with Alfhild. Nothing is more characteristic of Peer than this dream. Child of fancy, his whole life is built upon dreams. Folk-lore, trolls, dreams of fantastic imagination are a reality to him. Such is the very nature of Romantic poetry and such is also the spirit and coloring which pervades *Olaf Liljekrans*. Both Peer and Olaf are under the magic spell of fantasy. Peer's very nature is rooted in dreams and he is as completely fascinated by their charms as is the bewildered Olaf who has come under the spell of the elf-maiden's love. In fact, when we compare these two dreams in which both Peer and Olaf picture the realisation of their life's greatest happiness, Peer has ambition to be emperor of the world and Olaf to be united in love with Alfhild, the resemblance in thought and phraseology is so close that the writer is prone to believe that Ibsen must have still retained in *Peer Gynt* the general poetic impression which he had when he wrote this passage in question in *Olaf Liljekrans*. When Olaf, (Act. I. Sc. 12.), hears the voices in the distance which bid him return to his mother's home he cannot immediately sever himself from that magic world of delicious phantasy which has so completely enthralled him. The danger of disillusion heightens the passion of his fevered imagination and transports his whole soul in a love-dream. He sees the bridal procession approaching; 'knights and ladies are riding up to bring home his bride who

is seated upon his swiftest steed with golden saddle, a mighty retinue follows, courtly swains lead his steed by the bridle, fair flowers are strewn by the way-side, the peasant bows down in honor of his bride, and the peasant's wife by the gate courtesies, the church-bells ring out over the whole land; for now Olaf Liljekrans is coming home with his bride.' So too Peer dreams (Act I. Sc. 2), as he lies watching the clouds above, that 'he is mounted upon a steed adorned with silver and gold, a magnificent retinue follows, the people stand along the way and lift their hats in token of recognition, the women courtesy, all recognize the Emperor, Peer Gynt, with his thousand swains, money is scattered for the people along the way-side, England's emperor rises from his festive board, lays aside his crown and says—', Here Peer is rudely awakened from his dreams by Aslak, the smith, who believes Peer to be lying there in a drunken stupor. But we may infer that if Peer had been allowed to continue his dream he would have heard the English sovereign say; 'Hail to thee, Peer Gynt, Emperor of the world,' just as Olaf Liljekrans hears the mighty throng of people greet him with his bride as he returns to his native home. Peer Gynt's dream is very little altered from that of Olaf. With Olaf it is a bridal procession, with Peer Gynt a triumphant procession of an omnipotent sovereign; therefore flowers are strewn for Olaf, while the emperor's generosity and magnanimity are symbolized by a deluge of silver and gold which rain down upon the bewildered inhabitants like manna in the wilderness. A comparison of the two passages shows the identity of conception which underlies the youthful fantasy of the two characters.

Olaf Liljekrans

Act I. Sc. 12

Guldsadlen skal lægges på min rappede gænger,
forrest i laget skal gå spillemænd og sanger,
derefter skal ride køgemester og prest,
alt folket i bygden skal bydes til gæst!
Høviske svende skal lede din gænger ved hånd,
liflige urter skal drysses på alle veje,
bonden skal bøje sig for dig som en vând,
og ved ledet skal hans kvinde neje!

kirkeklokkerne skal ringe over landet ud:
nu rider Olaf Liljekrans hjem med sin brud.

Peer Gynt.

Act 1. Sc. 2.

Peer Gynt rider først, og der følger hammange.—
Hesten har sølvtop og guldsko fire.
Selv har han handsker og sabel og slire.
Kåben er sid og med silke foret.
Gilde er de, som han følger i sporet.
Ingen dog sidder så stout på folen.
Ingen dog glitrer som han imod solen.—
Nede står folk i klynger langs gærdet,
løfter på hatten og glaner ivejret.
Kvinderne neje sig. Alle kan kende
kejser Peer Gynt og hans tusende svende.
Toleskillingsstykker og blanke marker
ned han som småsten på vejen sparker.
Rige som grever blir alle i bygden.
Peer Gynt rider tvers over havet i højden.
Engellands prins står på stranden og venter.
Det samme gør alle Engellands jenter.
Engellands stormænd og Engellands kejser,
der Peer rider frem, sig fra højbordet rejser.
Kejseren letter på kronen og siger—!

In Alfhild we have a strange mixture of the innocent, thoughtless child and the noble qualities of mature womanhood. Romanticism and the realities of life are here in the character of Alfhild struggling for supremacy. As prose and poetry so imagination and reality are in constant conflict. Ibsen never was a pure Romanticist and in *Olaf Liljekrans* the realistic view upon life asserts itself in spite of the highly colored Romantic setting. There is a quality of heroism in Alfhild's character which is strangely contrasted with her otherwise childish nature. Her self-sacrifice and fidelity unto death foreshadow the long list of noble women whom Ibsen portrays in his later works. Of these none is so pathetic and affecting as the character of Solvejg in *Peer Gynt*. Alfhild and Solvejg are productions of the same spiritual ideal of woman, which was the most graceful of Ibsen's literary achievements. Both characters are inspired with the spirit of ideal love and devotion upon which are based the motives for all their actions. Alfhild has sacrificed her home

and all that was dear to her to follow Olaf, for her heart, as she says, 'was full of God's love,' (Act II, Sc. II). So strong is this love that it has become a part of her nature as indispensable to her life as the soil to the grass. She can not pluck it out even though she would, for it has grown about her heart as the bark to the tree. When Lady Kirsten (Act III. Sc. 8) accuses her of having exercised the powers of witchcraft upon Olaf and caused him to disappear from the world Alfild does not deny the charge, for Olaf is hidden forever within her own heart from which she is powerless to release him. Even though the penalty of death confronts her, she cannot give Olaf back. This beautiful symbol of God's love which locks the spirit of Olaf forever within her heart is the Romantic expression of woman's ideal fidelity which appears so often in Ibsen's subsequent works and one is here, in connection with the Romantic setting of folk lore, involuntarily reminded of the Middle High German folk song—;

Dû bist mîn, ich bin dîn:
des solt dû gewîs sîn.
Du bist beslozen
in mînem herzen,
verlorn ist daz slûzzelîn:
dû muost immer drinne sîn.

The poetic imagery is the same although Ibsen undoubtedly never was acquainted with the Middle High German.

Olaf Liljekrans.

Act III. Sc. 8.

Fru Kersten.—Sig frem, hvor har du ham?

Alfild.

(trypper hændene mod brystet)

Herinde i hjertet! Kan du rive ham ud daraf,
da hekser du bedre end jeg!

Solvejg too is filled with 'God's love' and sacrifices all that she held dear, her home, brother and sister, to give her life to him whom she has chosen as her life's companion. Her pathetic confession of this noble sacrifice (Act III. Sc. 3) bears a striking resemblance to that of Alfild in Olaf Liljekrans.

Peer Gynt.

Act III. Sc. 3.

Solvejg.

På hele Guds vide Jord
 har jeg ingen at kalde for far eller mor
Jeg har løst mig fra alle.

Peer Gynt.

Solvejg, du vene,—
 for at komme til mig?

Solvejg.

Ja, til dig alene;
 du får være mig alt, både ven og trøster.
 (i gråd)

Værst var det at slippe min lille syster;—
 men endda værre at skilles fra far;
 men værst ifra den, som ved brystet mig bar;—
 nej, Gud forlade mig, værst fåg jeg kalde
 den sorg at skilles fra dem alle,—alle!

Olaf Liljekrans.

Act II. Sc. II.

Alfhild.

Mit hjem, min fader, alt gav jeg hen
 for at følge Olaf, min hjestensven!
 Han svor mig til, du skal vorde min brud!
 og jeg—Guds kærlighed var i
 mit hjerte;—

Solvejg too has God's love in her heart where she has enshrined the object of her affections. It is this love which has, in spite of Peer's faithlessness, idealized his ignoble character and made her own life beautiful. There is in her love that quality of Christian charity and forgiveness which constitutes the ideal Christ-love. When Peer, in the last act of the play (Act III. Sc. 3) falls down before her in utter despair, he asks her to tell him whither he, as God had conceived him and intended him to be, has strayed. Every soul has a certain mission in life to perform but Peer has missed his. Can he avoid the inevitable fate with which the button-moulder has threatened him? Solvejg answers this riddle of existence with the calm assurance of one who is gifted with a higher spiritual intelligence. Peer cannot perish, for Peer, as God meant him to be, has all these long years been in her safe-keeping; in her faith, in her hope and in her love. He has

been locked within her heart with the magic key of love even as Olaf within the elf-maiden's bosom.

Peer Gynt.

Act III. Sc. 3.

Peer Gynt.

Så sig, hvad du véd!

Hvor var jeg, som mig selv, som den hele, den sande?

Hvor var jeg, med Guds stempel på min pande?

Solvejg.

I min tro, i mit håb og i min kærlighed.

In this connection we are reminded of the last words spoken to Brand as he perishes in the approaching avalanche: 'han er *deus caritatis*' 'he is the god of love.' Ibsen himself explained in a letter of May 4, 1866 that 'caritas' is here used in the sense of heavenly or spiritual love which includes the quality of mercy ('barmhjertighed'), in contrast to physical love ('amor'). This is exactly the same meaning in which the word is used in the Latin Vulgate in the celebrated passage upon charity, First Epistle to the Corinthians, XIII, 13.—'And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.' The revised translation of the Bible has substituted for 'charity' the word 'love,' which, as Ibsen suggested, with reference to the phrase '*Deus caritatis*,' includes within itself a certain quality of mercy or charity. It is exactly this quality of human love which was lacking in Brand, and therefore prevented him from carrying out his divine mission which God had written upon his heart. Moral laws, however perfect in themselves, can never be enforced upon the human race without taking into account the element of love which is the real basis of all God's laws. During the composition of Brand, Ibsen was a diligent student of the Bible, as he, himself, said in a letter to Bjørnson. And in Brand's failure it seems possible (as Professor Olsen suggests in his excellent edition of Brand, Chicago, 1908—p. 339) to point out the very words, which underlie this passage, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: XIII, I: 'though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity (i. e. love), I am becoming as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.' In *Peer Gynt*, on the other hand, it is this very love which solves the problem of Peer's existence (at least as

Solvejg conceived it), without reference to those moral laws which Brand would enforce to the letter upon a compromising generation. Thus *Peer Gynt* stands in this respect, as well as in regard to the philosophic concept of self-realization, as a direct antipode to *Brand*. But though Ibsen may have had this biblical passage in mind when he wrote *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, nevertheless the idea of love as the all sustaining force in life and the secret of true happiness, existed previous to the composition of these two works in *Olaf Liljekrans*. Human love, as essential to man's redemption and ultimate happiness is a truth which Ibsen repeatedly emphasized in his dramas. In *Olaf Liljekrans* and *Peer Gynt* we have a Romantic expression of this vital doctrine of life. Both Olaf and Peer have been faithless but they still remain untainted and idealized in the hearts of these noble women. Therefore, though neither Olaf (at the time when Alfhild is confronted by Lady Kirsten, Act III, Sc. 8) nor Peer have by any means redeemed themselves, they are nevertheless already redeemed in thir lovers' affections through the magnanimous forbearance of spiritual love (*caritas*). This is exactly the same quality of love to which '*deus caritatis*' (*Brand*) seems to refer, as Ibsen explains the term in his letter of 1866; for God's love ('*Gud's Kærlighed*') is a spiritual love which is infinite in its mercy ('*barmhjertighed*'). In fact it would seem as if Ibsen had merely translated Alfhild's own words ('*Gud's Kærlighed*': '*God's love*') into Latin phraseology ('*deus caritatis*'—'*the God of love*') in order to accommodate the concept to the ecclesiastical setting in *Brand*.

Finally, we are reminded, in connection with *Brand*, of Alfhild's description of God's church ('*Guds hus*'), Act II. Sc. 4. Alfhild, to whom all human institutions are entirely strange, has caught sight of a church and witnessed a religious ceremony there. Bewildered by the sight and ignorant of the significance of the service she asks Olaf to tell her who lives in this strange home. He replies: "all who are good and pious as thou art, all who are children in thought and soul. That is the church, God's house; it belongs to Him." In her naive conception of religion which embraces the whole natural world Alfhild cannot conceive of God's being confined within the

narrow walls of a wooden house. The great Father dwells in a much larger home, 'as high as the stars overhead where the white duck flies, so high that no one can see it except the little child in its dreams.' It is this house of God, allembracing in its ethical and religious significance, which Brand seeks, instead of the temporal structure which has been erected in his honor. His is '*livets store kirke*' (Act V), 'which has neither measure nor end.' 'Its floor is the green earth, the mountain-plain, the meadow, sea and fjord: and its roof is the canopy of heaven.'

Brand.

Act V.

Kirken har ej mål og ende.
Gulvet er den grønne jord,
vidde, vang, og hav og fjord;
himlen kun kan hvælet spænde
over, så den vorder stor.

So likewise Alfild's church:

Olaf Liljekrans.

Act II. Sc. 5.

Den store fader! Ak, skemte du vil!
Hans hut er jo højt over stjernerne små,
hvor den hvide skysvane svømmer,
så højt som intet øje kan nå
uden barnets, der det blunder og drømmer.

It has often been noted that Henrik Ibsen's works form one continued chain of poetic and philosophic thought. It is left to the student of literature to discover the various links which compose this chain. The study of *Olaf Liljekrans* and Ibsen's early dramas has served to draw into closer contact the author's famous Realistic works with his earliest poetic efforts. *Olaf Liljekrans* has been particularly productive in this regard and it is to be hoped that other of Ibsen's Romantic works will be studied with this end in view.

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ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

THE EXPRESSED AIM OF THE LONG PROSE FICTION FROM 1579 TO 1740

At the present day few historians of literature adjudge Pamela to be the first of English "novels"; yet there seems to be a wide-spread belief that the theories put forth by Fielding and Richardson in their prefaces were new. A small fraction of their views may be. But, as a matter of fact, there is even before 1579 a considerable amount of critical comment upon prose fiction as distinguished from poetical.¹ And after 1579 there is so much material scattered in Spanish, French, and English prefaces to prose fictions, that the collector of such material is forced to cull and choose more than once before he selects the most telling remarks.² That such prefatory comment is not systematic "criticism" may be urged against it. There is systematic "criticism" in sufficiency—at least five long French treatises before 1735. But to me the real value of the comment upon prose fiction is that most of it *does* lie in prefaces, and thus represents a critical tradition allowed to go its own way, without much interference from Aristotles, Castelvetro, Boileau, and Dryden. The comment, furthermore, extends in every direction—toward relations of fiction with the drama, toward characterization, toward background or setting, toward style, etc. Of it all perhaps not the least interesting phase is the statement by this or that author of his aim or, to use his own word, his "purpose" in composition. For these statements throw a great light upon both the content and structure of 17th and early 18th century fiction. Not, indeed, that I am claiming for the early fictionists either belief in or adherence to all their theor-

¹ I may here state that I have already collected this matter, and that it constitutes the first chapter in my doctoral dissertation, entitled: *The Expressed Theory Of European Prose Fiction before 1740*. The dissertation will be published shortly. The matter of the present article is drawn from my second chapter.

² In general, the quotations in this article are limited to French and English authors. After 1579 the Italian prefaces do not contain much material; Spanish fiction is of small importance outside of the *novella* and the picaresque tale; and the German prefaces copy the French.

ies. I merely insist that no author's place in the development of prose fiction can be determined without reference to his expressed opinions upon his work—a reference seldom made in regard to the pre-Richardsonians. For, as far as I know, Koerting's *Geschichte des Französischen Romans im 17ten Jahrhundert* is the sole exception to that high-handed method of modern histories of fiction, which takes for granted that the fictionist's theories are negligible.

Now, it is the entire thesis of a recent German study³ that upon the type to which any fiction belongs, depends its author's aim, and, conversely, that through some individual author's aim, the type itself may undergo alterations of content and form. This is at least so far true that if we hasten to examine theory of the aim of fiction in general before 1740, we shall get nowhere. Instead, we shall do well to attempt to classify and define the numerous types of prose fiction in our period, and then to consider the expressed aims of fictionists. We shall act wisely, moreover, if we abandon any *a priori* classification of fiction, and follow the lines of division which authors themselves were drawing between types. Such a scheme will not always be consistent. Authors' ideas of types were not very consistent. But the classification will be convenient, and will have the merit of being true to the development of fiction. Accordingly, let us admit as separate types of prose fiction before 1740 the romance; the realistic narrative; the letter-novel; the *chronique scandaleuse*; the *voyage imaginaire*; and the *frame-work conte de fée*. Let us further be prepared to recognize seven types of romance, and four of the realistic narrative.⁴

³ Dibelius, *Englische Romankunst*, Berlin, 1910.

⁴ Two of the earliest attempts at classifying prose fiction are worth quoting. Charles Sorel in *La Bibliothèque Française* (1664; licensed 1659) writes (p. 149): "*Ces livres d'invention d'esprit sont sous la forme de Fables et d'Allégories, ou ce sont des Romans de Chevalerie, et de Bergerie, ou des romans vraisemblables, et des nouvelles, et des Romans Héroïques ou Comiques.*" d'Aubignac in the preface to *Macarise* (1664) recognizes fictions "*sur quelques notables circonstances de l'histoire*" (p. 126), works which "*doivent joindre le merveilleux au vraisemblable*" (146), and narratives which are "*quelques histoires de temps, tirées des cabales de la cour*" (149).

Obviously, for these terms careful definitions are needed, if we are to use them consistently throughout our discussion. By the general term, *romance*, then, is meant that form of the long prose fiction which has for its chief aim (often unexpressed) delighting the reader, which has a fairly unified structure, which is essentially grounded on both love and adventure, and which, above all, employs incidents, characters, machinery, setting, and style, such as, in type after type, were insistentlly satirized as untrue to life.⁵ Under the genus romance may be distinguished (the names are self-explanatory) the chivalric romance, the pastoral romance, the allegorical romance, the religious romance, the heroico-historical romance, the informational-conversational romance, and the satirical romance.⁶ By realistic narrative, as a term opposed to romance, is meant that form of the long prose fiction which has for its chief aim (often unexpressed) delighting the reader, which has a fairly unified structure, which emphasizes, in one species adventure, in another character, and which, above all, prides itself upon its depiction of historical or contemporary manners in a method which can seldom be satirized as untrue. Under the genus realistic narrative may be distinguished (again the names are self-explanatory) the picaresque tale, the novel of manners, the historical-psychological novel, and the psychological novel proper. By the *chronique scandaleuse*⁷ is meant a series of indecent stories about historical or contemporary personages, which are told with a mali-

⁵ In explaining just how this definition was arrived at, I may illustrate how I have used the material supplied by authors. The *chronique scandaleuse* and the *voyage imaginaire* have special purposes; the framework *conte de fée* is not based on love plus adventure, and has no unified structure; the letter-novel, also, has no unified structure; and, finally, the realistic narrative aimed to portray life as it is. That the forms are not quite mutually exclusive is not my fault, but the authors'.

⁶ Koerting, *Geschichte des Französischen Romans im 17ten Jahrhundert*, classifies romances much as I have done. I subsume his political under my allegorical, however, since all the political romances were allegorical in one sense; and I add informational-satirical romances to his list. From Miss Morgan, *Rise of the Novel of Manners* (ch. I) I differ entirely. Such *nomenclature* as Arcadian, Euphuistic, or Classical, seems to me misleading.

⁷ I borrow the title from Imbert's *Chronique Scandaleuse* (1791).

cious or lascivious aim, are loosely connected, are either real or fictitious in content, and are almost certain to introduce the supernatural. By the *voyage imaginaire* is meant a rather unified narrative, aiming specifically at literary criticism, at amusement through the introduction of the wildly fantastic, or at social improvement of the human race, and invariably carrying the reader into unexplored regions. By the frame-work *conte de fée* is meant a series of stories dealing with the supernatural and bound within a frame-work tale which motivates the whole series. Finally, by the letter-novel is meant a work either romantic or realistic, and having almost any "purpose," but constantly assuming a special type of structure—that of letters exchanged between two or more persons.

Having, then, defined our use of fictional type-names, let us turn to the expressed aims of prose fiction from 1579-1740. We shall find that the expressed aims of authors are five—if we are again willing to tabulate preface after preface. And these five aims are the amusement of the reader; his edification; his instruction; the depicting of the life about him; the attempt to arouse his emotions.⁸ Were an author's expressed aim confined to any one of these, our problem would now be simple. Unfortunately, authors have complexes of aims, so that under each of the five "purposes" we must slowly bring, if not single fictional types, at best only groups of types at one and the same time.

Were a casual reader of early prose fiction to reason *a priori* upon the aim which an author would state in his preface, he would probably conclude that "amusement" would be stressed. In place of this, however, the authors are few who dared to confess what, aside from money or fame, must have been the true goal of a vast amount of fiction-writing—pleasing the public. The source of such reticence is worth seeking, for the reticence brought in its train a multitude of interesting

⁸ What some might consider an aim of fiction—the unwearying effort to force the reader to believe the author's story—is not treated here, owing partly to lack of space, and partly to the fact that, in my judgment, this effort is more a method of working than a mere aim. The third of the eleven chapters of my book will be devoted to it.

consequences. It seems to me that the aim of amusing is in general unemphasized, not because of what is now-a-days called its "obviousness," but because the problem of the Renaissance, the "justification of imaginative literature,"⁹ bore heavily even to 1740 upon prose fiction. Since the Renaissance, imaginative literature as a whole had no longer to prove its right to exist by the parade of allegory or interpolated "sentence"; drama and epic had unshackled themselves. But the more one scans the clearly reactionary outbursts of such recalcitrants against morality as Hamilton in the *Memoirs of Grammont*, ponders over the attitude of the French Academy toward Furetière's "mean and low" *Roman Bourgeois*, skims the eight letters written against fiction by Nicole of the Port Royal in 1665, or eyes the apologies of Bunyan and of Lenglet-Dufresnoy (1734), one understands why the Spanish picaresque tales are full of digressive exhortations, why the huge German romances of Zesen and Bucholtz are strewn with praying heroes, and why the Abbé Prévost made his "*Homme de Qualité*" beg pardon for having in his pious old age produced the "amorous" tale of *Manon Lescaut*. Nowhere in Europe could one write prose fiction before 1740 without a mild blush of shame.¹⁰

Nevertheless, at times there were revolutionists who wished to see fiction free to entertain, and only to entertain. Sidney's much-quoted preface to the *Arcadia*¹¹ would seem to speak

⁹ This is Spingarn's thesis in *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*.

¹⁰ I say this despite the applause given to Mlle. de Scudéry and others. Mlle.'s own words are significant (*Conversations sur Divers Sujets*, 1685, p. 48): "And I know several old senators here and even Roman matrons, to whom love would be so dreadful that they would even forbid their children to read a fiction of this kind." The conversation originally appeared in *Clélie*, Tome VIII (1654), which accounts for the mention of Rome.

¹¹ "Here have you this idle work of mine, which, I fear, like the spider's web, will be thought fitter to be swept away, than woven to any other purpose. Now, it is done only for you, only to you; if you keep it to yourself, or commend it to such friends who will weigh errors in the balance of good-will, I hope, for the father's sake, it will be pardoned. . . Your dear self can best witness the manner, being done in loose sheets of paper, most if it in your presence; the rest by sheets sent unto you, as fast as they were done." This preface seems to me to have been too

for romance; but Sidney stands alone amid a host of moralizing romancers. It is the frame-work *conte de fée* which revolts most boldly; likewise in the van, fighting openly or under shields not difficult to thrust aside, are the authors of picaresque narratives and of novels of manners. In the first group, that of the frame-work *conte de fée*, the Turkish Tales alone emphasize didacticism. If Gueullette incidentally mentions the morality "couched in" the *Tartarian Tales* (1723), his *Soirées Brétonnes*, his *Mogul, Chinese, and Peruvian Tales*, as well as Caylus's *Nouveaux Contes Orientaux* (1735) make no other claim than "to treat of love innocent and legitimate," or "to prefer *le frivole amusant* to the things which one calls serious."¹² The picaro-inventers are more difficult to follow. Thus much may be said of the extremes of this party. The English *Faustus-book* of 1587 is dismally serious in its asserted intention: "for here we have a wicked example of his writing, promise, and end, that we may remember him, that we go not astray." On the other hand, the *Wagner-book* of 1594, Nashe in *Jacke Wilton*,¹³ d'Aubigné in *Les Aventures du Baron de Foeneste* (1617), and particularly Hamilton in the *Memoirs of Grammont* are heart and soul for "delight"; says Hamilton, "I declare that, without troubling myself about the severe erudition of these last (critics), I write only for the amusement of others." Between the moralizers and the "writers

much trusted. The *Arcadia* is altogether too coherent to have been written without some of Sidney's "loose sheets" being carefully related to rather remote predecessors. Cf. the prefaces quoted in this chapter, note 17.

¹² When these fairy-tales were translated into English, they were given highly moral prefaces. V. that to the *Peruvian Tales* (1734tr.), the *Tartarian Tales* (1759), the *Mogul Tales* (1736). One notes, too, that when J. K. completed the *Peruvian Tales*, he introduced an adventure (v. *Novelists' Magazine*, Vol. XXI, p. 190) which allowed him to give an allegorical explanation for some unseemly pages of Gueullette's own work.

¹³ *Jacke Wilton*, pp. 72-73. Cf. Espinal's *Marcos de Obregon* (1618). The main purpose is: "*à aligerar por algun espacio, con alivio, y gusto, la carga que oprime los ombros de V. S. Illustrissima*".... But important minor aims immediately follow this: to teach morality, reverence to God, etc.

for amusement" range the authors of the most important picaresque narratives, one and all apparently believers in Boccaccian advocacy of "art for art's sake."¹⁴ Aleman in Spain, e. g., when annoyed by a continuation of the *Guzman d'Alfarache*, will tell us that he aimed to describe a man who "perfect in his parts and person, punished with troubles, and afflicted with miseries, and falling afterwards into the basest roguery, is put into the gallies." Let us bow silently to Aleman's moral zeal, and compare this sermon (preface to Pt. II) with the elaboration of the "variety" of his literary banquet for the reader (preface to Pt. I). Head in England will likewise show that his *English Rogue* (post-script to Vol. I) was to have been "burnt in the London fire"; but a later passage (preface to Vol. III) casts into amusing relief such an exemplary intention: "If any loose word have dropped from my pen, I would have the reader to pass it over regardless, and not, like a toad, only gather up the venom of a garden. However, very cautious I was in offending any modest ear (though sometimes it could hardly be avoided, the matter in a manner requiring it) because I look upon obscene expressions as the plague on paper; and he that comes between the sheets is in danger of being infected."¹⁵ As for the last class of authors, those who write novels of manners, they seem also to have read Boccaccio. Greene's dedication to *Never Too Late* (1590) is a significant forerunner of Defoe's prefaces, and has its counterpart in substance before Sorel's *Polyandre* (1648) and Furetière's *Roman Bourgeois* (1666). "Wherein," writes Greene, "I

¹⁴ V. the conclusion to the *Decameron*, and cf. the endings of such stories in Straparolla's *Notti Piacevole* as II, 5; VII, 1; V, 2, etc.

¹⁵ Cf. the prefaces to Sorel's *Francion* (1622), and to *Gil Blas*. Mabbe, prefacing a version of Cervantes's *Exemplary Novels* in 1640, contrasts strangely with the Spanish author in his remarks of 1613: "could I by any means suppose that these novels could excite any bad thought or desire in those who read them, I would rather cut off the hand with which I write them than give them to the public." Mabbe says: "I will not promise any great profit you shall reap by reading them; but I promise they will be pleasing and delightful." Fürst in his *Vorläufer der Modernen Novelle* (1897) naively accepts (p. 5) not only Cervantes's preface as token of his moral ardor, but even his title—*Novelas Exemplares*!

have discovered so artificially the fraudulent effects of Venus' trumperies and so plainly as on a platform laid open the prejudicial pleasures of love." Again, before the *Farewell to Folly*, he sighs: "Follies I term them (*Mamília, Pandosto*, etc.) because their subjects have been superficial, and their intents amorous." The suggestive lines follow: "yet [were they] mixed with such moral principles, that the precepts of virtue seemed to crave pardon for all those vain opinions love set down in his periods."¹⁶

Naturally, besides admitting that entertainment was his sole or chief end,¹⁷ an author could either remain severely silent or declare that amusement was a secondary aim. The expression of an incidental desire to entertain is frequent in the romance,¹⁸ with the exception of the chivalric species; it is particularly voiced in the allegorical, informational, religious, and satirical romances. In 1636 Kingsmill Long thus prefaces Barclay's *Argenis* (1621): "It is so full of wise and politic discourses, and these so intermixed

¹⁶ If any one who believes these prefaces of Greene will count the number of times "strange," "surprising," or "marvelous" creeps into the titles or dedications, I fancy he will change his opinion. The same remark applies to Defoe.

¹⁷ Works which I have classed as psychological novels, but which show affiliations with the picaresque tales and with the novels of manners, can afford to be bolder than these latter; they aid a constant claim of "truth" by the assertion that they have been written for the delight of the author or an intimate friend. The prefaces of Marivaux to *Marianne* and to the *Paysan Parvenu*—taking the form, it is true, of the opening to the first chapter—are easily accessible. Less known are prefatory remarks to the *Aventures de...* (1713, by Marivaux?): "he wrote these adventures to amuse the lady whom he loved"; or to Mme. Tencin's *Comte de Comminge* (1735): "I have no other design in writing these memoirs of my life than to recall the smallest circumstances of my misfortunes, and to grave them still more deeply, if that is possible, upon my memory."

¹⁸ The heroico-historical romances worked pleasure into their theory. V. Mlle. de Scudéry's *Conversations sur Divers Sujets*, Amsterdam, 1685, pp. 33-50. For the pastoral romance see the preface to the *Astrée*. For the informational-conversational romance see the *Euphues*; for the satirical the *Don Quixote* and the *Berger Extravagant* (1627). Bougéant in *Prince Fan-faredin*, a critique on fiction (1735), offers a peculiar defiance to the ordinary claim: "I detest romances, you know; I see that you love them; and I declare war against you."

and seconded with pleasing accidents, so extolling virtue and depressing vice that...every reader will be drawn by the delight of something in it, to read the whole." Before *Macarise* (1664), an allegory so profound that a preface of nearly 200 pages is necessary to explain it, the Abbé d'Aubignac admits (p. 120): "But I shall advise my readers that there are many little circumstances which do not at all contain allegory, and which are only necessary connections in the composition of the romance, or graces——" Bunyan in the "Apology" to *Pilgrim's Progress* becomes poetical:

"They must be groped for, and be tickled, too,
Or they will not be catch'd, whate'er you do."

Barelay says of the *Euphormio* (1610): "I have sought in all this pleasure and matter for laughter rather than solid and legitimate indictment [of vice]." Why, now, is the aim of amusement so freely confessed by the authors of these forms? The answer is evident. All the authors of this group have serious purposes. Yet a moralist like Camus must please in order to instruct, a hapless lover like Gombauld must conceal his affection for the lofty Marie de Medici under the complaints of Endymion for Diana and the pretence of "amusing the queen," the reformer of society like Fénélon or of literature like Bougéant must hypnotize before he can transform.

So much, then, for expression, complete or partial, of the desire to entertain. What of the types of fiction that in general sternly suppress any such claim—the chivalric romance of important authors, the *voyage imaginaire*, the historical novel, the *chronique scandaleuse*? No attentive reader need puzzle long. Assault upon the "frivolity" of the chivalric romance, particularly the *Amadis*, was the prevailing literary cry from about 1580; as a result, later authors of this form, notably in France, Spain, and Germany urged that they were merely desirous of "reforming" a "useful" kind of fiction. It is true that in England Sidney, Lodge, and Ford are silent about reform; but the great authors of the continent, Cervantes, du Verdier,¹⁹ Gomberville, and Bucholtz, are much

¹⁹ Cf. du Verdier, *Romans des Romans* (a continuation of the *Amadis*-cycle, 1624): "it is possible that you will still blame the design that I have made of finishing a work that you would judge little useful to

exercised. Gomberville seems to have grieved over having deepened the immoralities of the period (1632 seq.) by his publication of *Polexandre*—though, as a matter of fact, the reader of his romances observes that he transformed the “frivolous and foolhardy Amadis to a blameless, noble knight,” and pictured the “perfect lover” as an “honorable man in every respect.”²⁰ Bucholtz before *Hercules und Valiska* (1659) cries out: “That shamelessly - passionate Amadis-book has many lovers also among the women, of whom, however, none have been bettered through it, but instead several are urged to unbecoming boldness, when they see painted before their eyes such occurrences.... I do not doubt that the excellent Barclay with his famous *Argenis*; Lord Sidney with his *Arcadia*; Marets with his *Ariana*... [who] have torn the Amadis out of the hands of youth... have not given the slightest incitement [to evil].... But the true fear of God is not introduced even in their books—therefore my mind and perhaps others are not satisfied with these. At least the reader is herewith warned in Christian wise not to read the book in such a way that he take out only the worldly events for his mental delectation and wish to pass over the intermingled spiritual things [*Sachen*, i. e. prayers, etc?]. If, however, the motive which kept the chivalric romance from asserting amusement as its goal was a desire for reform, no such

posterity; but if you could know my thoughts, you would draw an excellent fruit from an earth so unfruitful, you would find there an example for virtuous living, and living in the mode (*bienséance*) of the world, you would know how necessary it is to love holily, and seeing the misfortunes which often indeed are born from an unregulated love, without doubt you would encounter ways to retire yourself from this precipice.” It is inexact for Baker to write in the preface to his edition (1907) of Sidney’s *Arcadia*: “The pastoral novel and the Amadis cycle of romances were the two direct progenitors of Sidney’s *Arcadia*, in which the spirit of knightly heroism and the idyllic atmosphere of a sentimental Utopia are blended in fairly equal parts”; and for Raleigh in his *English Novel* (p. 90) to speak of the true love of the chivalric romances *degenerating* to gallantry in the romances of the seventeenth century. For in the *Amadis* and the *Palmerin* cycles reigns a care-free licentiousness.

²⁰ The lines quoted are from Koerting, *Geschichte des Französischen Romans im 17ten Jahrhundert*, Vol. 1, p. 217).

cause can be advanced for the reticence of the *voyage imaginaire* or that of the historical novel. These sought to be believed verbatim; consequently, pleasure for the reader was not in point. The Utopian travels were apparently of deadly serious aim; and, though the *Voyages* of Cyrano de Bergerac must have amused readers, Lebreton, their editor (1656-1662), exhausts himself in proving other merits. Quite alone in daring, accordingly, are the prefaces to such little-known volumes as *Travels through Terra Australis Incognita* (1684), *A Voyage to the World of Cartesius* (1692), and *Lamekis* (1735); perhaps one might add the preface to *Pt. I of Robinson Crusoe*. Daniel, if he be the author of the *World of Cartesius*, hits hard at philosophic mysteries, but he cannily fishes for readers: "I have made it my business to diversify and enliven a subject naturally dry and melancholy, as well by the variety of accidents, which give me occasion to digress upon them, as by some peculiar and not incurious instances of the history of Cartesianism."²¹ The prefaces of the historical novelists are very similar to those of the average *voyageur*. Sandras, e. g., a prolific author from 1686-1705, emphasizes in *Rochefort* his moral aim, in the *Memoirs of d'Artagnan* his desire to honor that bold Gascon, in *Coligny* his yearning to give information accessible only to him; but everywhere he wants to secure credence. The *chronique scandaleuse*, now, is the sole form left to consider. But is a shameless narrative of scandal ever actuated save by vehement fervor to reform one's contemporaries? Bussy-Rabutin, indeed, ventures to preface the *Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules* (1660) with "I engaged myself in writing a history or rather a satirical *roman*, truly without design of injuring the interested parties but only to occupy myself and... to give pleasure." The usual *chronique scandaleuse* (perhaps remembering Bussy's incarceration in the Bastille) ventures no such risk. The *Mémoires de la Comtesse de M...* (1697) is written in reply to the equally odorous *Mémoires de la Vie du Comte de...* (1696). Mrs. Manley, attacked by the *Tatler* for the malevolence and prurience of the *New Atalantis* (1709), defends her-

²¹ Cf. with these statements the prefaces of *Jaques Sadeur* (1676), *The Sevarambians* (1675), or *Gaudentio de Lucca* (1727).

self by "the precedent of our great forefathers in satire," and by the declaration that "whoever is withheld by the consideration of fear, danger, spiteful abuses, recriminations, or the mean hopes of missing pity, has views too dastardly and mercenary for lofty, steadfast souls, who can be only agitated by true greatness, by the love of virtue, and the love of glory."²²

With such citations as have been given concerning the attitude of authors toward the aim of amusement one might continue indefinitely. The purpose of edification—the second on our list—needs closer analysis. But first let us consider briefly the effect of the aim of amusement upon narrative structure.

It is at once evident that, where differing attitudes toward amusement were present, differing results are observable.²³ From the group of narratives which openly confessed that their chief desire was to delight the reader, came the most incoherent fictions: *Jack Wilton*, *Simplicissimus*, the *English Rogue*, the *Roman Bourgeois*, the *Peruvian Tales*.²⁴ As regards the group which subordinated the announcement of "delight" to declaration of a moral aim, but which yet expressed entertainment as a minor end, two effects are seen: on the one hand, the moral aim tended to unify the more important picaresque tales, the heroic romances, and such works as *Pilgrim's Progress*; on the other, "delight" militated against edifying and informational digressions. Finally, in the group which heroically repressed the cry of amusement as a bait to readers,

²² Preface to *New Atalantis*, Vol. III, written in answer to the Tatler for Nov. 10, 1709. V., also, the same lady's *Memoirs of Europe at the Close of the 8th Century*, wherein (p. 234), when Horatio objects to Girron's malignant gossip, Girron answers calmly, "If we speak of 'em, we must speak of 'em as they are." Mrs. Manley's real aim appears, it seems to me, in (p. 1): "Our design is to treat of rough Bellona's formidable charms; Mars dreadfully gay....But to take in and complete our circle with the lovely sex....we shall not forbear to introduce the queen of love."

²³ In this and the following short accounts of the relation of purpose to content and structure completeness is not aimed at. The more important effects are suggested.

²⁴ The *Peruvian Tales* is included here because it is nearer to being a unified narrative than many a work which passes as a novel of manners. In its 218 pages are but two stories, one left unfinished!

the zeal for reform changed the entire character of the chivalric romance, the effort to force belief cast the *voyage imaginaire* into the mould of the "autobiography," and satirical intention allowed to the *chronique scandaleuse* lasciviousness of material and disregard of form.

As a foreword to an account of the expression of the "moral purpose" among prose fictionists before 1740 no more appropriate quotation can be found than one from any of Defoe's numerous prefaces; the modest lines concerning the *Life and Adventures of Duncan Campbell* (1720) will serve. The author, we learn (p. 206), has "ended all the merriest passages with a sober, instructive, and edifying moral." On the necessity for a "sober" moral, however, all the types of prose fiction are so thoroughly in accord that we need not consider, as in the case of the aim of amusement, the attitude of each type. We need merely classify the species and subspecies of the edifying purpose. The species may be called the social aim, the religious aim, and the moral aim proper.

The movement for social reform exhibits two minor phases not without interest. The humanitarianism of Dickens, e. g., is at least once forestalled—and that, oddly enough, by Defoe.²⁵ An aim more often stated is the establishment of a

²⁵ Preface to *Colonel Jacques* (1722): "Here's room for just and copious observations on the blessings and advantages of a sober and well-governed education....also how much public schools and charities might be improved—the miserable condition of unhappy children." Abuse of the conditions in schools is found at least as early as *Francion* (1622), from which salient passages are given in Koerting, Vol. II, 54-57, and in Bréton, *Le Roman au 17^{ème} Siècle*, pp. 66-74; I think, however, both these commentators do not allow for Sorel's fondness for satire—let truth fare as she may. Dibelius, *Englische Romankunst*, (Band I, 35-43), regarding Defoe as an isolated phenomenon, gives him, I think, entirely too much credit for serious efforts at reform.... Apart from this one phase of the social purpose, may be mentioned here a seeming desire to present in humanitarian fashion the distress arising from forced marriages or cloistral immurement of daughters for economic reasons, a demand that slaves be better treated, and an onslaught upon dueling. Forced marriages and cloistral immurement are, according to Reynier, (*Le Roman Sentimental avant L'Astrée*, ch. X.) the motifs of a group of novels from 1590-1610. *Lydamant et Calliante* (1607) has: "Girls are slaves of their condition, miserable in that they have no choice in the matter most dependent upon their choice," and *Martyre d'Amour* (1603): "Behold

close relationship between the purpose claimed by satirical comedy, and that asserted by the novel of manners. As early as the *Gyges Gallus* (158?)²⁶ and Sorel's *Francion* (1622) this bond had been hinted at. In the *Roman Bourgeois* it is fully voiced: "I can assure you that it has not been made only for diversion, but that its first design has been to instruct... there have been very few who censure ordinary faults, which are so much more dangerous as being more common [than great vices].... Does one not see every day an infinity of drunkards, bores, misers, pettifoggers, braggarts, flirts male and female? Nevertheless, has there been any who dares to advise them of their faults and of their follies, if it has not been comedy or satire? They, leaving to the learned and to magistrates the care of combatting crimes, halt at the correcting of

here the flame of the mortuary torches which paternal cruelty has all too miserably enkindled." I can not evaluate these aims, because I have not been able to see these works. On the next topic, the demand that slaves be better treated, I am better informed. The demand is heard chiefly in Mrs. Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688) and in Mrs. Aubin's *Noble Slaves* (1722). Mrs. Behn, I am sure, is not in earnest, despite Cross, (*The English Novel*, p. 20), who calls Oroonko "the first humanitarian novel." Mrs. Aubin really seems to mean: "We can not think without horror of the miseries that attend those, who in countries where the monarchs are absolute, and standing armies awe the people, are made slaves to others." As for the attacks upon dueling, the assaults of Barclay's *Euphormio* (v. Koerting, Vol. II, 9; 22) and Camus's *Cléoreste* (v. Koerting, Vol. I, 198) preceded Henry IV's edict against dueling in 1627. The *Nova Solyma* (1648) assails the practice (Vol. I, 298-299). Later remarks of importance are to be found in the *Mémoires de la Vie du Comte D....* (1696), Vol. II, p. 84, and in Prévost's *Homme de Qualité* (Vol. V, p. 256). Fénelon, of course, wrote *Telemachus* (1699) partly that he might embody his views upon dress, furniture, architecture, etc.

²⁶ The *Gyges Gallus*, a mixture of character book and novel of manners, has a hero who in the preface regards his aim as novel; having gained the ring of invisibility, he writes: "as soon as, being received everywhere, I shall have known the customs, ridiculous and even criminal of my century, I shall write them." But the *Gyges Gallus* lacks plot. The *Francion* (1622), which has plot, carries on the movement: "In it are only naive descriptions of the vices of some men, and of all their faults.... or of some trickeries of others." Cf. also the prefaces to *Polyandre* (1648), which exhibits six Parisian types, to *la Vie du Comte D....* (1696), which presents forty or more feminine types as mistresses of the hero, and to Crébillon's *Comte de Meilcœur* (1735).

indecencies and of ridiculousness. They are not less necessary and are often more useful than all the serious discourses . . . and as an excellent portrait demands our admiration, though we do not recognize it for the person portrayed, in the same way one can say that fictitious narratives well-written and under assumed names make more impression upon our mind than the true names and the true adventures could make."

But the most significant movement toward social reform centered about the *voyage imaginaire*: from at least as early as 1675 a feeling that the ideal man is the man unspoiled by civilization may be traced. The hermaphrodites among whom *Jaques Sadeur* (1676) finds unstained innocence, the peaceable race of the land of the *Sevarambians* (1675), the charming sun-worshippers described in *Gaudentio de Lucca* (1726), the odd peoples whom *Le Nouveau Gulliver* (1728) encounters—all these offer evidence. The author of *Jaques Sadeur*, it is true, preserves a cautious silence in his *preface*; *Vairasse*, in general most careful not to offend Catholicism, speaks boldly only once in the *Sevarambians*; and Berington (if Berington wrote *Gaudentio de Lucca*) seldom drops his seemly mask of a MS found in the annals of the Inquisition. Desfontaines, on the other hand, does not mince words in the introduction to his *Nouveau Gulliver*: "One will see there the censure of all the policed nations, in the mouth of a virtuous savage, who knows only natural reason and who finds that that which we call civilization (*société civile*), polish, manners, is only a vicious commerce, which our corruption has invented and which our prejudice makes us esteem." ²⁷

²⁷ Various other citations will show how wide-spread the admiration for the natural man was before Rousseau. "For this people always keep a good guard on their frontier, as being apprehensive that strangers may come, and by ill examples corrupt their innocence, disturb their tranquility, and introduce vice and wickedness among them" (*Sevarambians*, p. 202). "And their manner of living . . . may pass for a perfect image of the state of man in full possession of natural happiness upon the earth" (*Jaques Sadeur*, *preface*). "And these people represented to me an absolute idea of the first state of innocence, before man knew how to sin; and 'tis most evident and plain, that simple nature is the most harmless, inoffensive, and virtuous mistress. 'Tis she alone, if she were permitted, that better instructs the world than all the invention of man; Religion would here but destroy that tranquility they possess by ignor-

Just as we allowed Defoe to introduce not only the subject of the edifying aim in general, but also the narrower topic of the "social purpose," so we may let him be herald for the religious aim. The grief with which he regards abridged editions of *Robinson Crusoe* is piteous; but as early as the *Storm* (1704) he had avowed: "The main inference I shall pretend to make—in this case, is, the strong evidence God has been pleased to give in this terrible manner to his own Being." Usually, the religious claim assumes one of two forms: the praise by the author of such pious monotheism as is injected, e. g., into the *Cythereé of Gomberville* (1638) and the *Adriatische Rosemunde* of Zesen (1645), or the setting up of militant sectarianism.²⁸ Back of the terrifying mass of Ingelo's *Bentivolio and Urania* (1660) is a preface of many pages, inculcating devotion to reformed religion. Nor were the Catholics silent. No less a personage than the Abbé Prévost governed much of his work by a desire to instill Christian tenets.²⁹

ance; and laws would but teach 'em to know offences, of which they have now no notion" (*Oroonoko*, pp. 79-80). V. also Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*, letters X-XIV, giving the history of the Troglodytes; the account of the Abaqui in Prévost's *Cleveland*, Vol. II, 203 seq. (1769 ed.) and Léonore's conversation with Jaime in *Comte de Warwick* (1704), Vol. II, p. 38.

²⁸ By far the most curious of these special pleadings is the *Avantures de Madona et Francis d'Assisi*, the author of which is an exile after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; the preface is remarkable alike for a wish to gain converts, and if necessary, to retail nastiness. The author writes to Charles XII: "provided that your Majesty find pleasure therein, let the Vatican growl, let it thunder, let it fulminate, I shall trouble myself little. Perhaps even as these adventures divert your Majesty, they will cause to be born the thought of imitating the zeal of the great Gustavus, and the desire of reducing to reason the enemies of your state"; further on, he adds: "To complete the confusion of the Papacy by itself, it has come into my mind to render public among the Protestants the life of its principal saints, and to give this work a novelistic form (*air de roman*), in order not to tire the reader, and to make more impressive the ridiculousness and the falsity of the things which are reported by the legendaries."

²⁹ V. the prefaces to the *Homme de Qualité*, to *Cleveland*, and to the *Doyen de Killerine*. The last is the most significant; *Cleveland* has been attacked on various grounds, and in the preface to the *Doyen de Killerine* (1735-1740) Prévost defends himself by pointing out that *Cleveland*

Dofoe has headed the quotations which vouch for the "social" and religious pretensions of authors; he might well lead the citations for the third species of claim, that of the moral purpose proper. But with this topic our problem increases greatly in complexity; still closer analysis of authors' assertions is necessary, or we shall not understand the effect of these assertions upon narrative technique. For in the moral field the use of characters as examples, good and bad, aroused a continuous tempest; the life-story of an improving or degenerating hero grew popular; volumes were written solely to illustrate certain virtues; the insertion into a story of moral comments was debated *pro* and *con*; chastity of language was defended and assailed.

The value claimed for example is perhaps the most common testimony of authors to their moral aims. The title of Greene's *Mirroure of Modestie* is characteristic both of him and of the plea; "wherein," he tells us, "appeareth as in a perfect glass how the Lord delivereth the innocent from all imminent perils, and plagueth the blood-thirsty hypocrites with deserved punishments. Shewing that the gray heads of dotting adulterers shall not go with peace into the grave, neither shall the righteous be forsaken in the day of trouble."³⁰ This citation, moreover, aptly suggests an issue old as the world perhaps; certainly as old as fiction. Are not gray-headed adulterers and their like better banished from the realms of so formative a power as fiction?

On the affirmative side of this question were marshaled in

had struggled to attain morality, unsupported by a creed, until—"it is in the conversations with that illustrious friend that he finds peace of heart, and true wisdom with the perfect recognition of religion." "Such," he adds, "is the plan of the *English Philosopher*." In the *Doyen de Killerine* one notes that Georges goes to destruction as a result of "natural religion." Cf. also *Homme de Qualité*, Vol. II, pp. 50-52 (ed. 1769). Mrs. Aubin's preface to the *Count de Vinevil* must also be considered.

³⁰ Cf. Mrs. Haywood, preface to *Memoirs of an Island Adjacent to Utopia* (1725). How smirkingly she writes (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 126): "Example has infinitely more power than precept to sway the mind of man either to good or ill."

France, d'Urfé, Gerzan,³¹ Gomberville, and other romancers; and in England the anonymous author of the *Nova Solyma* goes as far as the writer of any modern Sunday-school story. The unwieldy volumes of the *Nova Solyma* (1648) are pre-eminently pure; the purpose is candidly told (Vol. I, p. 300): "The argument of this book is the history of a life that is free, that has received a liberal education, and has been well and religiously brought up; it keeps within the bounds of the humanly possible, and deals, as a rule, with the middle class." The brief for the negative of the issue contained, as might be surmised, a variety of defenses. Advocates of "art for art's sake," and using all the grinning apologies of Boccaccio and Bandello, were Aleman, Head, Quevedo,³² etc.; the dropping of all pretense of a moral purpose we have seen in Hamilton's *Memoirs of Grammont* (1709), and we find it more startlingly proclaimed in a genuine predecessor of Zola, *Des Challes*. In 1713 he pleads thus before *Les Illustres Françaises* for "*une morale plus naturelle*." "Here are, I believe, a good part of the occurrences which are ordinarily found in the world; and the moral that one can draw from them is so much the more sensible, as it is founded upon certain facts." On a quite different tack in the defense of the "horrible example" are Du Verdier, whom we have quoted (note 19) as a friend of the *Amadis*, and Furetière, who struck deeper than he knew in assailing the *Astrée*.³³ Notwithstanding, it was in the reli-

³¹ Preface to *Sophonisbe* (1627): "In the same way it is necessary to take care that the amours one treats of shall be so chaste and so honorable that they can not displease the most delicate ears." Some of Gerzan's situations, however, incline the reader to qualify this assertion a trifle.

³² Preface to Pt. I of Aleman's *Guzman* (1599): "That which thou shalt find less grave or discomposed, presents itself in the person of a picaro, which is the subject of this book. Such things as these...sport thyself with them...and afterwards shake hands." The French translation (1648) of Quevedo's *Historia del Buscon llamado don Pablos* (1596) has a preface wherein the "Spanish Sharper" defends himself before the gods!

³³ Furetière's defense of the *Amadis* (preface to *Roman Bourgeois*) is singularly like Lamb's plea for the Restoration dramatists: "*Tel entre ceux-la est l'Astrée, puis il exprime naturellement les passions amoureuses, et mieux elle s'insinuent dans les jeunes âmes, ou il se glisse un*

gious romances of Camus that a legitimate—and modern—line of defense was developed. For Camus, I think, means every word he utters when he says: "If I dig in the ordures of the world, if I represent evil actions and even unchaste ones (*déshonnêtes*), although very rarely, in order to make them detested, and through bloody invectives which I make against vice purge the world of its corrupt manners, why will any one blame this labor?"³⁴ The sole advance upon this view before 1740 is Prévost's comment upon *Manon Lescaut* (1732): "But experience is not an advantage which ought to be free to all the world to give itself; there remains then only example which can serve as a rule."

The use of the good or bad character as an example easily

venin imperceptible, qui a gagné le cœur qu'on puisse avoir pris du contrepoison. Ce n'est pas comme ces autres romans où il n'y a que des amours des princes et des palladins qui, n'ayant rien de proportionnée avec les personnes de commun, ne les touchent point, et ne font point naître d'envie de les imiter."

³⁴ *Cléoreste*, Vol. II, p. 720, ed. 1626. I do not agree with Koerting (Vol. I, p. 205) when he questions the sincerity of Camus's moral aim. It is true that this position is difficult to determine. We find before his *Singular Events* (1622; tr. 1639) a preface suggestive of the extreme stand of the purists: "The enterprise which I have taken in hand, is to . . . encounter with those frivolous books, which may all be comprised under the name of romants (he includes the Italian *novelle*) . . . O why hath not my pen the virtue to cure the wounds that these wicked books cause the world. . . . It makes me fear a labor like unto that of Danaïdes . . . By what manner do I labor to overcome my adversaries? It is by diversion, setting relations true and beneficial. . . ." On the opposite, we find within the *Singular Events* some *novelle*, more gruesome than any I have ever read, the *Curried Lovers*, e. g. Is Camus, then, a Greene or Defoe? It seems to me that the 100 pages of defense before *Agatonphile* (1623), the passage quoted from *Cléoreste*, and another from *Aristandre* (1624): "David committed two sins of horror, adultery and homicide, which are those which play most part in this German history," bear the accent of sincerity. Let the reader note the difference between these frank remarks, and an English lie (Head's *Art of Wheedling*, 1675): "consider Brutus and his confederates are not forgot in Livy; Sinon lives in Virgil and Pandarus in Homer; there is a Lais memorable in Corinth and a Lamia in Athens, and why should we not match those rampant whores with a pair of as lusty rogues?" Cf. also the prefaces to such works as Mme. de Villedieu's *Annales Galantes* (167?) or Jane Barker's *Exilius* (1715).

passed into the presentation of a life-story. The creators of picares are again to the front; smilingly they inform us that they had doomed their heroes—were it not for ill-mannered and ill-moraled sequels from *other* hands—to end in the galleys (*Guzman d'Alfarache*) or in a holocaust (*English Rogue*) or in dire distress (*Roxana*.) The claim for a less piquant procedure, the slow unshackling of a sin-bound nature, is manifest in *Gil Blas* (1715-1735) and in Crébillon's *Comte de Meilcœur* (1735). Le Sage's parable about the two scholars of Salamanca, given in the preface to *Gil Blas*, is accepted as good moral coin by such an investigator as Bréton;³⁵ be that as it may, Gil's comments upon himself are worthy of notice. For Gil is not of the Spanish fraternity of picares. He falls reluctantly; as late as Vol. II, p. 70, he is "shocked by . . . faults; but by misfortune I found a little too much to my taste their fashion of living, and I plunged myself into debauchery"; finally, at the close of the tale, he settles down, reformed.³⁶ As for Crébillon, his theory, since he had considerable influence, is more interesting than his assigned motive is trustworthy. The *Comte de Meilcœur* was never finished by its author; but he stated as his thesis the regeneration of a man, who through ignorance of that which is really worth while, becomes proud and debauched, and is only saved from this deadly condition by love for "*une femme estimable*."

Example and life-story were not the sole resources of the moral-loving writers of fiction. At times books were written to exploit special virtues. Greene pens triumphantly: "*Penelope's Web*, wherein a crystal mirror of feminine perfection represents to the views of every one those virtues and graces, which more curiously beautifies the mind of women, than either sumptuous apparel, or jewels of inestimable value: the one buying fame with honor, the other breeding a kind of delight, but with repentance. In three several discourses also are three special virtues . . . pithily discussed: namely, Obedience, Chastity, and Silence." Camus, among others, declares some interesting moral campaigns: "*La Mémoire de Darie* (1620),

³⁵ *Le Roman au 18ème Siècle*, p. 39-40.

³⁶ Paris, 1810 ed. Cf. *Gil Blas*, Vol. III, p. 101; III, 155; IV, 16; IV, 83.

"where one will see the pattern (*idée*) of a devoted life and a religious death"; *Palombe* (1624), "concerning the purity of marriage and the honoring of a model wife"; *Cléoreste* (1626), "the image of a perfect friendship, crowned and concluded with a holy alliance between some French and Spanish [lovers]."

A fourth device of the moral aim, the insertion of comments by the author or by a character used as the author's mouth-piece, gradually met with disfavor. *Euphues* illustrates this sand-bagging method carried to an extreme. The well-known "caveat," even though it follows the *Euphues* proper, is at least attached to Lyly's narrative; accordingly, the reader of *Euphues* feels that he is neglecting his duty, if he ignores the admonition (p. 259): "And calling to mind his former looseness, and how in his youth he had misspent his time, he thought to give a caveat to all parents, how they might bring their children up." The introduction to the *Euphues* also furnishes cheerful proof as to why no one dares to classify this volume under any one of the types of prose fiction. "These discourses," riddles Lyly, "I have not clapped in a cluster, thinking with myself that ladies had rather be sprinkled with sweet water, then washed, so that I have sowed them here and there, like strawberries, not in heaps, like hops." Later, in the picaresque narratives of Spain, in Barclay's *Argenis* (1621), and in Sorel's *Francion* (1622), this sand-bagging method is similarly, if less alliteratively, expounded; but Sorel remarks: "there are some remonstrances, which, although they are short, will not fail to touch the soul vividly." That "short" is important as paving the way for a reform in structure, most clearly indicated in Le Sage's preface to his translation of *Guzman d'Alfarache*; he censures that work thus: "But the author ought to restrain himself from these ingenious sermons (*leçons*), which Persius calls with perfect truth '*une règle qui trompe*,' and not cut at every moment the thread of the adventures of his hero, in order to throw himself into long harangues against manners." After this advance, it is disappointing to find that in England the glib Defoe should have emphatically approved a method of composition detrimental to coherence: "this makes the abridging of this work

(*Robinson Crusoe*) as scandalous as it is knavish and ridiculous seeing...they strip it of all those reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest beauty of the work, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the reader."³⁷

Defoe, however, is not only connected with this fourth way in which "moral purpose" voiced itself—the insertion of edifying comments; he is far down the line of a band of crusaders, seeking purity of phrase—the last moral claim of the fictionists which we shall consider. Just what motive lay behind this particular movement one can but ponder. In any event, quite aside from the dubious cleanliness of speech, which was advocated by Sorel, Head, and Defoe,³⁸ and which needs no further attention, there is such a movement. Lyly is honest in saying: "For this I have diligently observed, that

³⁷ *Robinson Crusoe*, Vol. II, preface (1719 ed.). The *Nova Solyma* (1648) extols the romance for allowing digressions, and Ingelo in the *Bentivolio and Urania* (1660) and Boyle in *Theodora and Didymus* (1686) revel in the scope for preaching afforded by a pious purpose. In France, also, Brémont, an earlier translator of Guzman, considers it a merit to say: "*J'ai ajouté de petites façons.*" On the other hand, Espinal in the *Marcos de Obregon* (1618) had anticipated Le Sage by writing: "We ought never to stick too closely to dry doctrinal points, or give too great a loose to the play of the imagination; morality may be introduced under pleasing colors, and doctrine also be blended with delight"; and Sorel remarks upon *Guzman* in his *Bibliothèque Française* (1664), p. 172: "it is true that one has restrained the moral discourses which seem too long for this sort of book" (is this a reference to a translation of 1647? I found this idea of revision in the preface to a 1647 tr. of *Guzman d'Alfarache*, which had been bound into the preface of Vol. XI of *Cléopâtre*, 1654 ed.) Care should be taken not to attribute to Le Sage a strict theory of unity. He is not opposed to narrative digressions, for he follows the quotation already cited by: "It is true that Mateo is sometimes too concise. If he elaborates almost always.... when he moralizes, he deducts for that from his comic actions, which he recounts too succinctly."

³⁸ V. *Moll Flanders*, preface: "The pen employed in finishing her story and making it what you now see it to be, has had no little difficulty to put it into a dress fit to be seen....to wrap it up so clean as not to give room, especially for vicious readers, to turn it to his disadvantage"; or *Roxana*: "all imaginable care has been taken to keep clear of indecencies." Mrs. Aubin before *Lady Lucy* (1726) and Mrs. Barker before *Exilius* (1715) have similar apologies.

there shall be nothing found, that may offend the chaste mind, with unseemly terms or uncleanly talk." D'Urfé's words are true in: "and be assured, my dear Lignon, that they (Diana and her nymphs) will find there no single thought that can offend their chaste and modest ears" (l'Astrée, preface to Pt. III). The boast:

"No word obscene, no phrase lascivious,
You here shall read, to taint a virgin's blush,"

is almost the sole merit of Baron's *Honor's Academy* (1645).³⁹ Not, indeed, until the stately edifice of heroico-historical romance tottered, and the *mémoire secrète*, like some vermin, crept from the ruins, did malicious nastiness of phrase and scene replace the "propriety" of the "princely" fictions.⁴⁰

³⁹ With the first blush of shame by the ladies of the Decameron—so easily forgotten—should be compared the very vigorous reproofs administered to a French Dioneo by the ladies of *Mariane du Filomène* (1596). The English version of the Decameron in 1620 softens the frank diction of the stories of Dioneo on days three and nine. Baudoin's *Diversitez Historiques* (1620) has not a single unchaste line or situation. Boyle's *Theodora and Didymus* (1686) is scrupulously delicate in delineating a stew and its victims. The preface to *Pandion and Amphigenia*, however (1665), is untrustworthy. So it goes through the century.

⁴⁰ Since a taking of prefaces at face value has sometimes led to a miscomprehension of the author's attitude, it has seemed worth while to append my feeling upon the trustworthiness of the edifying claims of the more important authors. The social and religious aims may in general be accepted as valid. In the case of the moral aim proper the following writers seem to me double-tongued: in England Greene, Head, Kirkman, Defoe, Mrs. Manley, and Mrs. Haywood; in France Sorel, Furetière, Sandras, and Crébillon; in Spain Aleman, Quevedo, and Perez. With reservations the following may be trusted: in England Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Barker, and Mrs. Aubin; in France Le Sage and Marivaux; in Spain Cervantes. Other important authors are in general sincere. As for minor writers the text or special notes furnish information.... Let me illustrate, however, how dangerous it is to quote a preface by itself. In a monograph by Stanglmaier upon Jane Barker he lauds her high moral aim, and quotes her preface to *Exilius* as a proof. Now, Stanglmaier overlooks two points to be taken into consideration: one, of course, the book itself; the other, the type of preface popular in 1715. Mrs. Aubin, Mrs. Butler, and Mrs. Hearne all use similar prefaces; I regard them all as dubious. Again, Clodius's attitude within the volume (a) toward the siren's wife (p. 245), and (b)

How far, the reader is now probably asking, do all these quotations about moral aims bear upon the development of prose fiction? Many implications the reader only slightly acquainted with 17th century narrative will discover for himself.⁴¹ Three effects of theorizing, nevertheless, are so important as to demand more attention than was allotted to the results brought about by the aim at amusement. The desire to picture Utopias, for instance, exercised a disintegrating influence upon all the important *voyages imaginaires*. Without exception, the *New Atlantis*, *Jaques Sadeur*, the *Sevarambians*, *Gaudentio de Lucca*, *Le Nouveau Gulliver* are broken by digressions germane to the purpose of composition. Another factor, too, though at first it is less evident, aided this incoherence. In order to reform, the *voyage imaginaire* sought to be believed, and thus, in general, passed as being edited from a MS, often fragmentary. In more than one case, accordingly, prefaces and notes cite breaks in the text as conclusive proof that the narratives are authentic. Responsibility for form, of course, rested nowhere.

A second important effect upon fiction was brought about by postulating a relation of the structure of fiction to that of comedy. Comedy had, in satirizing, represented life as it is. Fiction, then, was also to represent life as it is; and the inevitable outcome was that, on the one hand, the "novels of manners" were often inchoate, and that, on the other, they compensated for this defect by becoming true ancestors of the local-color ephemera of our own day. The latter service was one which we need not dwell upon in the period of Gomberville and Mlle. de Scudéry. Moreover, when occasionally a writer chose to present life from the point of view of *one man*

toward Libidina (p. 282) are suggestive of several things—among them the value of Mrs. Barker's "high" moral aim. Miss Morgan, too, (*Novel of Manners*, p. 113), seems to accept as true Mrs. Barker's declaration that she is imitating *Telemachus*—a bare faced-lie.

⁴¹ The use of references to authorities at the side of the text, e. g. In the preface to *Don Quixote* this device is amusingly attacked, but it reappears in *Bentivoglio* and *Urania* (1st ed.), *Pilgrim's Progress*, etc. Camus writes before *Agatonphile* (1623): "I had taken pains to put in the margin of the text the citations from authority (*des lieux de l'écriture*)....but....these fringes were more ample than the robe."

or woman rising or falling amid its turmoil, there resulted a rough unity. Vividly depicted though the scenes of *Gil Blas* and *Moll Flanders* are, these volumes were of yet greater significance in stressing a coherence which in the hands of Fielding became plot.

The third effect upon fiction sprang from the struggle for "purity." To the champions of chastity⁴² we owe the "insipidity" of romance. Nor need we repeat what we have said of the men who stood for freedom and license—for "art for art's sake." The point is that in the war between the insipid purity for which the fashionable heroico-historical romance fought and the licentiousness which was advocated by its enemy, the novel of manners, there gradually arose writers who used what material they chose, and used it as the greatest geniuses always will use it—without abuse. One thinks, of course, of the *Princesse de Clèves*, of *Manon Lescaut*, of *Marianne*, of *Tom Jones*, of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*.⁴³

From time to time, perhaps,—the attentive reader will have noted in the course of the discussion of the chief purposes claimed by prose fiction, namely amusement and edification—that quotations have been used, quotations which might apply to other purposes. Such purposes were to give information, to depict life as it is, and to arouse emotion.

⁴² Camus's remarks before *Dorothée* (1621) are another proof of his sincerity: "Therefore the song of Solomon will be rejectable (by the advocates of purity) because of *ses termes si tendre et...ses inventions si délicieuses*...but those who employ such terms for the service of modesty, why shall they be blâmable?"

⁴³ Certain minor effects upon fiction may well be recalled or suggested. Both the relation of the insertion of moral comments to incoherence of structure and the development by Camus of the doctrinaire novel have been mentioned; surely the constant result of the doctrinaire novel has been to stultify the individual character into the type. Again, the service of the care-free *conte de fée* to the romantic revival of the eighteenth century should not be underestimated. In regard, finally, to the development of character, one passage illustrating the early use of "contrast" may be quoted: "They will see here four very different courts of great princes: one where reigns pride, insolence, and cruelty; another where there is talk only of valor, generosity, and other virtues necessary to conquerors; in another they will see only cowardice, voluptuousness, and debauchery; and in the other a wisdom so great that at its liking it dominates all the passions" (Desmaret's *Rosane*, 1639).

Until one has classified the remarkable ramifications of the first of these aims—the wish to impart information of some kind—one has no idea of its hold upon prose fiction. Indeed, the chief reason for analyzing this wish is that only thus can one fully understand the debt which is owed to the romances of Calprenède and of Mlle. de Scudéry by the slowly emerging theory of unity. For these, and these almost alone, kept themselves free, at least till Clélie, from the flotsam of the sea of instruction; yet, curiously enough, these romances are still spoken of as hopelessly adrift in a literary Sargasso. As we proceed from the less dangerous to the more astounding types of informational insertion, the value of their service becomes clear.

At once we may premise that instruction is not always advanced as an end,⁴⁴ and that, even when so advanced, it is somewhat difficult to separate from the social, religious, and moral aims.⁴⁵ The inculcation of proper behaviour, whether through advice to a courtier or in directions to a sailor, seems the purpose least detrimental to unity. "Read," advises Harvey in *Pierce's Supererogation*, "the Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia*....for three things especially very notable....for amorous courting....for sage counseling....for valourous fighting....and delightful pastime by way of pastoral exercise may pass for the fourth." Explains Le Sage before his *Aventures du Beauchêne* (1732): "Another motive still incited him to this work, which he viewed as useful to society; he fancied that one would get an infinite pleasure (*saurait un gré infini*) from the minutest details that he gave of the encounters in which he had commanded; because, according to him, a post-captain and a simple shipmaster (*patron de barque*) ought to have as much prudence, address, and courage in their conduct as an admiral in his."

Discourses upon religious freedom, upon philosophy, and

⁴⁴ As in the *Telemachus*, e. g., which has no preface. Here, however, certain passages are key-notes to the purpose of the author. V. pp. 85; 161; 352.

⁴⁵ Confusion with other purposes is well illustrated in *Quevedo's Travels* (1684, and not by Quevedo), where we wander among many satirical lands, beholding all types of women, save those of Black-Swan-Mark, called the "Modestianians." (p. 104).

especially upon monarchy *versus* democracy have already been noted as the political meats of that "sweet nut," Barclay's *Argenis*.⁴⁶ In similar fashion and in accordance with expressed theory, the Utopian voyages, and the allegorical, religious, and informational romances insert much concerning government. Political aim, too, directs the *Medici* of Lenoble (1698): "I have chosen in famous authors the secret intrigues of the most famous conspiracies, and I have reduced them to small and specific histories (*histoires particulières*), in which besides the pleasure of the singular events mingled with love-intrigues, I hope there will be found all that political finesse (*politique la plus fine*)" . . . *Les Amours d'Anne d'Autriche*,⁴⁷ "in offering the following history" intends to "develop the great iniquitous mystery of the veritable origin of Louis XIV, disturber of public repose." Yet another political theme is that of patriotism. The *Astrée* is to celebrate, says d'Urfé, not an Italian Arcadia, but the banks of his cherished Lignon; Gerzan intended to cap his other romances (1626-1630) with a *Histoire Gauloise*; Calprenède states before Faramond that from all Europe and Asia he has chosen France for the theater of his action, in order that he might gratify national pride; and Bucholtz writes in the preface to *Hercules and Valiska* (1659): "I suspect that the love for my country has built this Christian German Hercules in my soul . . . without doubt our Germany also fostered in those times many brave heroes and princes, whose fame the envy of foreigners (*Unteutschen*) and the lack of historians suppressed and dedicated to oblivion."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ V. pp. 95 (religious freedom); 454 (philosophy); 19; 65; 139; 206; 254; 355 (government).

⁴⁷ English translation of 1692. Cf. the preface to *Mémoires Secrètes pour servir à l'histoire de Perse* (173?), or that to *Sandras's Coligny* (1686).

⁴⁸ The back-handed strokes of Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* are little noticed. "I meddle not," we are told (Vol. II, p. 188), "with any party, but write without passion, prejudice, or ill-will against any man or number of men whatsoever." Yet once at least Swift unmasks (II, 192): "I had conceived a few scruples with relation to the distributive justice of princes upon those occasions." There follows a digression upon colonizing.

Other distinguishable goals of the aim to inform are the imparting of scientific and critical knowledge. For the latter desire such satirical romances as *Don Quixote*, *Lysis*, *Prince Fan-faredin*⁴⁹ may be consulted; for the former aim the *New Atlantis* of Bacon, the *Voyages to the Moon and to the Sun* of Cyrano de Bergerac, and the *Voyage to the World of Caratesius* (1692) afford sufficient proof. The *New Atlantis* has, however, no preface, and the views of the whimsical Cyrano are expressed only through his contemporary editors, Le Bret and Robauld.⁵⁰ Of Daniel's theory, already quoted, the lamentable result is that the really clever story occupies about one-sixth of a volume of 200 pages. Is it not clear that in a broad way we may characterize the instructional aim⁵¹ as

⁴⁹ The prefaces of *Don Quixote* and the *Berger Extravagant* are not difficult of access. That to *Prince Fan-feredin* (1735) runs: "Behold it done. 'Tis a romance, and I who have written it...if this little work, the offspring of a sincere desire to connect good taste with good sense, answers my intentions by inspiring you, and all who read it, with a just aversion for the reading of romances, I will pardon you for having made me write it." V. also the preface to Wieland's *Don Sylvio de Rosalba* (1764).

⁵⁰ Ribault, prefacing in 1662 the *Empires of the Sun*, writes: "I can further say to you that he has perhaps believed that a *roman* should be a new method of treating important matters, which would be able to touch the taste of the minds of the century, and that he has written in the same sentiment that makes Lucretius defend himself for having made wisdom speak in verse."

⁵¹ Certain miscellaneous aims of Gerzan and others will illustrate the situation very clearly. "In *l'Afriquaine*," says Gerzan (1627-1628), "I discover two admirable masterpieces which great intellects have always concealed, of which the one acts powerfully for the conservation of the radical humidity (*l'humide radical*), and through the other the ladies can arrive at the height of beauty, be it for whiteness, be it for delicacy of skin...In *l'Amériquaine* [I reveal] the savage mode of life of some peoples of the Indies, and the singularities of their country." So in *l'Asiatique* he intends an allegory "of our days," mixed, however, with information about ancient forms of worship; and in *l'Européane* he means to analyze "the evil-doing of a favorite." It is interesting that Gerzan reprinted some of this material in 1643 under the captions *La Triomphe des Dames* and *Le Grand Or Potable des Philosophes*. Head gives in a postscript to Vol. I of the *English Rogue* (1665) the following aim: "and (I) shall ere long discover what further progress he made in his cheats...not omitting the description of those places where-

disastrous—providing that we ignore some slight contributions to a local-color movement?⁵²

Enough has been said upon the aims of entertainment, edification, and information. Never, as far as I know, did the two remaining purposes of prose fiction—the aim to depict life and the aim to arouse emotion—appear as the sole goals of any author. Nor need the former of these aims be followed minutely. Its most marked champions, Sorel, Furetière, Scarron, Le Sage, Defoe, and Marivaux have been taken up in the consideration of the dependence of the novel of manners upon comedy; and their by no means beneficial influence upon form, and their highly-desirable drift toward realism in incident, character, setting, and style may be seen in almost any of their productions. Not touched upon as yet, however, is the suggestion in Mareschal's *Chrysolite* (1627) of the importance of accuracy in the treatment of human emotion; his theory, unfortunately, does not reveal his amazing power as a psychologist. He merely says: "In others you will see only inflated balloons in the air which burst into atoms, monsters composed of a thousand contradictions. . . . here I have put nothing save what a man can do, I hold myself in the limits of a private life—and I make use of antiquity [the scene is in Athens] only to lend glamour (*donner une couleur étrangère*) to the good or evil of our day." Of some importance, finally, is the promise of the historical romance and novel to picture faith-

in he perpetrated his rogueries." Ramsay in the *Travels of Cyrus* (1727) insists that he, like Xenophon, makes his hero travel in order to teach the reader history and geography. Even Mrs. Barker in *Exilius* (1715) timidly hopes that the peruser may "gain some gleanings of history." But one might heap up quotations of this kind. The effect upon structure is best seen in these lines from the *Euphues and his England*, pp. 162-163: "Gentlemen and gentlewomen, these Lenten evenings be long and a shame it were to go to bed; cold they are, therefore folly it were to walk abroad; to play at cards is common, at chess tedious, at dice unseemly, with Christmas games untimely. In my opinion. . . . I would have some pastime that might be pleasant but not unprofitable, rare, but not without reasoning."

⁵² The most promising contribution, Gerzan's *l'Amériquaine*, seems not to have been written. In Gomberville's *Polexandre*, Pt. V., pp. 1375-1377, there is a description of the Caribbeans.

fully the events of the past. This means very little in the romances; but in such works as Boyle's *Theodora and Didymus* (1686) in England and in the efforts of Sandras and Mme. d'Aulnoy in France (1686-1705), there is a true attempt to visualize earlier centuries. The idea itself had found perhaps its first utterance in 1569 in the forgery, which under the name of *Du Vraict et Parfait Amour* passed itself for a translation of a Greek novel: "the period, however, and the persons, of whom it makes mention, agree very well one with the other, which would make us judge the narration (*seraient juger*) rather a history than a fiction (*fable*)."

Not before 1713, as far as I know, was the Boccaccian theory of the arousing of the emotion of the reader again elaborated. There are, it is true, hints in various prefaces; and in *Clélie*, Mlle. de Scudéry worked emotion into her intricate theories.⁵³ Moreover, there must be material in some of the many imitations of the *Portugese Letters* (1669 seq.). Be this as it may, the preface to the *Aventures de M...* of 1713, which is attributed to Marivaux in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* of 1750, lays unmistakable emphasis upon the arousing of emotion: "The pity which the object excites when present, the inquietudes which it causes us, afflict the soul and make vexatious (*facheuses*) impressions. It is softened; but it really suffers. The emotion is painful (*le sentiment est triste*); whereas the simple recital, however frightful it may be, if it excites pity, carries into the soul only a compassionate interest without grief (*douleur*). One sighs with those who seem to us to sigh; but as their evils are only feigned, the moved soul (*l'âme émue*) gets a pleasure out of its sensibility, in protecting itself through reason from veritable sadness, which ought to occupy it only at the real presence (*réalité*) of misfortunes."

We have done, now, with the last of the aims of prose fiction as these found expression from 1579-1740; let us cast at our analysis of them a bird's-eye glance. The aim of amusement, we observe, is much less voiced than that of edification; yet, as we draw nearer to the great writers of the mid-18th

⁵³ Space forbids analysis here. The matter will be treated *in extenso* in my forthcoming book.

century, we note here and there the stirring of recalcitrants who follow the banner of "delight" and "*volupté*." Aside from amusement, there are visible many serious aims. There appears an occasional volume motivated by desire for definite social reforms; upon the standards of a shoal of *voyages imaginaires* is inscribed "return to nature"; idealizing and controversial fictions of religious bent are not uncommon. More powerful by far than all these minor aims is the great "moral" purpose: for in its service are bandied arguments *pro* and *con* upon the use of the "horrible example"; through its influence are exploited characters who represent a single unalterable virtue and characters who evolve to higher planes or sink to lower ones; under its pressure is born a heated discussion concerning purity of scene and of phrase. Nor do the aims of amusement and edification fill the entire field before us. "Instruction" is finding a potent auxiliary in fiction; by the latter's allurements men are being won to listen to philosophy, history, economics, geography, physical science, criticism, and even fashion. The "depiction of life" has many adherents, all engaged in speculation as to what life "is," both now and in the past, both within and without the human microcosmos. Even such an apparently aesthetic and modern aim as the mere "arousing of emotion" is present in a remote corner of the plain. More significant, however, than *any* championing of this or that aim of fiction is the result of the theorizing upon narrative substance and form. The wish for variety of material and the intention of presenting character in order to satirize it both make strongly for incoherence of form; so does the insertion of moral and informational comment within a given narrative. On the other hand, the employment of an autobiographical method of relation by authors who seek to be believed, the reproduction of the life-story of a rising or falling hero, and the dislike of many of the romancers for matter not directly narrative, work to preserve unity. Quite apart from the problem of structure, the desire to depict the world as it is, is breaking a path for later realists; and the struggle for purity is pointing the way to the genuinely psychological novel and the decent but virile novel of manners.

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PETER HAUSTED'S *THE RIVALL FRIENDS*, WITH
SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS OTHER WORKS

Peter Hausted was the author of one play in English, *The Rivall Friends*, one play in Latin, *Senile Odium*, and a number of miscellaneous works (translations, pamphlets, sermons, elegies), none of which has been reprinted in modern times. Of these, naturally, the most interesting to the student of literature is the play in English, *The Rivall Friends*. This hardly deserves the honor of reprinting; yet some information about its plot and its unfortunate history may be welcome to students of the drama.

The play most intimately concerns Thomas Randolph. Perhaps also it indirectly concerns Milton, for the striking events to be narrated took place during the last year of his residence at Cambridge. In the preceding year (1632) Hausted¹ had won some fame in the successful production of his Latin play, *Senile Odium*, heralded on its appearance in print by a long commendatory poem from the hand of Edward King. Since Hausted was highly regarded at the university as a poet, we may suspect that he, like King, was numbered among Milton's acquaintances. Furthermore, since *The Rivall Friends* is in the main a bitter attack on simoniacal practices in the church, it is interesting to recall Milton's later attack in *Lycidas*.

In the Lent Term of 1631-2 the King and Queen, after a considerable delay, came to visit the University.² To entertain the royal guests two comedies had been prepared, one by Peter Hausted, of Queens' College, the other by Thomas Randolph, of Trinity. Immediately the question arose, which play should be given precedence? The contention seems to have involved not only the Heads, but also the students of both colleges, and to have created two factions in the university. At last the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Butts, interfered, and on

¹ Who in 1622-3 acted in *Fucus Histriomastix* (see the edition by G. C. Moore Smith, p. x).

² See David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (ed. 1881, 251 ff.). For the life of Hausted see the *Dictionary of National Biography*. To both of these works I am greatly indebted.

his own authority decided that Hausted's play should be given priority.

Under such unfavorable conditions *The Rivall Friends* was presented before their majesties on March 19, by the students of Queens' College. Hausted himself took part in the acting, assuming two rôles, one of them that of Anteros, the leading character. But the play was stupid, involved, and inexcusably long. As a result it was unmistakably and hopelessly damned. The title-page speaks clearly on this point: "Cry'd downe by Boyes, Faction, Envie, and confident ignorance"; and the Preface complains of "black-mouth'd Calumny," "base aspersions and unchristianlike slanders," "emptie Noddles," and "many-mouth'd Detraction."

This failure was rendered all the more painful by the fact that Randolph's play, *The Jealous Lovers*, which followed, proved to be a brilliant success. In his epistle To the Reader, the author complacently says: "Be to me as kind as my audience"; and a number of persons who prefixed commendatory verses testify to the great favor with which the play was received. For example James Duport says:

Thou had'st th' applause of all : King,
Queen, and Court,
And University, all liked thy sport.

The affair, however, did not end here. Twelve days later, on Easter morning, the Vice-Chancellor of the university was discovered in his room hanging from a beam over the door. He had committed suicide—"wilfully with the weight of his body strangled himself, his knees almost touching the floor." Masson has shown that the failure of Hausted's play was, in some measure, the cause of this tragic event. He quotes from a letter³ (in the State Paper Office) endorsed *Relation of the manner of the death of Dr. Butts*: "But his vexation began when the King's coming approached and Dr. Comber and he fell foul of each other about the precedency of Queens' and Trinity comedy,—he engaging himself for the former. But the killing blow was a dislike of that comedy and a check of the Chancellor [Lord Holland], who is said to have told

³ *Op. cit.* p. 255.

him that the King and himself had more confidence in his discretion than they found cause, in that he found such a comedy fitting, &c."

In 1632 Hausted printed the play,⁴ hoping, doubtless, to raise himself in the estimation of his fellows, and also, perhaps, to quiet the rumors which the suicide of the Vice-Chancellor had given rise to. Perhaps these rumors were in Hausted's mind when he wrote of "unchristianlike slanders," which "like a generall infection haue spread themselves throughout the Kingdome." The title-page reads:

The / Rivall / Friends. / *A Comædie*, / As it was Acted
before the King and / Queens Maiesties, when out of their
prince- / ly favour they were pleased to visite their / Vni-
versitie of *Cambridge*, upon the 19. / day of *March*, 1631. /
Cryed downe by Boyes, Faction, Envie, / and confident Ig-
norance, approv'd by the / judicious, and now exposed to
the pub- / lique censure, by / The Authour, Pet. Havsted Mr.
in / Artes of Queenes Colledge. / *Non tanti est ut placeam*
insanire. / [small ornament] / London, / Printed by *Aug.*
Matthewes for *Humphrey Robinson*, / at the signe of the
three Pidgeons in *Pauls* / Church-yard. 1632.⁵

The dedication is sarcastic in the extreme:

"To the right *Honourable*, right *Reverend*, right *Worship-
full*, or whatsoever he be or shall bee whom I hereafter may
call *Patron*"—a poem of fifty-four pentameter lines, rhym-
ing in couplets. The following lines are characteristic:

'Twas made to *please*, and had the *vicious Age*
Beene *good* enough, it had not left the *Stage*
Without it's *due Applause*.

Not content with this, Hausted added a long Preface, in which he attempted to defend himself against his enemies.

⁴The entry in the Stationers' Registers (Arber, iv. 279) is as follows:

13^o Junii 1632. Master Robinson: Entred for his Copy vnder the
handes of Sir Henry Herbert and master Islip warden a Comedy called
The Rivall ffriendes. by Peter Hausten. . . vid.

⁵4to; A-O in fours; no pagination. I have described the play from a copy in my own possession.

In the following quotation I have gathered what I take to be the best part of this interesting Preface :

“Yet at the length I haue obtained leaue for this *poore neglected Piece* of mine to *salute the Light*, & in spight of all *black-mouth'd Calumny* (who ha's endeavor'd to *crush* it into *nothing*) presented it to the open view. I am not ignorant what *base aspersions*, & *unchristianlike slanders* (like a generall infection) haue spread themselues throughout the *Kingdome*, nor can I hope that the publishing of it can stop *all* those wide mouthes which are opened against it; yet I must not despaire of so much *justice* from the *Candide*, (for their *owne honestie* is interested in the Action) as (when they shall behold the innocence of it) to confesse, that I suffer most unjustly in these reports. How it was accepted of their *Majesties*, whom it was intended to please, we know, and had gracious signes:⁶ how the rest of the *Court* were affected, wee know too; Such as were faire and intelligent will yet giue it sufficient Testimonie: As for those which came with starch'd faces and resolutions to dislike whatsoever they saw or heard, (all due reverence being given to the faire fields they weare upon their backes) they must perforce giue mee leaue to be of that hæresie, and thinke that there is something else required to the composition of a Iudgement, then a good Suite of taken-up Clothes, a Countenance set in a frame, and some three shakes of the emptie Noddle.

“It is the misery of *Poetry* aboue other *sciences*, & in *Poetry* of the *Dramme* especially, that it lies open to be *profan'd* by every *adulterate* judgement. The *Musician* dares onely judge of *Musicke*, the *Philosopher* in naturall causes, the *Matematician* of those Arts: But what *fly-blowne* piece of Man is there, whose best of vertues is to cry *God dam him*, whose top of knowledge the *Alphabeticall* and *Greeke healths* but thinks himself a Doctor of the Chaire in what belongs to the *Scene*? . . . Next, whereas my discretion was call'd in question for making one to raile so bitterly upon Women before the Ladies whō we should haue labour'd to please rather. I answer . . . As for that which they object against bringing in of the foure Guls in the third Act, as impertinent

⁶ But compare the letter in the State Paper Office, quoted above.

to the Plot; I answer . . . As for the false and abominable imputations laid upon it by my Tribe with the short haire and long eares, my *formall outsides*, that looke demure, and snuffle, I . . . Reader, not to tire thee with a Preface, thou hast it *verbatim*, and *punctually* as it was acted. I confesse, I would willingly haue altered some things which upon more mature deliberation I haue found to be subject to misconstructions, but that I knew the malice of some would upon that take advantage, to make the world beleeeue, that that which hath, or shall be spoken against it, is true."

But Hausted was unfortunate both in his title-page and in his Preface, for these seem to have provoked much unfavorable comment. I have here brought together all the contemporary references to the play that I have been able to discover.

1. The first is from Huth's *Inedited Poetical Miscellanies*:

In Defence of those Scholars whom Mr. Hausted calumniates in the Frontispiece of his *Rival Friends*.

Have at you, sir, since you will needs oppose
 All witty men; amongst your other foes
 Know I am one: there is no way for me
 Not to seem foolish but to gainsay thee.
 Have at you, take heed, and though of so many
 Whom you call boys, I am more boy than any,
 Yet count me full thy match. For why? Thyself
 Art but an aged infant, a grave elf.
 O monstrous spleen! what! didst thou mean to wrong
 The glories of the understanding throng?
 What! didst thou mean against those gowns to strike
 Which so vouchsafed to grace thee with dislike?
 Was it not to thee praise enough that they
 Deign'd for to be spectators of thy play?
 In troth it was, and their discommendation
 Did thee more good than others' approbation.
 What were those fellows that did thee applaud?
 Tinkers and cobblers. O egregious laud!
 Thou liest if thou sayest any of the court
 Had so small sense as to endure thy sport:

And if thou sayest that either king or queen
 Condemn'd thee not for that which they had seen,
 Thou art an arrant traitor: what is it
 But to say that our island's head wants wit?
 Come, come, confess the truth! confess, and we
 Perchance may once be brought to pity thee.
 Hast thou not done thy college more dishonour
 Than almost can be heal'd? Hast thou not done her
 More injury than thou didst almost those
 Which justly did deride thy childish shows?
 Ye gentlemen of Queen's, for your own sake,
 If not for ours, thrust out this ass, and make
 His name a by-word: wherefore should drones live
 Amongst bees to discredit the whole hive?
 Thrust out this ass, and whensoever hereafter
 You lack an object to occasion laughter,
 Let *Hausted* enter; *Hausted's* natural parts
 Are better than all *Archie's* studied arts.
 Sirrah, these worthy persons whom you scoff
 (Maugre your printing), have long since blown off
 The dust of those thy sandals, and their lives
 Will last far longer than thy book survives.
 May they still prosper, and I then am sure
 There is no cause but I may be secure:
 For if I write well, these few lines of mine
 Shall vanquish, blot out, and defame all thine:
 If I write ill, yet wilt thou pardon me,
 And take my part, because I write like thee.

2. James Duport, in his commendatory verses before Randolph's *The Jealous Lovers* (ed. Hazlitt, p. 65):

No fretting frontispiece, nor biting satire
 Needs usher 't forth: born tooth'd? fie! 'tis
 'gainst nature.

Thou hast th' applause of all: king, queen, and court,
 And University, all lik'd thy sport.

No blunt preamble in a cynic humour
 Needs quarrel at dislike, and (spite of rumour)
 Force a more candid censure, and extort
 An approbation, maugre all the Court.

Such rude and snarling prefaces suit not thee;
They are superfluous: for thy comedy,
Back't with its own worth and the author's name,
Will find sufficient welcome, credit, fame.

3. When Randolph revised *The Jealous Lovers* for publication, he seems to have inserted a reference to Hausted. In a scene (strongly reminiscent of the grave-digging scene in *Hamlet*) the sexton, picking up a skull, satirizes, I believe, the unfortunate author of *The Rivall Friends*. "This was a poetical noddle. O, the sweet lines, choice language, eloquent figures, besides the jests, half-jests, quarter-jests, and quibbles that have come out o' these chaps that yawn so! [This is a good description of *The Rivall Friends*] . . . He has been my tenant these seven years, and in all that while I never heard him rail against the times, or complain of the neglect of learning. [A reference to Hausted's Preface?] . . . And now a play of his may be freely censured without a libel on the audience. The boys may be bold to cry it down." Cf. Hausted's title-page: "Cryde downe by Boyes," etc.⁷ Possibly the next remark, also, was a hit at *The Rivall Friends*. Phryne asks: "Pray, sir, how does Death Deal with the ladies? Is he so unmannerly As not to make distinction of degrees?" Hausted had felt it necessary to defend his play on this point: "Next, whereas my discretion was call'd in question for making one to raile so bitterly upon Women before the Ladies."

4. Randolph again comments on the play in his *Oratio Praevaricatoria* (ed. Hazlitt, pp. 679-80):

Illa res Comica, quæ primò ante Regem acta est, *amicos* habuit, sed sine *Rivalibus*. Fuit optima Comœdia a priori, sed olet a posteriori. Nunc impressa est. Miror ego ejus hominis stomachum, qui talem librum edere potuit. Ego in illius laudes sic cecini.

Jam sileat *Jack Drum*; taceat miracula *Tom Thumb*;
Nec se gigantem jactet *Gargantua* tantum;
Nec ferat insanus sua prœlia *Tamberlanus*,
Nec *Palmerinus*, nec strenuus *Albovinus*.

⁷ Hazlitt calls attention to this.

Se quondam ratus sapientem *Tom Coriatus*,
 Et *Don Quichotte* dicit, sum nunc idiota!
 Nunc metuit dia divortia *Technogamia*:
 Insignis *Pericles* non audet tam celebres res.
 Impiger *Orlando* jam non est tam furioso;
 Non te, *Jeronyme*, cogemus surgere lecto.
 Nemo dicat jam prudentes pascere *Gotham*
 Namqu'est doctorum comœdia scripta virorum.
 Quæ superat cunctas (tanta est fiducia!) laudes
 Et jam securum petit post prælia prelum
 Ignavum fucus pecus est, petit illico lucos;
 Et factus blancum non saltat prinkum prankum.
 Dicunt hoc puerile *Odium* vicisse *Senile*,
 Hic est sensus non, et possis ludere *checkstone*.

The concluding phrase refers to one of the most ludicrous scenes in *The Rivall Friends* (V. vi; cf. also II. i.), in which Ursely invites Anteros to play this childish game. That the scene caused merriment we may infer from Hausted's Preface: "and if that was my errour, that the two *Changelings* spoke no strong lines, but plaid at *Chackstones*". . .

The play, as I have said, hardly deserves reprinting. A rather full description will satisfy, I believe, all the demands of the student of the drama.

Prefixed to the play are three commendatory poems. (1) "Amicissimo suo Petro Havsted invitatio ut Comœdiam suam Prelo committat," forty-five lines in Latin, signed "Ed. Kemp." This person was a member of Queens' College, and contributed a commendatory poem to *Senile Odium*. (2) "To the Authour," twelve lines in English, unsigned, but probably by the writer of the following poem. (3) "To the same vpon the Arraignement of his Comœdie," twelve lines in English, signed "I. R." This was doubtless "J. Rogers, Reginal," who, along with Kemp, contributed a commendatory poem to *Senile Odium*.

The Introduction extends over two pages, and has some lyrical excellence. "Being a *Dialogue* betwixt *Venus*, *Thetis*, and *Phæbus*, sung by two Trebles, and a Base. *Venus* (being *Phosphorus* as well as *Vesper*) appearing at a window aboue as risen, calling to *Sol*, who lay in *Thetis* lap at the East side

of the stage, canoped with an azure curtaine: at the first word that *Venus* sung, the curtain was drawne, and they discovered." *Venus* and *Thetis* alternately woo *Phoebus*, who finally arises. But spying the King and Queen, he exclaims:

But what new spectacle of wonder's this?

And haue I lost my wonted *Majestie*?

Thus the Introduction turns into a handsome compliment to the royal visitors.

After the Introduction, a "Boy" (i. e., a student) comes upon the stage shouting "Ha, ha, he, here be fine feats. . . In faith Gentlemen I pity ye, y'are like to haue a goodly *Comædy* here, *Plautus* his captiues translated, or some such thing I warrant ye. . . But Gods me! what haue I forgot? I should haue had mine eares stretch'd for it if I hal miss'd it, Yee must suppose the *Scene* too be here in England at a country village. . . But to my charge whom I left at the doore, til I had discover'd whether the coast were cleare. . . But heere comes the *Prologue*."

The Prologue was inspired by the "occasion of their Maies-ties comming being deferr'd."

Most sacred Majesties, if yee doe wonder

To be saluted by an aged Prologue

Know. . .

This form seems to have been suggested by the Prologue to Jonson's *Poetaster*:

If any muse why I salute the stage

An armed Prologue, know. . .

The idea, however, goes back to Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*.

I give below the *dramatis personæ*, which in the original edition is printed on the reverse of the title-page. A copy of the play in the British Museum (644 b. 45) has the names of the actors inserted in a contemporary hand. These I have included here in brackets.

Dramatis Personæ

[Mr. Brian]	<i>Sacriledge Hooke</i> , a Simoniacall Patrone.
[Mannering]	<i>Pandora</i> , his faire Daughter.
[Ramsbotom]	<i>Mistris Vrsely</i> , his supposed Daughter, deformed and foolish.

- [St. Rogers] *Jacke Loueall*, a Court Page, Nephew to Mr. Hooke.
- [Lin] *Constantina*, *Iack Loueall's* sister.
- [Mr. Kempe] *Lucius*. } the two Friends, and Riv-
Neander, or *Cleopes* } alls in *Pandora's* loue.
Luscínio, *Lucius* his Boy.
- [Mr. Stanninow] *Bully Liuely*, an old merry fellow, that lues in the impropriate Parsonage.
- [Sr. Hills] *Terpander*, an old Gentleman.
- [Mr. Hausted] *Anteros*, his sonne, a humerous mad fellow, that could not endure women.
- [Sr. Cantrel] *Laurentio*, an ancient Citizen.
- [Mr. Cotterel] *Endymion*, his sonne, and Page to *Lucius*.
- [Freer] *Isabella*, *Laurentio's* Daughter, in loue with *Lucius*.
- [Mr. Rogers] *Stipes*, *Hooke's* Sheepheard.
- [Piereen] *Placenta*, his Wife, a Midwife.
- [Tiffin] *Merda*, their Daughter.
- [Mr. Harflet] *Nodle Emptie*, an Innes of the Court man.
- [Mr. Hards] *William Wiseacres*, a quondam Attorneys Clarke.
- [Sr. Woodhouse] *Mr. Mungrell*, an elder brother.
- [Hausted] *Hammershin*, a Batchelour of Arts.
- [Kidtre] *Zealous Knowlittie*, a Box-maker
- [Richardson] *Tempest All-mouth*, a decaied Clothworker
- [Hausted] ^s *Arthur Aremströg* } 2 yong schol-
[St. Curlile] *Stutchell Legg*— } lers, robustious
} footbal-players.
- [Hills] ^s *Ganimed Fillpot*, a pretender to a Scholler, who had once bin a Gentleman's Butler.
- [Stoke] *Hugo Obligation*, a precise Scrivener.
- Two men, two Maydes of *Liuelyes*
A Bedlam.
Fidlers.
- Suiters
to Mistris
Vrsely for
the
Parsonage
sake.

^s In the British Museum copy "Hausted" was written before "Arthur Armstrong," and "Hills" before "Ganimed Fillpot," but each name was later crossed through.

The play is exceptionally long, and its plot highly complicated. Indeed there are five separate plots, so entangled as almost to baffle the reader. For the sake of clearness I will sketch these several plots independently, without attempting to show how they were linked to one another.

1. THE RIVAL FRIENDS PLOT—(THE MAIN PLOT)

Two friends, Neander and Lucius, love Constantina and Isabella respectively. But meeting Pandora, they fall desperately in love with her, and desert their former mistresses. Pandora loves both men so deeply that she is unable to determine which one she will marry. Thereupon each of the "rival friends" strives to sacrifice himself for the happiness of the other; each treats Pandora with cruel harshness, denies that he loves her (at the same time revealing to the audience in asides great mental anguish), and urges her to accept his friend. Meanwhile the rejected Isabella appears in the character of a boy who has run away from the London players. Constantina, desiring to disguise herself as a boy, engages the supposed runaway actor to dress in her clothes, occupy her room, and thus cover her escape. The two friends now appeal to the village parson, Lively, for assistance. Each seeks earnestly for the other's marriage to the fair Pandora. Lively, however, favors Lucius, and secures the consent of Neander to a feigned marriage with some boy disguised as a woman, so that Lucius, deceived by the trick, may feel free to marry Pandora. Lively soon after happens upon the disguised Constantina, discovers her identity, and then lays a deeper plot. He dresses her as a young woman, conceals her face with a veil, and marries her securely to her beloved (but unsuspecting) Neander. Lucius, having overheard the original plot, stoutly refuses to believe the parson's statement that his friend has really married a woman; and not to be outdone in friendship, declares himself to be a eunuch, and hence unable to marry. Thus the interference of Lively merely serves to complicate affairs. Pandora, in despair of enjoying either lover, appeals to the midwife, Placenta. The latter advises her to feign a love to some other young man in the hope of bringing matters to a quick conclusion. For this pur-

pose they select the page Endymion. Pandora makes love to him in a very free manner, while Placentia calls the rival friends to be witnesses. In the end, Pandora finds that she loves Endymion in reality, and has ceased to care for Neander and Lucius. The latter, too, find that they no longer love Pandora. When Neander discovers his marriage to Constantina, he is greatly pleased; and Lucius, after begging the pardon of Isabella, is accepted by her. The father of Endymion appears, and approves of the match between his son and Pandora. Thus the plot closes with the happy marriage of all the lovers concerned.

2. THE HOOKE-PARSONAGE PLOT

Sacrilege Hooke has a daughter, Ursely, who is both deformed and idiotic. In order to marry her off, he advertises as a dowry the parsonage now occupied by the aged Lively. Immediately, numerous suitors flock to the house of Sacrilege, and quarrel for the chance of getting the parsonage, even at the price of the deformed Ursely. The scenes are designed merely to satirize simoniacal practices and, to a less extent, Puritanism.

3. THE ANTEROS-URSELY PLOT

Anteros is a woman-hater of the most violent type. For him Hooke's deformed and simple daughter, Ursely, conceives a strong passion, and declares that she will die unless she can have him for a husband. Hooke plans to force the marriage upon Anteros by threatening to foreclose certain heavy mortgages upon the estate of his old father, Terpander. This plan proves to be so successful that Anteros is compelled to give his consent to the marriage; not, however, until he has torn up all the bonds of his father's indebtedness, and has received the parsonage from Hooke as a free gift. Having been granted a few hours delay of the marriage, he is on the point of fleeing to the Continent, when his good friend Loveall enters and reveals the fact (just discovered) that Ursely is not Hooke's daughter, but a changeling, and in reality the sister of Anteros. Anteros is happy both at having escaped matrimony, and at having overreached the crafty Hooke.

4. THE ANTEROS-LOVEALL PLOT

Anteros and Loveall have each a brace of humorous gulls whom they desire to pit against one another. They arrange a meeting in which they match the four gulls in a "contest of singularity." (The scenes are closely imitated from Jonson's *Every Man In His Humour* II. i. and III. i.) In the end, by thoroughly frightening the gulls, they manage to shut them up, one pair in dog-kennels, the other pair in a "connie chest" and a "hogstie." Here the gulls are left until the end of the play. (This is imitated from *The Silent Woman* ⁹ IV. ii.)

5. THE ANTEROS-STIPES PLOT

Stipes is a coarse shepherd in the employ of Hooke. Like Hooke, he has a simple daughter, Merda. Anteros, in order to escape from the machinations of Hooke and Ursely, disguises himself as a laborer and hires himself to Stipes. Merda at once falls in love with him. Stipes, suspecting that Anteros has played false with Merda, ties him to a tree and goes into the house for a staff. Loveall comes in, recognizes his friend and releases him. Anteros quickly throws off his laborer's disguise, and, now arrayed in fine clothes, has himself retied to the tree. Stipes is astonished at the sudden transformation of his servant into a gentleman, but Anteros easily persuades him that the transformation was the result of having been tied to the tree. Thereupon Stipes and Merda request Anteros to tie them to the same tree. Anteros throws over their heads a cloak, and brings in a Tom-a-Bedlam who sings and dances. Stipes and Merda take the bedlam for Oberon, king of fairies. The shepherd and his daughter are then left tied to the tree until the end of the play.

In the Epilogue the woman-hater Anteros advances; but at the sight of the Queen, his character is changed:

Most Sacred Goddess
Behold a Penitent, that falls thus lowe
Before your feete: as you have showne your selfe
More then a Mortall, in converting me. . .

⁹ The indebtedness to *The Silent Woman* was pointed out by Halliwell, *Dictionary of Old Plays*.

This seems to be in imitation of Jonson's Epilogue to *Every Man Out of His Humour*, in which Malicente is converted by the presence of Queen Elizabeth:

Yet humble as the earth, do I implore [*Kneels*.
O heaven that she, whose presence hath effected
This change in me. . .

Other works known to be by Hausted are catalogued below:

1. *Senile / Odium. / Comœdia / Cantabrigiæ / publicè Academicis recitata / in Collegio Reginali / ab ejusdem Collegii / juventute. / Autore P. Hausted. / Lusimus innocui. / [Ornament.] / Cantabrigiæ: / Ex Academiæ celeberrimæ / typographeo, 1633. [8vo; ¶ (four pages), A-F in eights, G-G₄; pp. viii + 102.]*¹⁰

The most notable thing about this play is the prefatory poem by Edward King, conspicuously printed in large *Italic* type at the beginning. The fact that the other two commendatory poems (by Hausted's very good friends who the year before stood by him in his distress) are printed after King's poem, and in smaller type, seems to bear testimony to the high esteem in which King was held at the university. I have included this poem in order that the reader may judge of King's poetic vein, who "knew Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme." He is not known to have written any poems in English.

INGENIOSISSIMO VIRO, P. HAUSTED, IN FESTIVISSIMAM
EJUS COMOEDIAM

Heus! acue dentes, Invidia; mensæ (en!) tibi
Adsunt secundæ; grata perpol advenis:
Concoquere malè te prandium ferunt tuum;
Generosus hospes hanc tibi cœnam dedit,
Et molliores, avida quas vores, dapes;
Nisi usquè carnes putidas rodere juvet,
Atrâmque saniem, & viperarum viscera.
Jam prodit illa, quam cupis, Comœdia,
Odium Senile, candidi, theatri amor,
Ipsâque theatrum amoris, & scena Venerum.

¹⁰ Described from a copy in my possession.

Ridere quæ vel cogat Heraclitos graves,
Democritósque prodigos splenis nimis,
(Jocosa fata, blanda mors!) risu enecet.
Non hîc cothurni sanguine insonti rubent,
Nec flagra Megærae ferrea horrendum intonant,
Noverca nulla sævior Erebo furit,
Venena nulla, præter illa dulcia
Amoris; atque his vim abstulêre noxiam
Casti lepores, innocua festivitas,
Nativa suavitas, proba elegantia,
Venerisque nectar aureum lubentia,
Intúsque regnans multiplex ars, quæ vafre
Gratis legentem conscium fallit dolis,
Vorisque ludos tecta Mæandris facit.
Alii sonoris fulminent Tragædiis;
Autor Thalam Comicam exornat meus,
Teneroque socco placidus Orchestram quatit;
Flammas amantûm, & vulnera juvenum levat,
Canos morosos, mulcet, & stabili fide
Solidisque vinclis invidos ligat senes;
Odium in amorem vertit, ac litem eximit.

Hem! maecte Scenæ nobile (*Hausted*) decus;
Nec propria damnes pignora, & charos tui
Partus tenebris ingenî indignis premas;
Homicida neu sis gloriæ tuæ impius:
Digni perire forsan lectores mali;
At non meretur Musa pretiosa emori.

Pueris fruatur livor iratis ferox:
Tu incocta ride cerebra, fluctuantia
Capita, coactas frontium natantium
Rugas, retractos turbidum in caput oculos,
Malos polypodes narium; nec terreat
Vanus cachinnus, aut ciconia impotens;
Tutúsque temne queis perosa *Odium* tua.
Namque opera quid si vapulaverit prior,
Sua nec habuerit blanda plausus verbera?
At hæc Latina est salva, & incolumis erit;
Gentis togatæ linguam, & arduum alitem
Haud Alpha-beta penulorum capit:

Hæc capite crispo turba non ultra sapit
 Anagramma dominæ vel catellæ nominis;
 Nam picta vestis non habet cordis nimis,
 Nec tincta rore Palladis, sed muricis.
 Hæc nostra vota, cùm velim Scenam ingredi;
 Te vola Poëtam, Drama fit Comœdia:
 Si desit aptus, comptus, augustus locus,
 Nos pauci amici, nos Theatrum erimus tibi;
 Aulæa sunt benevoli spectantium
 Vultus, nigræ ut sordes calumiæ tegant;
 Alacres & oculi sint & ardentes faces,
 Tuúmque nomen suppleat Prologi vices;
 Fores Theatri muniat justus favor,
 Distinguat actus risus, atque encomium,
 Prudénsque manuum plausus Epilogus fiet.

Edvardus King, Coll. Christi.

Each of the other two commendatory poems contains a reference to Ben Jonson, and the failure of his *Magnetic Lady* in 1632. Edward Kemp writes:

Trutinam plebis amove,
 Et tolle lances: Bellua (Jonsoni) hæc tui
 Magneticam socci vim, & arduam ecstasin
 Contemnere audet: merita nec satis æstimat
 Inops tribus tua, verticis gaudet nives
 Spectare, canitiémque parentis:—

And John Rogers begins his poem thus:

Si cadus expletus meritò Jonsonius audit,
 (Nunc licèt exhaustum declāmet nescia turba).

2. A poem contributed to *Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Principium Caroli et Mariæ a Musis Cantabrigiensibus celebratum: Cantab. 1631*. Among the other contributors were Edward King (four poems), Thomas Randolph, James Dupert, and Thomas Fuller. The volume is notable because of the fact that Milton did not send in a contribution.

3. Ten Sermons, preached upon severall Sundayes and Saints dayes. Printed for J. Clark: London, 1636.

4. A satyre against Separatists, or the Conviction of Chamber-Preachers, and other Schismaticks, contrary to the

Discipline of this our Protestant Profession. 1642. 4to.

This was printed with the initials "A. C." (= Abraham Cowley?). It was reprinted in 1675, with *Ad Popvlvm*. See the description of the next work.

5. "Ad Popvlvm: Or, A Lecture to the People. Printed in the Yeare 1644." [4to, ten leaves.] This was reprinted in 1660, and again in 1675. The title-page of the latter edition reads:¹¹ "Ad Popvlvm: or, a Lecture to the People. With a Satyre Against Separatists. [ornament.] London, Printed in the Late Times, and now Reprinted 1675." [4to A-D in fours.] The second part has a full title-page, preceded by a blank page.

The British Museum Catalogue at first attributed these two tracts to John Taylor, the Water Poet;¹² but in its Supplement it assigns them to Hausted. Both are long poems in heroic couplets, dealing with the religious and political state of England during the civil war. The attitude is that of a staunch royalist. The poems have little interest to the student of literature, but one reference to the drama may be quoted:

Go on brave *Heroes*, and perform the rest,
Increase your fame each day a yard at least,
Till your high names are grown as glorious full
As the four *London* Prentices at the *Red-Bull*.

—A *Satyre* (ed. 1675, D₂ verso).

This, I take it, refers to Heywood's *Foure Prentises of London*, printed in 1615, "As it hath bene diuerse times Acted, at the Red Bull." In *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (IV. i.) and in Gayton's *Festivous Notes* are further references to the popularitiy of the play.

6. *Hymns Tabaci*; A Poem in honour of Tobacco. Heroically Composed by Raphael Throrivs: Made English by Peter Havsted Mr. of Arts Camb. London. Printed by T. N. for Humphrey Moseley. 1651. [8vo, A-F₄ in eights.]

I have not been able to examine this. Hazlitt says:¹³ "The

¹¹ From a copy in my possession.

¹² See under "Populus."

¹³ *Collections and Notes* (1876) p. 422. See also British Museum Catalogue under "Thorius."

Hymn concludes on E₄, and a new title occurs: 'Cheimono-pignion Or, A Winter Song By Raphael Thorivs: Newly translated.''' Presumably this also was by Hausted.

7. An Elegy on Col. Robert Arden, in *Ashmole MSS.* 36-7, fol. 125.¹⁴

8. An English poem inscribed on the tomb of his friend and rival, Thomas Randolph. The poem is printed in Hazlitt's edition of Randolph, p. x.

9. An English poem of thirty pentameter lines (contained in Brit. Mus. add. ms. 15227, fol. 83) with the title: *Verses made by Mr. Hausted in amputationem comæ suæ*. This poem has been printed by Louise B. Morgan, in *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vol. xlvii, pp. 83-4.

10. (?) A Latin play, *Senilis Amor*, preserved in an imperfect MS. (Rawlinson Poet. 9) in the Bodleian. Mr. G. C. Moore Smith attributes this doubtfully to Hausted.¹⁵ For a full account of this play see Louise B. Morgan, *The Latin University Drama*, in *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vol. xlvii, pp. 81-2.

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¹⁴ D. N. B.

¹⁵ Edition of *Fucus Histriomastix*, p. x.

LOUISE WOLF. Elisabeth Rowe in Deutschland. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg 1910.

Among English authors of the eighteenth century who exerted an influence on German literature a prominent place must be accorded to Elizabeth Singer-Rowe. Theodor Vetter has given an interesting account of this gifted woman in *Die göttliche Rowe* (Zürich, 1894), and attention is again directed to her in a recent dissertation by Louise Wolf. In this treatise the writer, after a brief introduction, takes up (A) Die Geschichte der Werke der E. Rowe (pp. 6-47); (B) Elisabeth Rowe in den moralischen Wochenschriften (pp. 48-61); and (C) Die Einwirkungen der Elisabeth Rowe auf die deutschen Dichter, (a) Klopstock, (b) Herder, (c) Wieland (pp. 61-80). In the concluding paragraphs the high regard in which Mrs. Rowe was held in her day is set forth, and her service to the German literature summed up.

The first chapter presents a comprehensive survey of the history of Mrs. Rowe's works in Germany, and contains numerous passages from the various translations and from reviews and notices found in the periodicals of that day. These selections are conclusive proof of Mrs. Rowe's popularity and influence in Germany. I noted a few inaccuracies and omissions, which I wish to amend.

The title under which Elizabeth Singer's first published work appeared (1696) is *Poems On Several Occasions*. Written By *Philomela*, not *Divine Hymns and Poems*, as stated on page 6. In justice to Mrs. Rowe it should be mentioned that not all the editions of her Letters conclude "in schriller Dissonanz" with the rhymed epistle from Amoret in hell to Corisca. The second edition of *Letters Moral and Entertaining, III*, published in 1734, the earliest to which I have access, does not contain this letter at all, and as this edition appeared only one year after the first it is reasonable to assume that the letter in question is a later addition. The fact that an edition published in Edinburgh, 1762, has after the letter to Corisca its counterpart, from one in heaven *To Cleone*, which was previously published in the *Misc. Works, I*, p. 72 f, adds probability to this view. Perhaps this also explains why Bertrand did not translate the letter to Corisca; if he had rejected this letter because of its ostensible origin, he should also have omitted the letter written by Palantý in hell to Lysander (*Letters M. and E., II, X*). No mention is made of a translation of Mrs. Rowe's epistolary works which is

reported to have appeared in Hanover in 1745. See Wilhelm Heinsius: *Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon*, vol. 3, column 444. To the references on the history of *A Laplander's Song to his Mistress* (note 38) should be added Sauer's valuable note in his edition of Ewald von Kleist's works, Berlin, 1880, I, p. 107 f., and Frank Edgar Farley's article on *Three "Lapland Songs,"* Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. 1906 (vol. XXI, 1).

The third chapter, which treats of Mrs. Rowe's influence on German poets, seems disproportionately short, for it is this aspect of Mrs. Rowe's work that first of all challenges our attention. The statement that it was Ebert who acquainted Klopstock with Mrs. Rowe (p. 61) seems to have been made without sufficient warrant; no authority is cited. We have Cramer's note saying Ebert "lehrte auch Klopstock die Engländer näher kennen," to be sure, but that is hardly specific enough here. The passages from Klopstock's early odes and letters in which he mentions Mrs. Rowe are cited, and traces of her influence in his works referred to as unmistakable. I have attempted to point out specific instances of this influence in the following pages.

Perhaps the most striking correspondences in these authors, passages in which the influence of Mrs. Rowe upon Klopstock seems most evident, are those in which their views about spirits are set forth. I use the general term because Klopstock does not clearly differentiate between angels, spirits of departed persons, and other celestials; the muse in *Friedensburg* (1. 29 ff.) has much in common with the guardian angels spoken of in *An des Dichters Freunde*, *Messias* and elsewhere.

The basic conception of these poets' system of spiritualism is that the interest and affection of those dear to each other on earth does not terminate with the death of one of them; "Curæ non ipsâ in Morte relinquunt. Virg." on the title-page of *Friendship in Death* makes this plain. In fact, the desire of the departed spirits to be of service to their surviving friends seems only heightened by their change of condition, as frequent protestations in the Letters set forth.¹ This interest manifests itself in diverse ways, varying with the needs of the persons affected and the natural proclivities of the departed themselves.

All of the *Letters from the Dead* were written for a purpose. In a number of them the departed counsel or admonish their friends and thus strive to influence their actions and direct their affections. Love, pure or illicit, figures largely in many of them.

¹ "From this uncertainty (as to immortality) I was very solicitous to draw you while I was in a mortal state; but I have now a more ardent desire to convince you."—*Friendship in Death* I, p. 4. "I have more zeal than ever for your interest." Ibid. XII, p. 45.

In Letter XIII the departed lover writes to his sweetheart:

My concern for your happiness is more tender and disinterested than ever: I have guarded your nightly slumbers, waited on your solitary walks, and followed you like your attendant angel; who pleased with my officious care, has often left you to my charge. Your present danger gives me as much anxiety as consists with a state of happiness. I could not refrain from giving you this warning. . . . You are, O too credulous fair! on the very brink of ruin: treachery and delusion are in Alcantara's eyes and tongue, and if you keep this night's appointment with him, you are undone.

Klopstock lays hold on this conception of spirit intervention, and, in a poetic manner which is far superior to Mrs. Rowe, turns it to account in his own behalf. Thus in *Petrarka und Laura* he pleads that one of the sainted dead descend¹ to soften the obdurate heart of the adored one.

Hast du mich weinen gesehen, o du Unsterblicher,
Der mitleidig mein Auge schloss;
O, so sammle sie ein, sammle die heiligen
Thränen in goldene Schalen ein,
Bring sie, Himmlischer! dann zu den Unsterblichen,
Denen zärtlich ihr Herz auch schlug:
Zu der göttlichen Rowe, oder zur Radikin,
Die im Frühlunge sanft entschlief:
Oder zu Doris hinauf, die noch ihr Haller weint,
Wenn er die jüngere Doris sieht,
Dass dann Eine vielleicht, hat sie mein Schmerz bewegt,
Aus den holden Versammlungen
Niedersteige, das Herz jener, die inniger
Mein unsterblicher Geist verlangt,
Zu erweichen, und sie zu den Empfindungen
Gleicher Zärtlichkeit einzuweihn!—Ll. 31-46.

Similarly in *An Sie* (1752):

Und doch kommst du! O dich, ja Engel senden,
Engel senden dich mir, die Menschen waren,
Gleich mir liebten, nun lieben
Wie ein Unsterblicher liebt.—Ll. 5-8.

Elsewhere (in *Salem*, written in 1748) this function is attributed to the seraph Salem, characterized by the poet as "der Engel der Lieb' und mein Schutzgeist."

In Mrs. Rowe's first series of letters, *Friendship and Death*, the departed evincing an interest in their friends on earth are uniformly among the number of the blessed, or, in the words of her characters: "Happy minds in this superior state are still concerned for the welfare of mortals, and make a thousand kind visits to their friends" (I, p. 5); and "My dear Sister, though the engagements of nature are cancelled, the superior obligations of virtue remain in their full force" (VI, p. 20). But Muncker is in error when he says, in speak-

¹ In the *Divine Comedy* Beatrice thus appears to Dante, saying:

Beatrice am I, who do bid thee go;
I come from there, where I would fain return;
Love moved me, which compelleth me to speak.—Inferno II, Longfellow's translation.

ing of Meta Klopstock's seventh letter of *Briefe von Verstorbenen an Lebendige* (published 1759): "Neu ist bei Meta der Gedanke, auch einen Verdammten aus der Hölle an seinen noch lebenden Freund schreiben zu lassen" (*Klopstock*, p. 320).¹

In one instance Klopstock's treatment of this motive is quite different from the preceding. In *Messias* III; 556-7, 576 ff. Satan, hovering over the sleeping Judas Iscariot, causes the sleeper to have a vision of his father, who claims to have come from the realm of the shades to aid his son. Appealing to the latter's avarice and ambition, the phantom spirit advises him to pretend that he would betray his Master, so that Christ would be forced to reveal his might and speedily establish his kingdom. By that means Judas would the sooner come into his portion of this kingdom. The central idea underlying this vision is that the father, though in the realm of the shades, has not become indifferent to his son's welfare, and that was probably suggested by Mrs. Rowe.

A further development of this conception of departed spirits influencing their friends is found in *Die Königin Luise*, where the queen's spirit says to the angel that had conducted her into God's presence (ll. 77-84):

Kehrst du dorthin zurück, wo du des Landes Schicksal,
Und meines Königs Schicksal, lenkst;
So folg ich dir. Ich will sanft um dich schweben,
Mit dir, sein Schutzgeist seyn!
Wenn du unsichtbar dich den Einsamkeiten nahest,
Wo er um meinen Tod noch klagt;
So tröst ich seinen Schmerz mit dir! so lispl' ich
Ihm auch Gedanken zu!

We have here another instance of the poetic refinement with which Klopstock presents some of the ideas found in the half sentimental, half personal writings of Mrs. Rowe.

It seems very probable that Klopstock also found the first suggestion for his elaborate guardian angel cult in Mrs. Rowe's Letters. It has been shown that she conceived of souls in the beyond as being greatly interested in their friends on earth and as accompanying and serving as substitutes for regularly appointed guardian angels.

This same function of conducting the newly released soul to God is repeatedly ascribed to guardian angels by Klopstock. Thus in *Die Königin Luise* (ll. 49, 50):

Da liebt im Tode sie, und schön des Seraphs Auge,
Der sie zum Unerschaffnen führt.

¹ Miss Wolf calls attention to this mistake in Muncker, but does not speak of the above letter from Palanty, which is found in all editions of *Letters Moral and Entertaining* accessible to me; she merely cites the rhymed epistle from Amoret.

Similarly in *Messias* III, 139-141, where the angel Orion speaking to Selia says, that he has often wished himself of Adam's race and mortal, as man is. He would then be glad to lay down his life for the Redeemer and

Aldann solltest du, Selia, mir, oder einer von diesen
Sanft mit unsichtbarer Hand die gebrochenen Augen zudrücken,
Und die entfliehende Seele zum Thron des Ewigen führen.

Another rather striking correspondence in their treatment of this theme is that both poets portray the guardian angel as ready to abandon his charge, when this one is sorely tempted or has shown willingness to sin.¹

This is paralleled in the *Messias* III, 11. 458 ff., where Ithuriel, the guardian angel of Iscariot, says of him:

Selia, du zwingst mich, ich muss dir alles entdecken,
Was ich so gern vor mir selbst, vor dir, und den Engeln verbärge.
Jesus liebt den Unwürdigen noch. Voll sorgsamer Liebe,
Zwar mit Worten nicht, aber mit Blicken der göttlichsten Freundschaft
Sagt er ihm jüngst, bey einem zufriednen vertraulichen Mahle,
Vor der Versammlung der Jünger, er sey es, er werd ihn verrathen.

Selia, siehe, da kömmt er herauf. Ich will den Verruchten
Ferner nicht sehn, komm mit mir.

In *Messias* IV, 11. 1001 f., the same angel in speaking to Jesus expresses his intention in unequivocal terms:

. Ich verlasse den Sünder!
Bin sein Engel nicht mehr!²

whereupon he is assigned to Simon Peter as a second guardian.

But Klopstock does not stop here. He conceives of a transfer of guardian angels, determined not by these celestials themselves, as in the case above, but by the persons whom they have served and inspired, as appears from l. 96 ff. of *An des Dichters Freunde*, where he says to Gieseke:

. Dann soll mein Schutzgeist
. dein Schutzgeist werden.

Other passages reveal a somewhat different situation: the spirit of a person departing this life remains about the sur-

¹ Such a course on the part of the celestial guardian is referred to as an eventuality in the sixteenth of *Letters Moral and Entertaining*, II, where the writer after describing the worldly character of her early training goes on to say: "However, my guardian angel did not quit his charge; but by the impression of a virtuous love fortified my soul from every loose inclination: I fled diversions, grew fond of retirement; this soon gave me a habit of thinking: and if I had schemes of happiness, they were all in some future life."

² See Hamel's note, in which that editor attributes this passage to a suggestion from Young. As Cantos IV and V of *Der Messias* were completed in January 1751, and Ebert's translation of *Night Thoughts* appeared in the course of that year, it seems more plausible that both Klopstock and Young, to whom *Friendship in Death* was dedicated, drew from Mrs. Rowe.

viving friends as his "Genius" or "Schutzengel." Thus in *An Bodmer*, l. 19 f.:

Auch dich werd' ich nicht sehn, wie du dein Leben lebst,
Werd' ich einst nicht dein Genius;

in the passage from *Die Königin Luise* cited on page 17; in the ode *An Young*, l. 13 ff.:

Stirb! du hast mich gelehrt, dass mir der Name Tod,
Wie der Jubel ertönt, den ein Gerechter singt:
Aber bleibe mein Lehrer,
Stirb, und werde mein Genius!

And finally, in taking leave of Meta on the verge of death Klopstock said in parting, "Sei mein Schutzengel, wenn es unser Gott zulässt!" to which the devoted wife replied, "Du bist der meinige gewesen." This touching scene is beautifully depicted in canto XV of *Der Messias*, ll. 419 ff. We have in these passages Klopstock's poetic elaboration of the situation which Mrs. Rowe described in Letter XIII (cited on page 453), and a typical instance of his talent in transforming a rather bare fundamental idea into a poetic conception of rare beauty by infusing into it elements of personal feeling and aspiration.

As those who have crossed over into the regions of the blessed retain their interest in the friends surviving, it is but natural that they should be the first to welcome the spirits of these as they, in turn, enter their heavenly home. Both authors speak of such meetings. In a letter to her friend the Countess of Hertford, which was to be delivered upon the author's death, Mrs. Rowe says: "Mine, perhaps, may be the first glad spirit to congratulate your safe arrival on the happy shores."¹ And she has one of her characters report (in the second Letter from the Dead, p. 7):

The first gentle spirit that welcomed me to these new regions was the lovely Almeria; but how dazzling! how divinely fair! ecstasy was in her eyes, and inexpressible pleasure in every smile! . . . My Almeria is as much superior to her former self here, as I thought her superior to the rest of her sex upon earth.²

In like manner Klopstock hopes to greet Fanny on her arrival in the bright beyond.

Wenn dann du dastehst jugendlich auferweckt,
Dann eil' ich zu dir!³ säume nicht, bis mich erst
Ein Seraph bey der Rechten fasse,
Und mich, Unsterblicher, zu dir führe.

¹ Mrs. Rowe's Works, I, p. xlii.

² Thomas Rowe expresses the hope that he will thus welcome the departing soul of his wife in *An Ode. To Delia* (Mrs. Rowe's Works, II, p. 302); and Mrs. Rowe's poem *To Cleone* (Works I, p. 71 f.), with which Klopstock was probably not familiar, also presents a situation paralleling the above.

³ It is very interesting to note that this connection also appealed strongly to Goethe, who again gave it poetic expression in *Die Leiden des*

Dann soll dein Bruder, innig von mir umarmt,
 Zu dir auch eilen! dann will ich thränenvoll,
 Voll froher Thränen jenes Lebens
 Neben dir stehn, dich mit Namen nennen,
 Und dich umarmen! Dann, o Unsterblichkeit,
 Gehörst du ganz uns! Kommt, die das Lied nicht singt,
 Kommt, unaussprechlich süsse Freuden —*An Fanny*, l. 29 ff.

Religious writers of all ages have been pleased to busy their fancies in conjectures regarding the manner in which the saints above occupy themselves. Mrs. Rowe makes an interesting contribution toward the solution of this problem, and Klopstock and others are quick to follow her lead. In the fifth of the *Letters from the Dead* the writer tells of a tour of the skies that he is making, and describes one of the worlds which he has visited.

For the description of such a world in *Messias* V, 153 ff., Klopstock is probably indebted to Mrs. Rowe,¹ as Muncker (p. 200) and Vetter p. 18) have pointed out; that would not preclude the additional influence of Young, which Hamel detects. This matter is again taken up in several later Letters of Mrs. Rowe, thus in Letter XV the writer, who had perished at sea, relates his experiences. He first "made the round of the liquid regions" and was then conducted through the skies. He writes:

I made the tour of the universe, and explored the limits of the creation with unspeakable agility: I moved from star to star and met ten thousand suns blazing in full glory without fear and consternation: I followed the track of prodigious comets that drew their trains over half the sky. From the planetary regions I ascended with the ease and swiftness of a thought to the superior heaven, the imperial palace of the Most High; but here description fails, and all beyond is unutterable.

Klopstock follows these models quite closely. In *Die jungen Werthers*. In his farewell letter to Lotte (Weimar ed. XIX, p. 180) Werther writes: "Du bist von diesem Augenblicke mein! mein, o Lotte! Ich gehe voran! gehe zu meinem Vater, zu deinem Vater. Dem will ich's klagen, und er wird mich trösten bis du kommst, und ich fliege dir entgegen und fasse dich und bleibe bei dir vor dem Angesichte des Unendlichen in ewigen Umarmungen." Dr. Otto Lyon has already pointed out Klopstock's influence on Goethe in this particular, as well as in the general conception of love set forth in *Werthers Leiden*, in his illuminating monograph, *Goethes Verhältniss zu Klopstock* (p. 98 f.).

¹ Bodmer also adopts this conception of Mrs. Rowe and uses it with various modifications in *Der Noah* (1752). Thus in Canto XII (l. 120, ff.) he speaks of one of the works in the milky way as peopled by innocent human beings; and in Canto X he has angels bear the souls of young children that had perished in the flood "in lichte Zonen der Sonne.

Sie zum Erkenntnis der Schöpfung da unterrichtend zu bilden" (l. 116 f.), whereas the souls of the sinners cut off in their prime are condemned to lie dormant until judgment day on a deserted moon on the outermost confines of this solar system (ll. 90 ff; 549 ff.).

Young also describes a sinless world in Canto IX of his *Night Thoughts*.

nesung (written in 1754) he speaks of the journey which he would at that time be taking, had it not been for his recovery, the gift of God.

Zwar wär auch ich dahin gewallet,
 Wo Erden wandeln um Sonnen,
 Hätte die Bahn betreten, auf der der beschweifte Komet
 Sich selbst dem doppelten Auge verliert;
 Hätte mit dem ersten entzückenden Grusse
 Die Bewohner begrüßt der Erden und der Sonnen,
 Gegrüßt des hohen Kometen
 Zahllose Bevölkerung.

This passage also presents several other points of interest. Klopstock here assumes that the heavenly bodies are inhabited by rational beings. This view, too, he found in Mrs. Rowe,¹ in Letter V for instance: "Before man was formed of the ground . . . the unlimited Creator had made and peopled millions of glorious worlds"; in Letter II, where the writer refers to the morning star as "our destined habitation"; and in a poem *On Heaven* (Works I, p. 53) Mrs. Rowe sings:

Ye starry mansions, hail! my native skies!
 Here in my happy, pre-existent state,
 (A spotless mind) I led the life of gods.
 But passing, I salute you, and advance
 To yonder brighter realm's allowed access.

Likewise in Klopstock the heavenly bodies serve as habitations for these three orders of beings: those regularly inhabiting a given planet, the departed spirits of human beings, and the souls of earthly denizens before their birth or incarnation. References to the first order are found in *Messias* II, 841-846, 852 ff.; *ibid.* V, 66 ff.; in stanza 2 of *Wissbegierde* (1799):

Dort in den Welten thun den Bewohnenden
 Viel Geistesführer weiter die Schöpfung auf,
 Viel Sinne. Reicher, schöner Kenntniss
 Freuen sie droben sich, Gott vernehmend.

and in *Das grosse Hallelujah* (1766) l. 17 ff.:

Ehre dem Wunderbaren,
 Der unzählbare Welten in den Ozean der Unendlichkeit aussäte!
 Und sie füllte mit Heerscharen Unsterblicher,
 Dass Ihn sie liebten, und selig wären durch Ihn!

A passage of like purport is found in the *Psalm* (1789), and in *Die höheren Stufen* (1802), Klopstock's last ode.

And that the planets are the "destined habitation" of the redeemed of earth, at least for a time, Klopstock sets forth in

¹ I am aware that others, notably Leibniz in his *Théodicée* (La Cause de Dieu, § 58) and Fontenelle in his *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (Troisième soir) had advanced such a hypothesis. We also have evidence that Klopstock had read the *Théodicée* while in Leipzig, and had been very much engrossed in it; yet there is a great difference between the philosophical treatment of this concept and the poetical. Lessing's skit *Die Planetenbewohner* (1748) presents another point of view.

Die Verwandelten (1782), where he expresses the hope of meeting Meta on one of the satellites comprising the ring of Saturn. And finally, in *Messias* III, 302 f., mention is made of "Gefilde . . . wo die Seelen der Menschen vor des Leibes Geburt . . . schweben."

The last two odes mentioned, *Die Verwandelten* and *Die höheren Stufen*, present another fine example of Klopstock's ability to amplify and enrich a given poetic conception. In the Letters the grand tour of the universe seems intended primarily to entertain and to gratify the curiosity of the newly released spirits, or at most to inure them to the ultimate splendors in store for them and to give them a fitting realization of their blissful state; but in the odes the changes of habitat mark successive stages in the growth and development of the soul and in its approach to God.¹

To the mistakes regarding Mrs. Rowe's identity cited on p. 62 and in note 45 of Miss Wolf's monograph I wish to add the grave misapprehension, under which Julian Schmidt was laboring. In the first volume (p. 237) of his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur von Leibniz bis auf unsere Zeit* (1886) this author says very convincingly:

Schon in der *Göttlichen Komödie* spielt Beatrice, die Geliebte des Dichters, eine wichtige Rolle; halb Muse, halb Heilige, erhob sie als das Ewig Weibliche den Dichter über das gemein Irdische hinaus zum Himmel. Dies anbetende Gefühl vor dem Weiblichen hatte Petrarca über Europa verbreitet; neuere englische Dichter, namentlich Rowe, stimmten den gleichen Ton an. In diese Dichtungen der Liebe hatte Klopstock sich schon zeitig vertieft, er stimmte seine Seele, um die richtige Tonlage für das Erhabene zu finden, in Moll. . . . Sie zu nennen, sucht er unter den berühmten Heroinnen nach einem Namen, z. B. Laura; er bleibt endlich bei "Fanny" stehen: *es war der Name, mit welchem der zärtliche Rowe seine Geliebte besungen hatte.*

Here are two palpable errors. In the first place, "der zärtliche Rowe" referred to here is not the Rowe whose works Klopstock knew;² neither was it a Rowe from whom Klopstock got the name "Fanny." Thomas Rowe, the husband of our Singer-Rowe, wrote *An Ode. To Delia* to his wife

¹ Wieland adopts a similar treatment, and has the inhabitants of his sinless world translated to higher realms (*Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen*; also Bodmer).

² This characterization does not apply to Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718) either. His fame rests chiefly on his dramatic works; Wieland drew largely upon N. Rowe's *Lady Jane Gray* for his *Lady Johanna Gray* (1758), as Lessing pointed out.

(referred to on page 456), but it in no wise answers the description above, and Klopstock probably saw it. It was published in *Mrs. Rowe's Miscellaneous Works*, II, p. 297 ff. in 1739. The name "Fanny" Klopstock took from Fielding's novel *Joseph Andrews*, as Muncker has pointed out (Klopstock, p. 200). Although Klopstock generally referred to Mrs. Rowe by her maiden name, Singer, there is at least one passage in his odes that leaves no doubt as to the sex of the Rowe who influenced him so largely at this time, line 37 of *Petrarka und Laura*: "Zu der göttlichen Rowe, oder zur Radikin"; and we are forced to conclude that the important rôle which 'das Weibliche' played in this instance is of a somewhat different character from that assigned to it by this noted historian of German literature.

Mrs. Rowe's influence on Wieland's works is treated more in detail by Miss Wolf than in the case of Klopstock, and many passages in which Wieland speaks of her and acknowledges his indebtedness are cited. To these should be added a number from his *Abhandlung von den Schönheiten des epischen Gedichts "Der Noah"* (1753).

Nie habe ich Vorstellungen vom Tode gelesen, die bloss Menschen zu Verfassern haben, welche mich angenehmer gerührt hätten, so sehr mich Platons *Phädon* und einige von den Briefen der vortrefflichen Rowe gerührt haben.—Hempel's edition, vol. 40, p. 423.

Wie viel gründlicher und anständiger sind diese Ideen von der Seligkeit als die Myrtengebüsche, ambrosialischen Lauben und kristallinen Paläste der Frau Rowe, welche ich jedoch durch diese Vergleichung nicht schlechterdings getadelt haben will.—*Ibid.* p. 424.

Inzwischen werde ich doch alle auf meiner Seite haben, die den Planeten der Frau Rowe für möglich halten, dessen Einwohner in einem Augenblick kristallne Paläste aufführen oder eine öde Gegend in ein Elysien verwandeln können.—*Ibid.* p. 444.

He also mentions her in his *Ankündigung einer Dunciade*:

Aber sie (die 'weiblichen Skribenten' Deutschlands) werden mir erlauben, ihnen zu sagen, wenn sie sich erinnert hätten, dass es nur einer Lambert, einer Rowe, einer Graffigny zukomme, ihrem Geschlecht durch Schriften Ehre zu machen, sie ohne Zweifel würden Bedenken getragen haben, sich den eilfertigen Geburten ihres Witzes, ehe sie zur gehörigen Reife gekommen, vor den Augen der Welt zu entladen.—*Ibid.* p. 578.

Bodmer, also, mentions Mrs. Rowe occasionally. In his *Briefe über Joseph und Zuleika* (1754, p. 129) he says: "Die ernstesten Moralisten warnen vor dieser Gefahr . . . Siehe den V. Brief der ergötzenden Briefe der Mrs. Rowe." In another instance he is manifestly unfair to the English poet. He says in the sixth letter of *Edward Grandisons Geschichte in Görlitz*: "Die Briefe der Abgestorbenen (Wieland's) haben mit den Briefen welche die Frau Rowe unter diesem Titel geschrieben hat, nichts gemein, als den leeren Einfall, Briefe von den Gestorbenen zu dichten." Lessing, on the contrary, pointed out that they had much in common with the

earlier work (Lachmann-Muncker: *Lessings sämtliche Schriften* V, p. 220, f.); and Zachariae's observation: "Die unsterbliche Rowe singt aus dem fühlenden Wieland"¹ *Tageszeiten*, second edition, 1752, Der Mittag, l. 63, is quite applicable here, too. I shall call attention to several instances of this.

Naturally enough Wieland accepts the view that death does not allay the interest of the departed in their surviving friends, that conception being a *sine qua non* in this sort of compositions. His

Die erhabene Freundschaft, die uns auf Erden verbunden,
Hat mein Tod noch erhöht (I. Brief, 1 f.)

and

Von Eigennutz ferne
Suchen wir nur das Wohl der Geliebten (II. Brief, 312 f.)

and

Fürchte nicht dass der Tod die zärtlichen Bande zerreiße,
Welche die Sympathie, unauflöslich, zwo Seelen zu binden
Selber gewebt; o Laura, noch mehr als ich dich geliebet,
Lieb ich dich izt (III. Brief, 17 ff.)

are but variants of

My affection to the fair Climene is unchanged . . . My concern for your happiness is more tender and disinterested than ever (Letter XII).

and other passages to that effect.

Another situation repeatedly referred to by both authors is a visit from the departed spirit to his living friend. Wieland's version is:

Aber Narcissa, . . .
. . . hat schon ihre Lucinde vergessen,
Ihre Lucinde, die sich seraphischen Armen entreisset
Um sie zu sein, und sie oft in die stolzen Gärten begleitet, (II.
Brief 9 ff.)

and

O Panthea, dich zu verlieren
Dieses allein verbitterte mir die Wollust des Todes;
Und ich verlor dich nicht. Die Sphäre, die ich bewohne
Schliesst mich nicht ein . . .
Die sympathetische Liebe
Zieht mich oftmals zu dir; dann seh ich dein englisches Lächeln
Ich und dein Schutzgeist, wir sehen dich oft, wenn du einsam
. . . die teure Cleora beweintest. (V. Brief).

This tallies closely with a part of Letter VIII:

The wounds I received gave a free passage to my soul, which took its flight with no other regret but that of parting with you, if it may be called a separation, for I have been your constant attendant in my invisible state, your unseen companion . . . I should with pleasure hear you repeat my name, as I often do, in the softest lan-

¹ For this and several other references to Mrs. Rowe I am indebted to Prof. J. A. Walz.

guage express the constancy of a virtuous passion, could you restrain those floods of tears, and be more resigned to the will of heaven.

The last lines from Wieland also indicate that a close fellowship exists between the guardian angel and the departed friend of a person, who are drawn together by their common interest in the one for whose happiness and eternal welfare they are concerned. Several passages of like purport have already been cited from the works of Mrs. Rowe and of Klopstock; another is the conclusion of Letter XI: "In this admonition your guardian angel joins with Alexis."

Wieland's treatment of the guardian angel motive coincides with that of Mrs. Rowe in many respects. Guardian angels conduct departing souls to their celestial homes (I., V., IX. Brief); on weeping lutes they lament the fall of innocence and the perversity of immortal souls (*Sympathien*, I², 459, 15 and 468, 32-36; cp. Letter XIII, quoted on p. 5). There is also a case of the guardian leaving his charges, quite unlike that spoken of in Mrs. Rowe however, and suggestive of the Wieland of a later period. In *Zelim und Gulhindy*, 544 ff., Firnaz says to the reunited lovers:

Izt, meine Kinder,
Verlass ich euch, die Liebe wird euch nun
Der Schutzgeist sein, der ich bisher gewesen.

In *Sympathien* (I², 455, 27 ff.) Wieland takes account of the doctrine of a dual spirit world and assigns to each soul two genii, one urging it on to good, the other trying to trick it into evil. For this, too, he found a precedent in Mrs. Rowe. In Letter XIII the writer says:

The evil genii, that envy the happiness of the human race, already insult my pious care; and your celestial guardian seems half resolved to quit his trust.

In other places specifically Klopstockian influence is discernible.

Turning now to the famous sinless world depicted with such eloquence by Mrs. Rowe in Letter V, we find that Wieland made repeated use of this conception, elaborating it enormously. In his First Letter (324 ff.) he speaks of our earth as

die einzige Welt, die wider Gott sich empöret,
Da unzählbare Sphären die erste Schönheit bewahrten,
Voll von seligen Geistern,

and in the Ninth he gives quite a detailed portrayal of such a blissful world, free from sin. In the light of his subsequent writings additional interest attaches to young Wieland's treatment of this subject, to the evident fondness with which he lingers over details such as

Blühende Mädchen, allein mit eigner natürlicher Anmut
Und dem höhern Preis der weissen Unschuld geschmücket

Und nur mit ihren Locken bekleidet. Mit den Rosenarmen
An einander geschlungen, umgibt der reizende Zirkel
Einen erhabnen Jüngling (I. 99 ff.)

Sie war grösser und von stärkerer Leibesbeschaffenheit als die weichen Töchter unsrer Erde zu sein pflegen. Die frische Blume ihrer Schönheit zeigte Unsterblichkeit an. Zween Säuglinge, schön wie die Liebe, lagen an ihrer schneeweissen Brust, in der ein Herz von unbefleckter Unschuld schlug. Sie sogen mit der gesunden nährenden Milch fromme Empfindungen und harmonische Triebe ein, die sich künftig zu eben so viel Tugenden entfalten sollten.—*Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen*, I², p. 413, 1, 2 ff.

In the work from which I have just quoted (written in 1755) Wieland again takes up this subject and presents a number of variations from former treatments. His active fancy fairly revels in rhapsodic details concerning this millennial state. Here leopard and lamb graze peacefully side by side; there is no need of land surveys or laws to secure property rights; when truth and goodness, like startled doves, left our perverted world, they took up their abode among this innocent people, who had remained true to nature. Death does not enter here, people are simply transformed and translated to the Emyreum. All this is rather foreign to Mrs. Rowe's account, nevertheless her influence on this composition may be readily detected. For example, the introductory lines:

Mitten unter tausend Welten, die der Güte ihres Schöpfers voll sind,
glänzet eine glückliche Erde in sanfter Schönheit, so blühend und schön,
wie damals, da sie erschaffen wurde ein Paradies unschuldiger Menschen zu sein, welche in der Versuchung, der wir unterlagen,
standhaft aushielten, und die Güte ihrer Natur unbefleckt bewahrten.

closely parallel:

the unlimited Creator had made and peopled millions of glorious worlds. The inhabitants of this which I am describing stood their probation, and are confirmed in their original rectitude.

Seraphim, to the accompaniment of golden lutes, conduct the departing parents of the innocent race to heaven (p. 409, 10ff.), which suggests Letter VII, where "smiles and songs of angels, who conducted me to the ethereal heights" and a welcoming friend "with a golden lute in his hand" are mentioned. And Wieland's: "Aber die schönen Künste haben sie auf einen so hohen Grad getrieben, dass die Werke unsrer grössten Meister nur Versuche gegen sie sind" merely sums up in a general way more specific statements of Letter V, as: "These ethereals are the nicest judges of symmetry and proportion"; "they are acquainted with all the utmost mysteries of sound"; "art is theirs in all its changing notes, its blandishments and graces."

In comparing Wieland's Letters with those of Mrs. Rowe, one is at once struck by their extreme wordiness and prolixity. Slight details, merely touched upon by the Englishwoman, Wieland amplifies and distends to monstrous proportions.

These he supplements with inventions of his own; in the *Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen* he specifies that the inhabitants of this happy realm are vegetarians and wear cotton garments, and this despite the fact that one of their chief occupations is stock raising. This practice, and the desire to provide edification and information, which is frequently gratified in tedious digressions account for the extreme length of his Letters, of which Lessing said in his review: "Wem diese Briefe selbst ein wenig zu lang vorkommen sollten, der mag überlegen, dass die Gelegenheiten aus jenem in dieses Leben jetzt sehr rar sind, und man also den Mangel des öftern Schreibens durch das viel Schreiben ersetzen muss."—Lachmann-Muncker: *Lessings sämtliche Schriften* V, p. 220, f. J. F. SIEVERS.

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JULIUS HARTMANN, Das Verhältnis von Hans Sachs zur sogenannten Steinhöwelschen Decameronübersetzung. Acta Germanica. Organ für deutsche Philologie, herausgegeben von Rudolf Henning. Neue Reihe, Heft 2. Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 1912.

Der Einfluss der italienischen Literatur durch Dante, Petrarca und ganz besonders durch Boccaccio auf die übrigen Literaturen Europas während des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts ist längst von den Literaturhistorikern anerkannt worden. Nach Schmidt in seinen 'Beiträgen zur Geschichte der romanistischen Schule in Deutschland,' 1818, hat Goedeke, der genaue Kenner des 16. Jahrhunderts, in seinem Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung diesem Einflusse Italiens ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Von neueren Forschern ist es in erster Linie Konrad Burdach, der begeisterte Förderer der von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin eingesetzten Deutschen Kommission, welcher in seinen epochemachenden Arbeiten zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte (Vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation, Die Einigung der neu-hochdeutschen Schriftsprache, Generalbericht der Deutschen Kommission etc.) dasselbe Thema unter verschiedenen Titeln und von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus immer wieder aufs neue behandelt.

Deutschland wird von Italien aus nicht nur auf dem Gebiete der Spracheinigung und Sprachreinigung stark beeinflusst, Italien ist nicht nur vorbildlich für Deutschland betreffs der Ausbildung einer Schriftsprache im modernen Sinne, die ganze deutsche Literatur des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts steht stark im Banne der italienischen, und besonders sind es die Proaschöpfungen *Boccaccios*, welche jahrhunderte lang nicht

nur die deutsche, sondern alle anderen europäischen Literaturen in Spannung halten und beeinflussen.

Um 1472 wurde in Ulm (ich folge den Ausführungen Hans Möller's, Arigo und seine Decameronübersetzung, Leipzig, 1895.) der erste deutsche Decameron gedruckt, für dessen Übersetzer man lange den Arzt Heinrich *Steinhöwel* gehalten hat. *Wunderlich* wies diese Ansicht zuerst zurück im Archiv für neuere Sprachen, 83, 167 ff. und 84, 241 ff. Er sah in dem im deutschen Decameron als Übersetzer genannten Arigo (vgl. Keller, Lit. Verein 51, s. 17, 27) das Pseudonym einer bis dahin unbekannten literarischen Persönlichkeit.

Wenn wir auch heute Genaueres über die Persönlichkeit des deutschen Übersetzers des Decameron noch nicht wissen, so dürfte doch Möller in seiner vorhin zitierten Arbeit vom Jahre 1895 auf Grund stilistischer Eigentümlichkeiten überzeugend dargetan haben, dass der deutsche Übersetzer der italienischen *fiore di virtu* identisch ist mit dem Übersetzer des Decameron. Er hält den Humanisten Ariginus, welcher in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts auf der Platsenburg über Kulmbach nachgewiesen wird, für den Verfasser sowohl des "Decameron" als auch der "Blumen der Tugend."

Auf die Abhängigkeit des Hans Sachs von Boccaccios Decameron haben schon frühere Hans Sachs-Forscher vor Julius Hartmann hingewiesen. Carl Drescher befasste sich damit in seiner Arbeit, Hans Sachs u. Boccaccio 1894, wovon leider nur der erste Teil erschienen ist. Hans Sachs als Dichter in seinen Fastnachtsspielen im Verhältniss zu seinen Quellen behandelte Eug. Geiger, Halle 1904. Von demselben Verfasser erschien als Programmarbeit im Jahre 1908, Hans Sachs als Dichter in seinen Fabeln und Schwänken. Mac Mehan verdanken wir die Arbeit, The Relation of Hans Sachs to the Decameron, eine Dissertation aus dem Jahre 1889.

Julius Hartmann stellt sich in der hier zu besprechenden Arbeit das genau abgegrenzte Thema: "In welcher Weise und wie weit hat Hans Sachs aus dem Decameron entlehnt, und in welchem Umfange kommt eigenes Schaffen in Betracht?"

Die Fastnachtsspiele berücksichtigt der Verfasser in seiner Arbeit nicht, weil dieser Teil seiner Arbeit bereits von Geiger erledigt wurde. Geiger's spätere Arbeit über die Fabeln und Schwänke konnte Hartmann nicht mehr berücksichtigen. Hartmanns Arbeit zerfällt in zwei grössere Abschnitte, Hans Sachs Verhältniss zu dem *Stoff* der Novellen (S. 26-24) und Sachsens Verhältniss zu der Übersetzung in sprachlicher Beziehung.

In dem ersten Kapitel, das sich mit Hans Sachs und dem Decameron in stofflicher Hinsicht befasst, führt der Verfasser erst alle Stellen auf, in denen Sachs eine Kürzung vor-

genommen hat (S. 26-33), dann die Stellen, wo Sachs ändert (S. 33-46), und endlich diejenigen Stellen, an denen Sachs sich Zusätze (S. 46-64) erlaubt zu dem, was er bei Boccaccio vorfindet.

Nach den Gründen für Hans Sachsens Vorgehen suchend kommt Hartmann zu dem Schluss, dass Sachs besonders lange Gespräche nach Kräften zusammen zieht, überhaupt alles das fortlässt, was ihm als unwesentlich erscheint. So langweilt er seine Leser nicht mit spezifisch italienischen Verhältnissen, die für den deutschen Leser ja doch unverständlich geblieben wären. Unsaubere Stellen streicht er ganz, ohne natürlich in Prüderie zu verfallen, denn das Publikum des Hans Sachs litt nicht an gar zu zarten Nerven. Wo die Liebesszenen im Original gar zu sehr ausgeführt sind, werden sie von Sachs auf das Notwendigste beschränkt, wobei es nun gelegentlich auch wohl vorkommt, dass durch dieses gar zu scharfe Zustutzen Unklarheiten entstehen und wirkungsvolle Züge des Originals ganz verloren gehen. Andere Änderungen, welche Hans Sachs vornimmt, machen aber vielfach die ganze Erzählung wahrscheinlicher, die einzelnen Szenen drastischer und die ganze Handlung überhaupt klarer und übersichtlicher. Wenn Hans Sachs gelegentlich auf deutsche Verhältnisse statt der dem Leser fremden italienischen anspielt, so erhöht er selbstverständlich dadurch das Interesse. In vielen Fällen gelingt es, wie Hartmann nachweist, Hans Sachs durch vorgenommene Änderungen besonders die Komik der Situation zu erhöhen. Zusätze, welche der Dichter sich erlaubt, machen in vielen Fällen die Handlung anschaulicher als in seiner Quelle. Hartmann betont besonders, wie sehr Hans Sachs es liebt, das Naturleben in seine Dichtungen hineinzuflechten, überhaupt dem Realen zu seinem Rechte zu verhelfen. Hartmanns Kapitel über Sachsens Verhältniss zu der Übersetzung von Boccacios Decameron in sprachlicher Beziehung ist nach meiner Ansicht bei weitem das Beste und Wertvollste an dem ganzen Buche und es wird hoffentlich anregend wirken für alle, die sich mit der Erforschung der Sprache und Syntax des 16. Jahrhunderts befassen.

In dem ersten Teile dieses Kapitels behandelt er die wörtlichen Entlehnungen Sachsens aus seiner Vorlage, die uns natürlich am allerwenigsten interessiren. In dem zweiten Teile werden die Abweichungen von der Übersetzung in sprachlicher Hinsicht eingehend untersucht. Hartmann folgt hier der mustergültigen Arbeit von Karl Hoerber, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Sprachgebrauches im Volksliede des XIV u. XV. Jahrhunderts Acta Germanica VII, 1.

Sachsens Abweichungen offenbaren die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten des Dichters, sie zeigen ihn als einen echten

Volksdichter, der die Sprache seines Volkes liebt, weil er sein Volk von Grund aus kennt und weil er den gemeinen Mann in seiner Offenheit und Geradheit, seiner Treue und Gutherzigkeit schätzt. Die Anklänge an die Sprache, wie wir sie im deutschen Volksliede kennen, sind daher nicht überraschend, beide schöpfen aus derselben Quelle, was Wortschatz, Wortgebrauch und Stil anbetrifft.

Die Sprache ist lebenswahr, realistisch, hat nichts Gekünsteltes; zeichnet sich aus durch kurze Sätze, Konjunktionen treten stark in den Hintergrund, Sätze werden neben, nicht untergeordnet.

Ganz besonders fällt der Gebrauch der Sprichwörter bei Hans Sachs auf, worüber wir bereits eine Spezialarbeit besitzen von Ch. H. Handschin, Madison, 1904, auf die auch Hartmann hinweist.

Die Vulgärsprache spiegelt sich besonders in den komischen Szenen bei Hans Sachs wieder, in den derben Schimpfwörtern und Verwünschungen, welche er ihr entlehnt, sowie in der Neigung die Verba finita durch Hilfsverba zu umschreiben, durch tun, sein, werden mit dem Infinitiv, oder beginnen und anheben mit dem Infinitiv an Stelle des älteren Participium praesentis. Mehr Untersuchungen dieser Art sind dringend notwendig für das Studium der Grammatik des Frühneuhochdeutschen, um endlich Klarheit zu bringen in diejenigen Probleme, für die eine zusammenfassende Darstellung wegen des Mangels an Einzeluntersuchungen bis heute unmöglich ist.

Dass das Fremdwort in der volkstümlichen Sprache des Hans Sachs nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt, denn er verdeutschte die meisten Fremdwörter, beweist zur Genüge wieviel auf diesem Gebiete bei ehrlichem Willen von dem wirklichen Volkschriftsteller erwartet werden kann.

Dass Schlussresultat der Untersuchungen Hartmanns ist in jeder Hinsicht schmeichelhaft für Hans Sachs. So stark er sich auf der einen Seite an seine Quelle anlehnt, so unabhängig und frei ist er auf der anderen Seite, wo er aus künstlerischen Rücksichten sich veranlasst sieht, zu kürzen oder zu ergänzen. Seine Sprache weicht erfrischend ab von dem geschraubten und gedrechselten Periodenstil der humanistisch gebildeten Überstezer seiner Zeit. Er bedient sich der natürlichen, ungezwungenen Sprache des gemeinen Mannes und wird dadurch anschaulicher und realistischer. Hans Sachs ist also nicht ein einfacher Nacherzähler, "sondern ein wirklicher Umbildner, der wohl das Urteil Goethes rechtfertigt, der ihn als ächten Dichter erkannte und der Vergessenheit entriss."

Im Anhang beschäftigt sich Hartmann noch auf Seite 104-108 mit Montanus in seinem Verhältnis zum Decameron und auf Seite 109-116 mit Mahrolds Verhältnis zu der Übersetzung des Italieners.

In der Einleitung (Seite 1-18) ergänzt der Verfasser frühere Arbeiten von Goedeke, Keller, Oesterley, Bolte, Drescher, Goetze, Stiefel und Möller, indem er eine genaue Übersicht giebt über die auf die Decameron Übersetzung zurückgehende deutsche Literatur des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Diese Übersicht wird von allen Literaturhistorikern, welche sich mit der frühneuhochdeutschen Periode beschäftigen, mit Freuden begrüßt werden.

In dem allgemeinen Teile (Seite 19-25) hebt der Verfasser besonders hervor, dass Hans Sachs es nie versäumt seine Quelle zu nennen, dass die Decameronübersetzung, mit welcher er als junger Handwerksbursch bekannt wurde, ihn durch sein ganzes Leben begleitet hat, dass er daraus bis in sein hohes Alter in dieser oder jener Form für seine Dichtungen geschöpft hat.

Indem Hartmann Sachsens spätere Dichtungen mit den früheren vergleicht, kommt er zu dem Resultat, dass in den früheren Dichtungen des Nürnberger Dichters des Sentimentale überwiegt, während in seinen späteren Dichtungen das Realistisch-Humoristische an dessen Stelle tritt, was sich natürlich leicht durch die Wahl des Stoffes erklären lässt.

Hartmanns Arbeit ist ein wertvoller Beitrag zum Studium der Literatur wie der Sprache des 16. Jahrhunderts, der dazu beitragen wird, der unter Rudolf Henning neu eröffneten Reihe der Acta Germanica das Ansehen auch für die Zukunft zu sichern, das diese hervorragende Sammlung von Arbeiten seit nun bald fünfundzwanzig Jahren unter den deutschen Philologen mit Recht genießt.

University of Wisconsin.

ERNST VOSS.

PETRARKA IN DER DEUTSCHEN LYRIK DES XVII
JAHRHUNDERTS, von Dr. Phil. Hugo Souvageol, Druck
von C. Brugel & Sohn, Ansbach, MDCCCXI.

In the above contribution to what has already been written on the subject of Petrarchism the author presents the results of his patient search through the works of nearly thirty seventeenth century German poets to find traces of direct imitation of Petrarch. The work is divided into three parts. About sixty pages are devoted to the *Einwirkungen des Canzoniere und der Triumphe Petrarkas*. Half a dozen pages to the *Zerstreute Spuren Petrarkas in der Poesie und Prosa des XVII. Jahrhunderts* and four pages to the *Übersetzungen und*

Zerstreute Nachahmungen im letzten Viertel des XVII. Jahrhunderts. The *Einleitung* and *Rückblick* bring up the number of pages to eighty.

The results of this search, although somewhat negative in character, are both interesting and instructive. Three poets only, it is found, have imitated Petrarch with any success, Weckherlin, Fleming and Gryphius. In their choice of subjects the poets limited themselves to a few sonnets which were imitated by one poet after another in a more or less artificial manner. Even among the better poets there is a lack of expression of real human experience and a poverty of imagery. They were unable to imprint a personal stamp on their imitations, nor were they generally successful in adapting the poetry of Petrarch to German poetry. Only a few poets profited by this imitation and even they show a tendency to imitate French imitators of Petrarch rather than Petrarch himself. A better understanding of Petrarch is shown in the good translations of his works which appeared toward the end of the seventeenth century.

The material which has here been gathered together affords valuable data which might well be incorporated in a comprehensive study, yet to be written, of the rise and progress of Petrarchism in all the countries of Europe. The work has been done thoroughly and an attempt has been made to distinguish carefully direct from indirect imitation of Petrarch. In many instances the German poem is placed side by side with the Italian one so that the reader can judge for himself as to the closeness with which the original has been followed, as, for example, in Opitz's translation of that sonnet beloved by all Petrarchists,

Ist Liebe lauter nichts, wie dass sie S'amor nonè, che dunque
mich entzündet? è quel ch'i sento?

Even Opitz's translation of a Latin epitaph *auf des Petrarchae Katze* is cited as an example of his knowledge of Petrarch.

Since the present work does not profess to deal with the sonnet in general, but only with Petrarchan imitations it is perhaps unfair to criticize the author for not giving a survey of conditions existing in other countries of Europe in that same century. A few references are made to Marinism in Italy, the influence of contemporary Dutch and French poets, and also to the influence of the sixteenth century French and Italian poets, but the English sonnetteers are dismissed with a word and no mention of Spain. Yet Weckherlin's long residence in England must certainly have made him acquainted with the sonnets of Shakespeare and Milton. As for Spain, it was in that country that Petrarch found his earliest trans-

lators and imitators, both of the Canzoniere and of the Triumphs, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century Spanish books were imported into Germany in great quantities. Several of Opitz's sonnets were imitated from the *Diana-enamorada*. Since the influence exerted by the poets of the Pléiade upon English sonnet-writers is if anything more marked than that produced upon German poets, one would expect to find some mention of *Sidney Lee's Elizabethan Sonnets*, but the work does not seem to be known to the author, at least it is nowhere cited. Another important bibliographical omission is the fact that *Welti's Geschichte des Sonetts* is not mentioned. Since the latter work devotes eighty pages to the history of the sonnet in Germany in the seventeenth century, it would seem worthy of special mention. Welti, it is true, does not attempt to single out sonnets imitated from Petrarch, except in a few cases, but the versification of the sonnet is treated of much more fully than in the present work. As a *Beilage* to Welti's work is given a sonnet by Georg Martin—taken from *Deutsche Epigrammata und Sonette* printed in 1654 which seems to have been overlooked by Souvageol. It is manifestly a variation on a well worn Petrarchan motif—and is entitled *Was die Liebe sey*, of which the first quatrain is as follows:

*Du wunderbahres werk, du liebliches betrüben.
 Du angenehme gift, du unmuthsartzenei.
 Des Herzens lust und pein: du Tolle Fantasey.
 Du traum des wachenden, der nährischen verüben.*

While it should always be kept in mind that the work under consideration does not claim to be much more than an enumeration of Petrarch imitations by various poets, its value would have been very much enhanced if some biographical details could have been added which would have explained certain peculiarities of imitation which might be due to Weckherlin's residence in England, also the visit of Gryphius to Italy and his acquaintance with the poets of Holland might have been dwelt upon. Not enough account is made either of the influence of the German academies formed in imitation of the Italian and especially upon the Nürnberger Dichterkreis.

It is unfortunate that a study of the German translations of the *Triumphs* of Petrarch which the author announces, could not have been printed along with the present work. Scattered references to the *Triumphs* occur, but a thorough discussion and summing up of their influence would have been desirable since it was the *Triumphs* which were at first more popular than the sonnets, and which afterwards led to an appreciation of the sonnets. The sonnet was a species of poet-

ical composition utterly foreign to the genius of Hans Sachs, but he was acquainted with at least the *Triumph of Death*.

In conclusion it may be said that while the value of the work under consideration would have been increased if the setting were more complete, if Fleming and Gryphius had been compared with their contemporaries, Milton and Malherbe and Voiture, for example, it must be borne in mind that it does not profess to be a study in comparative literature and that it contains a considerable amount of material gleaned from a number of writers and which cannot fail to help explain that mania for sonnet-writing known as Petrarchism and which is one of the most interesting phenomena in all the history of literature.

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THE INFLUENCE OF MOLIERE ON RESTORATION
COMEDY, by Dudley Howe Miles, Ph.D. New York, The
Columbia University Press, 1910.

In this dissertation Doctor Miles frankly recognizes the extent to which various parallel-hunters have preëmpted his subject, and pretends to little interest in adding to their results. He confesses to a few such additions, but these arose incidentally to his verification of the contributions of others in order to secure a working basis for critical interpretation. His purpose, in his own words, "is not so much to identify particular cases of indebtedness to the French master as to study the general features of his influence on the art and outlook of the period." Accordingly the list of approved parallels is relegated to an appendix, foot-notes are reduced to a minimum, and the whole effect becomes that of a critical essay, appealing to the general student of literature.

The chapters in which this interpretation is developed, although they follow safe and conventional lines, show commendable deftness and discrimination in treatment. After some general consideration of the two chief phases of Molière's influence in England—as a model for the comedy of manners proper, and a storehouse of dramatic plunder,—individual chapters are given to the plot, characters, and dialogue of Restoration comedy, particularly in the first two decades. Congreve, Crowne, and later writers are reserved for a separate study at the conclusion. All this material gives a good impression; far better, indeed, than one receives from the two introductory chapters defining the subject and characterizing the period.

One may almost assert that the real introductory chapter to this dissertation remains unwritten. Some hints for it ap-

pear in a prefatory note to the appendix, but that is all. It seems only fair that such a study, the culmination of a long line of investigations, should trace the development of the subject through this process and explain its own relations to earlier activity. Equally valuable would be a chronological list of English plays influenced by Molière, enabling the student to approach the subject with the same comprehensive outlook that the author must have had. As the book is now arranged, there is no attempt whatever to indicate the varying extent of this French influence throughout the period, or to compare it with other contributory forces—that from Spain, for instance. Even in the appendix, a chronological arrangement of the plays would have had advantages over alphabetical order.

The appropriateness of much of the introductory matter, as it stands, depends on the character of the reading public for which Doctor Miles has written. A worthy succession of critics, during two centuries, have left even the well-read man of the world in little need of a five-page distinction of wit and humor (pp. 1-6); and no one acquainted with Molière at all will profit greatly by the hand-book treatment of that author's life and work in the remainder of Chapter I. Throughout the first two chapters, indeed, this obviousness of material, the broad lines in which it is treated, and the rather conscious effort to be interesting combine to produce a result entirely out of harmony with the later work. As if conscious of the lecture-room, the author is moved to frequent generalizations which scholarly readers do not need and are inclined to view with suspicion. In many cases he himself suggests various exceptions in the course of the book.

This point of view gives a false prominence to hard and fast distinctions in classification, and neglects the more subtle appreciation of varying distances along a sliding scale. Molière's plays are presented in three distinct groups; but numerous inter-relations are noted (pp. 10-13). Restoration drama is regarded as quite independent of earlier English effort (p. 57); although there is an admission in the final paragraph (p. 220) that "the Restoration would have produced a comedy not much different from the actual product, even had Molière never lived." Comedy of manners is treated as fundamentally opposed to the humor comedy, and its distinctions from comedy of intrigue are taken much too seriously (*e. g.* pp. 40-44).¹ A good example of this zeal for analysis appears in the chapter on Character, where Molière is made like Jonson

¹ On page 109 there is an admission that the attention of Restoration audiences was never held long by the comedy of manners, except as it was permeated by features of intrigue.

in order to differentiate him from Shakspeare, and like Shakspeare to keep him distinct from Jonson (pp. 152-154). It is by no means clear that such generalizations are requisite to the main thesis of the study: that the comedies of Molière gave impetus to a satirical drama in England, reflecting the life and taste of a dominating, self-conscious element of society.

In the same manner Doctor Miles goes rather to extremes in representing the unity of taste in the play-going public, and in emphasizing its moral depravity. Following Beljame,² he draws evidence from Pepys to indicate that the city, with its greater virtue, had little representation in the audiences. From the *Diary* of 12 Feb., 1666-7, in particular, he gathers that "the manager Killigrew told Pepys the City had almost ceased to appear at the theater" (p. 52). The exact wording of Pepys, quoted accurately by Beljame, is: "And he [Killigrew] tells me plainly that the City audience was as good as the Court, but now they are most gone." Without context this sentence is misleading; for Pepys is outlining a conversation in which the manager of the Theatre Royal complains of the serious depletion of his audiences immediately following the great fire of 2 Sept., 1666, the citizens naturally being most affected. Killigrew feels the loss particularly, because he has just succeeded in bringing his house to such reputable standing that "not the King only for state, but all civil people do think they may come as well as any." Shortly after appears the sentence wrongly assumed by Beljame and the present author to be a statement of normal conditions.

It is difficult to see how Doctor Miles could reconcile his reading of this passage with another in the *Diary*, which he mentions slightly. On New Year's Day, 1667-8, Pepys saw *Sir Martin Mar-all* at the Duke of York's playhouse, and was impressed with the character of the audience and its prodigality.

"Here a mighty company of citizens, 'prentices and others; and it makes me observe, that when I began first to be able to bestow a play on myself, I do not remember that I saw so many by half of the ordinary 'prentices and mean people in the pit at 2s. 6d. a-piece as now; I going for several years no higher than the 12d. and then the 18d. places, though I strained hard to go in when I did:³ so much the vanity and prodigality of the age is to be observed in this particular."

² Alex. Beljame, *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre*, 1660-1744, Paris, 1897, pp. 56-57.

³ Cf. *Diary* for 19 Jan., 1660-1: "Here I was troubled to be seen by four of our office clerkes, which sat in the half-crowne box, and I in the 1s. 0d."

Certainly Pepys is an unfortunate witness for the aversion of the middle class to the playhouse; and the complaint of Trueman, cited from Wright's *Historia Histrionica* (p. 52), loses significance by the lateness of its appearance—after Jeremy Collier's *Short View*, and at a time when by Doctor Miles's own account the theater had been yielding for ten years to the prejudices of the women and the citizens (pp. 209-210). Various satirical references to the citizens, quoted by Beljame from the plays themselves, are not introduced in the present study.

The treatment of revivals from the dramatic literature before 1642 is kept very slight, as of no particular significance regarding Restoration taste. The author seems to accept without question the view that while performances of old plays were constant until 1669, they dropped off abruptly when there was no longer a Pepys to record attendance at them. It must be remembered that Downes, whose *Roscius Anglicanus* carried theatrical affairs on into the next century, indicates on almost every page that his specific concern is with *new* plays. Yet he makes it very clear that both regular companies continued to place very high value on their repertoires of "principal" or "stock" plays, largely made up of the revivals instituted before 1665. This value was based on actual service. For example, after mention of the opening of the new theater in Dorset Garden, 9 Nov., 1671, Downes describes the first three new plays enacted there, and adds: "Note, Several of the Old Stock Plays were Acted between each of these 3 new Ones."⁴ The productions of the King's Company, prior to the merger in 1682, are not treated by Downes in chronological order, but are rather fully summarized.⁵ Casts are given for fifteen of their "Principal Old Stock Plays," thirteen of these being revivals. Then follows a longer list, containing twenty other revivals, with this comment: "These being Old Plays, were Acted but now and then; yet being well Perform'd, were very Satisfactory to the Town." After a list of fourteen popular new plays in the repertoire of that company, he adds a note, representing "All the foregoing, both Old and Modern Plays" as "being the Principal in their Stock, and most taking."

Immediately after the union of the companies, Downes notes that "the mixt Company then Reviv'd the several old and Modern Plays that were the propriety of Mr. Killigrew," specifying from the previous lists *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Jovial Crew*, *The Beggars'*

⁴ *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, London, 1886, p. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3ff.

Bush, *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Moor of Venice*, *Rollo*, and *The Humorous Lieutenant*, and adding *The Double Marriage*.⁶ Somewhat later he explains that between the presentation of *The Prophetess* and that of *The Fairy Queen*, "there were several other Plays Acted, both Old and Modern." The list of ten examples includes *Wit without Money*, *The Taming of a Shrew*, *The Island Princess*, *A Sea Voyage*, *Bussy D'Ambois*, and *The Massacre of Paris*.⁷

This question of revivals and various other matters must be taken seriously into account before building too heavily on the proposition of homogeneous dramatic taste in the period. The revivals themselves were frequently coarsened in the process, but they seem to have been, even more freely sentimentalized, as in the case of Shakspeare's tragedies. The heroic play continued popular even after its scourging in *The Rehearsal*, and gradually gave way to an equally serious type of unrhymed tragedy. The opera gained marked popularity before the heroic play declined in favor, and alternated with the later tragedy in enjoying periods of the greatest possible success.⁸ In the comedies of the period, it is true, there is a frank licentiousness of theme, sentiment, and dialogue, tending to substantiate every argument for the depraved taste of the theatrical public. Beljame seems to have been unnecessarily severe in intimating that there are depths of vileness hardly to be suggested in print, and then drawing a majority of his illustrations from Mrs. Behn!⁹ But it must be remembered that the playwrights were satirizing this dominant society—often, like Dryden in *Limberham*, priding themselves on their high moral ground,—and they availed themselves very freely of the satirist's privilege of exaggeration. Much of the coarseness, as in the numerous "free" epilogues to serious plays, is a direct appeal to the favor of that frivolous and evil-minded portion of the audience which was always the most vociferous. This element, variable in quantity and quality, was probably more in evidence during the period in question, but was by no means confined to it. It had caused Elizabethan clowns to speak more than was set down for them, and continued as long as pit and gallery were allowed to intrude themselves upon the stage performance.

As has been noted, the broad generalizations in Doctor Miles's earlier chapters serve some purpose in clearing the way for his actual thesis; but it is not so easy to account for the

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁹ Beljame, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-56.

slipshod, colloquial manner of expression he uses for this introductory material, and avoids almost entirely thereafter. The good people who argue for doctoral dissertations that are more readable are likely to have particularly high ideals of literary style; so that these chapters, in their present form, can expect little justification anywhere. "A bullet-proof definition"; "running up long bills"; "all the go at court"; "to show up the ridiculousness of affectation," are rather characteristic expressions early in the book; while many of the sentences offend against the simplest principles of composition. The body of the dissertation seems to acquire dignity of expression with its increased thoroughness of treatment.

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, Volumes V and VI, *The Drama to 1642*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The two volumes of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* covering the drama to 1642 are virtually a complete work in themselves. As such they are in most respects pleasingly organized. The fifth volume gives a survey of the early religious drama, traces the growth of the drama in the sixteenth century to Shakespeare,—to whom rightly much space is given,—and closes with a study of the minor dramatists at the end of the century and with a survey of the social movements that helped to shape the drama. The second volume happily begins with Jonson, the dominant literary figure of the Jacobean age, and traces the history of the drama in Jonson's great contemporaries to its close in a school of minor writers. At the end of the sixth volume five chapters deal with certain corollaries of the great public drama. As a whole, the work is extremely valuable, and a number of chapters represent, in their respective lines, the best that has been done in so small a compass. In general, breadth and fulness of treatment, firmness of structure, suggestiveness and freshness of statement, and convincing analysis of literary qualities are found here at their best in the men who have contributed most to the scientific study of the drama. In many of these chapters, all the phases of the subject that ought to find treatment in a study destined to serve in large measure for reference are represented: the lives and works of the dramatists, the relation of individual writers or groups to other writers or groups, whether through movements or sources, and a clear estimate of general literary qualities and peculiarities of art in the writers studied. As might be expected, however, where there

are so many contributors, conflicting ideals and inequality of work are apparent. A few of the contributors restrict themselves too largely to a literary appreciation of the dramatists in question, and do not give the historical material that students will desire, so that certain chapters are valuable chiefly as essays and not as the history of literature. In fact, the weakness of the series of volumes in *The Cambridge History* seems to me to lie in a failure to hold the various contributors to some definite ideal that might give greater unity of purpose.

From the nature of the work, it will be necessary to take up the chapters one by one. The first and the last chapter of Vol. V, by Prof. Ward, deal with phases of social life that influenced the drama, and form a framework for the volume. Such surveys can be exceedingly illuminating. The final chapter seems to me important, giving an impression of the age that the same material distributed through the various chapters as illustrative comment could not give, though it is hardly to be expected that in so small a compass the multitudinous phases of social life in the Elizabethan era could be adequately treated. The first chapter, on the other hand, seems to me unnecessary. The total space given to the early drama is rather small, and Prof. Ward's chapter duplicates too much that is to be found immediately in Mr. Child's account of the secular drama and in Prof. Creizenach's account of the religious drama, chapters which are in themselves merely short surveys of movements. The names of Professors Creizenach, Cunliffe, and Boas promise excellence in the respective chapters on the early religious drama, early English tragedy, and early English comedy. Many details and phases of literary development are excellently fused here. Prof. Manly's treatment of the *Children of the Chapel* in Vol. VI furnishes important supplementary matter for these chapters. The introduction to Bond's recent *Early Plays from the Italian* and a paper by Mr. T. S. Graves in the April number of *Modern Philology*, furnishing new material on the political drama, will enlarge our knowledge of the field covered in Prof. Boas's chapter.

The chapter on the University Wits by Prof. Baker is excellent in material, with succinct and telling critical estimates, but it is too brief. For Greene there is perhaps a better historical account than literary estimate. In the case of Lyly, however, Prof. Baker seems to have felt that his past endeavors entitled him to be silent about the main historical details. Few facts of Lyly's life are given, the plays are mentioned only incidentally, and there is no grouping of the plays or indication of the various types of work they represent. The treatment

of Lyly's connection with the past also lacks definiteness, though his position as an adapter is justly emphasized. More might be said, too, of Lyly's influence on other men than Shakespeare, on Jonson, for example, whose relation to Lyly I have stressed elsewhere. On the whole, one feels that Prof. Baker has made one of the most important transitional figures in dramatic literature the subject of a short generalizing essay. Yet so excellent is the analysis that we are prone to forgive the inadequacy of the historical treatment. It is pleasing, too, to find Prof. Baker accepting as possible Lyly's authorship of the songs in his plays, but the case for Lyly still needs strengthening. Prof. Baker's account of Peele, also, is rather brief, lacking a discussion of the order of plays, etc., but it is better rounded than the treatment of Lyly and yet equally valuable in its critical estimate. In regard to the statement that Nashe was lodged in the Fleet for his part in *The Isle of Dogs*, I may refer to Mr. McKerrow's argument on the absence of any evidence of imprisonment.

In Prof. Gregory Smith's chapter on Marlowe and Kyd, which supplements the preceding chapter in dealing with the immediate predecessors of Shakespeare, the aim, happily, is to give Marlowe a rank as a literary man without reference to the usual treatment of him as a forerunner of Shakespeare. The result is a critical essay primarily, but an excellent one. Besides, a good account is given of the established facts in Marlowe's life—except his summons before the Privy Council—and of the work which there is any substantial evidence for assigning to him. On the other hand, the treatment of Marlowe is characterized by a minimum discussion of mooted questions and by a disregard of sources and literary relations. Prof. Saintsbury, however, in his chapter on Shakespeare's plays discusses the influence of Marlowe on Shakespeare. In treating Kyd, Prof. Smith is far less rigid in his exclusion of mooted matters, for he, perhaps justifiably, accepts as referring to Kyd all of the points in Nashe's famous attack, a view which McKerrow is the latest critic to discredit.

Prof. Saintsbury's chapter on Shakespeare's plays, the most important section of the work, is by no means the most satisfactory. It has excellent points, and shows the usual flashes of good sense to be found in Prof. Saintsbury's work; but it also shows the usual prejudice and perversity of that extremely individualistic Briton. His conservative attitude in dealing with some problems, his disposition to reject theorizing and conjecture, is pleasing; the greatest shortcoming of the chapter, however, is his consequent rejection of some of the little evidence that really exists. In the first place, having once begun to point out the weakness of guessing as a method of

Shakespeare study, he stresses his position through many a sentence that could well be spared in an essay of so limited scope, for the point is obvious—in spite of the individual critic's confidence in his own views—and after all we should like to have summarized for us many of the guesses, neglected by Prof. Saintsbury, which represent the combined study of many critics. In the second place, the rejection of so much seems merely to clear the ground for Prof. Saintsbury's own theorizing, which in a number of cases does not impress one so strongly as views that have more evidence in their favor, circumstantial though it may be. In fact, much of the valuable evidence of other scholars, especially that gathered of late years, Prof. Saintsbury apparently does not know.

In the matter of the order of Shakespeare's plays, the crux and at the same time the great achievement of the historical treatment of Shakespeare, Prof. Saintsbury's study is very unsatisfactory. Rejecting the usual efforts at a chronology of the plays, he makes Meres and the First Folio the basis of his attempt to establish the order. The valuable supplementary evidence of references to individual plays, parodies, quotations, etc. he disregards in the main. The result is that he substitutes his own impressions as tests, flounders and hesitates in his conclusions, and finally departs radically from his basis in Meres and the Folio. Outside of the confusion which arises from this method, there are what will appeal to many as positive errors in order and dates. The treatment of *Measure for Measure*, ca. 1604, as probably based on an earlier draft has, to my mind, little to defend it. The play is apparently steeped through and through with the spirit of the satirical school at the opening of the seventeenth century, which probably had most to do with the change of tone in Shakespeare's work. In the light of the same influence, I see no reason to accept Prof. Saintsbury's theory that *Troilus and Cressida* was written much earlier than 1602-3. The play seems to be best explained by reference to the manner of the railing satirists popular as the century opened. *Henry V* is treated after the great comedies that belong around 1600, and is thus separated from the group of chronicle plays to which it forms a culmination. The extreme example of Prof. Saintsbury's method is found in the case of *Julius Caesar*. He groups the play with *Coriolanus* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, regarding the three as having been written about the same time and after the close of the sixteenth century. He apparently accepts the view that *Julius Caesar* should be assigned to 1601 because of a supposed reference to the play in that year, and is seemingly unaware of all the evidence for the year 1599 which has recently been so much exploited. There

could hardly be a stronger case for a date. Weever's *Mirror for Martyrs*, in which occurs the reference in 1601 alluded to, was declared to have been finished two years earlier. The passage in *Julius Caesar*, "O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts," is parodied in *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1599, and in *Doctor Dodipoll*, published in 1600. At the end of *All Fools*, originally produced in 1599, there is possibly a humorous burlesque of Antony's speech over Brutus, "This was a man"; and Carlo's "Et tu, Brute," to his ally Macilente, who turns against him (*Every Man out*, V, 4), seems to burlesque Caesar's words as he realizes that he is betrayed by his friend Brutus. Possible echoes of Shakespeare's play have been found in *A Warning for Fair Women*, 1599, *Old Fortunatus*, 1599, and *The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green*, 1600. Besides, Platter saw a *Julius Caesar* in London, probably at the Globe, in September, 1599 (*Anglia*, XXII, 458). If we make reasonable allowance for the possibility that there was another *Julius Caesar* about 1599; that some of the similar phrasing in the plays mentioned was conventional; and that Shakespeare may have been the borrower in some cases, the evidence still seems too strong to assign *Julius Caesar* to any other date than 1599. Besides, the presence of the cobbler in the opening scene of the play and the faint sketch of the conventional malcontent in Casca are among the popular motives found in *Julius Caesar* that would best fit 1599.

There can hardly be any defence for ignoring the evidence in regard to the date of this play, but Prof. Saintsbury would probably repudiate the suggestion that Shakespeare's work should be viewed more in the light of his age. Yet the failure to relate the individual plays to the popular conventions and motives of the day is one of the weaknesses of the chapter. There is no reference here, for example, to the revenge and malcontent motives in *Hamlet*. To return to *Julius Caesar* as an illustration, Prof. Saintsbury's declaration that Antony's speech is "all Shakespeare's own" is only relatively true. The mob and its veering were among the established conventions of Elizabethan literature, and had probably already been treated by Shakespeare in *Henry VI*. Antony's speech, with its adaptation to the mob, seems to owe a great deal to More's address to the mob in *Sir Thomas More*. The two are very similar in dramatic handling, in tone, and in certain ideas and expressions. The contrast between the euphuistic or rhetorical quality of Brutus's speech¹ and the plainness of Antony's effective oration represents a critical

¹ The speech of Diogenes to the mob in *Campaspe* is interesting in connection with this aspect of Brutus's speech and with Coriolanus's attitude to the mob.

interest of the age. Sidney in his *Apology* uses as an illustration the orator Antonius, who "pretended not to know Arte" that "with a playne sensiblenes" he "might win credit of popular eares; which credit is the neerest step to perswasion" (G. Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, I, 203). Again, it must have been since Prof. Saintsbury wrote his chapter that MacCallum's *Shakespeare's Roman Plays* and the article by Prof. Ayres in *Modern Language Publications* (June, 1910) have emphasized the fact that the characterization of Caesar and the dramatic nemesis in his downfall follow a sixteenth century Senecan tradition.

Not all such details, of course, could be expected in a study like Prof. Saintsbury's, but it seems desirable at least to give the point of view. Many details are omitted, however, without justification, it seems to me. Some of these are supplied at the end of the chapter in the appendix giving dates and sources, but even here there is not enough. Caxton's *Recuyell* is omitted from the sources of *Troilus and Cressida*, I note. The statement that *Leir* was written in 1605 is in all probability an error. Prof. Saintsbury's chapter on the poems of Shakespeare is much more pleasing. Chapters on "The Text of Shakespeare" and "Shakespeare on the Continent," by Ernest Walder and J. G. Robertson, are valuable supplements to the Shakespeare material.

The remaining chapters of the fifth volume (X and XIII) represent the inferior drama. Mr. Moorman deals with the pseudo-Shakespearian plays and Mr. Bayne with the lesser Elizabethan dramatists. The number of anonymous and joint plays and our limited knowledge of the work of many dramatists furnish ground for much variation of opinion in the field. Mr. Moorman's discussion of *Locrine* may be taken as an illustration. He would ascribe the play to Kyd, and supports his claim with a number of parallels between *Locrine* and *The Spanish Tragedy*. By referring to *Solimon and Perseda* he might have added to the list of parallels between *Locrine* and Kyd's work the fooleries of Strumbo and Piston on the battlefield,—forerunners of Falstaff,—some common romantic details, the burlesque love affairs, etc. The case for Kyd, indeed, seems to me stronger than that for Greene or Marlowe. But most of the evidence for ascription to one dramatist or another is based on conventions. The tone of the play does not seem to me to fit Kyd, and it is probable that Peele is still the best guess. Mr. Moorman's theory that *Locrine* was written before 1590 and that the portions taken from Spenser were added in 1595 when the play was revised is unfortunate in view of the fact that Prof. Cunliffe in an earlier chapter of *The Cambridge History* gives pretty con-

clusive evidence that *Selimus*, printed in 1594, borrowed from a version of *Locrine* that contained the Spenserian passages. The initials W. S. attached to *Locrine* were, according to Mr. Moorman, probably "intended to convey the impression of Shakespearian authorship." As the title page reads, they may refer to author or reviser. If they were intended for Shakespeare, he must have had a small part in the revision of the comic scenes and in the finer passages of poetry, for it is not probable that as early as 1595 his mere initials would have been used to sell the work. It seems to me not improbable that the initials represent the name of the author or of some one other than Shakespeare as reviser. Mr. Moorman's arguments for ascribing *The Birth of Merlin* to Rowley and Dekker, and parts of *Edward III* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* to Shakespeare are interesting and skillfully handled as a matter of personal impression, but needless to say, they are not conclusive. In speaking of the play *Sir Thomas More* Mr. Moorman, on the authority of Dyce, cites as a source Cresacre More's life of More, written as late at least as the second decade of the seventeenth century. Dyce does quote the cutpurse incident from Cresacre More, but the dramatist, who, as Mr. Moorman points out, seems to have known Latin, very probably got the anecdote from Stapleton's *Tres Thomae*, 1588, a source neglected by Dyce. There is an error, also, in the statement that Mr. Tucker Brooke ascribes *The Puritan* to Middleton; he is inclined to see Marston's hand in the play. Mr. Moorman's work, however, is good. He is really conservative considering his material, knows his plays and the field as well, and shows critical insight.

In the group of minor dramatists treated by Mr. Bayne there is room for boundless conjecture, and he is free enough with it. With rather meager facts, some guesses of other students, and a broad reliance on impressions received from reading, he establishes fixed categories and builds up literary individualities, for Munday, Chettle, and Haughton especially. Among other things he attempts to determine rather definitely the parts of Chettle and Munday in their joint plays, and he follows Fleay and Greg in dispossessing Yarrington of *The Two Lamentable Tragedies* and distributing it to several dramatists—with no notice of R. A. Law's strong argument for Yarrington and unity of authorship. The chapter is interesting enough; but, valuable as such work is in the drama, here it seems to be overdone. Some correction, also, is needed in the chapter. Wentworth Smith is given as the author of *The Hector of Germany*, though the title page of the play has only W. Smith. Much of the discussion of Munday is based on the assumption that *The Two Italian Gentle-*

men is his; in the *Collections* of the Malone Society, however, a claim has recently been made for Chapman's authorship. The statement that the play is lost has been corrected in the bibliography, and here the source, Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele*, is also given.

The treatment of Jonson by Prof. Thorndike, which opens Vol. VI, is a strong one. The author has harmonized the life and work of Jonson, justly stressing the influence of Jonson's ideals and critical theories on his attitude to Shakespeare and to his opponents in the stage-quarrel, without overemphasizing the attacks on individual in the plays; he has pointed out the value for Jonson of the realism in the older drama and satire, at the same time giving due weight to his early connection with romanticism; and he has given a good statement of Jonson's position as a forerunner of Restoration classicism. Along with this goes a correct and succinct account of the life and work of the dramatist. A more definite analysis of the idea of humours would not have been out of place, and my own studies in Jonson have naturally made me feel that more stress should have been laid on his method of using literary material, shown wherever he has left notes for his work. Some account is taken in footnotes of sources suggested for the plays, where the strength of the claim seemed to warrant it; but Jonson's habit of building up literary mosaics appears to me more important, and his borrowings from English literature for these mosaics are extensive in spite of the fundamental classicism which Prof. Thorndike rightly claims for him. Indeed, in such a play as *Every Man out of his Humour* the classic element seems to me of minor importance. Prof. Thorndike recognizes the English tone of Jonson's work, but he perhaps does not take sufficiently into account the influence of English literature. To the details of Jonson's life ought to be added the interesting evidence for his part as joint author with Nashe of *The Isle of Dogs*. It possibly helps to elucidate the letters written when Jonson was imprisoned for his part in *Eastward Hoe*, and may have a bearing on the stage-quarrel.

The chapter by Prof. Dixon on Jonson's fellows, Chapman, Marston, and Dekker, rounds out the group of early reformers of the drama, and gives identifications of characters and other details in the plays concerned with the stage-quarrel. While Prof. Dixon goes to no extremes in his identifications, he is none too conservative. By way of specific objections, it hardly seems worth while to note the old identification of Torquatus as Jonson in Marston's satire in view of Hart's convincing evidence that the character represents Harvey; the suggested identification of Amorphus in *Cynthia's Revels* with Munday

seems to me forced; and the impression should not be left that the characterization of Chrisogonus in *Histriomastix* is necessarily an attack on the individual portrayed, for many scholars regard the portrayal as intended for a compliment to Jonson. Amid much that is fairly rounded and modern, some details in the treatment of the lives and works of the dramatists are inexact or represent views no longer current. The emphasis on the relatively late period of life at which Chapman became connected with the drama is certainly unfortunate if *The Two Italian Gentlemen* is his, and is hardly warranted by Meres's statements in regard to him. Again, most modern students of Chapman, Prof. Parrott, for example, would scarcely uphold the statement that for a period of four or five years at the beginning of the seventeenth century Chapman produced nothing for the stage.

The chapter by Mr. Symons dealing with Middleton and Rowley is an excellent literary estimate, though a far higher value is put upon the work of Rowley than many students would accept, and probably an exaggerated claim is made for his share in his joint work with Middleton. Little attention is given to Middleton's sources or to the relation of his work to that of such men as Shakespeare and Jonson. Indeed, there is no list or connected account of his plays. The chapter on Heywood by Prof. Ward is much better rounded. Here the domestic play, an important minor type of the drama, is discussed. The chapter on Beaumont and Fletcher by Prof. Macaulay and that on Massinger by Prof. Koepfel seem to me among the best in the two volumes. In them we find a full command of the subject, adequate accounts of the dramatists' lives and works, excellent analyses of literary qualities, and a treatment of sources, of connection with other literature and with the age, and of verse and plotting. The next chapter, on Tourneur and Webster, scarcely falls behind these two, but Prof. Neilson's chapter on Ford and Shirley, though good, is not so impressive, partly because his discussion of Shirley, like earlier treatments of this dramatist, fails to present adequately the various aspects of his literary personality and to help us to a definite enough sense of what Shirley's work stands for. In the final chapter on the regular drama, the lesser dramatists of the seventeenth century are treated by Mr. Bayne, who also deals with the lesser dramatists of the Elizabethan period. Here he appears to much better advantage, since the problems are less matters of conjecture and his deductions from literary interpretation find a firmer basis. Perhaps his analysis of Day is the most effective. It is hardly necessary to say that in a short chapter dealing with such a vast amount of material one can point to omissions. The

lyric in Brome's *Queen and Concubine*, "What if a day, or a month, or a year," which is praised as having the "true Elizabethan charm of Campion or Dekker," was an old and familiar song when Brome used it, and was for a long time ascribed to Campion (*Mod. Philology*, IV, 397 ff. and V, 383 ff.).

The remaining chapters of the volume are concerned with certain general phases of dramatic work and conditions. "The Elizabethan Theatre," by Prof. Child, is a comprehensive survey of companies, playhouses, staging, audience, and actors. His discussion of staging furnishes the fullest scope for disagreement. A number of questions might be raised—concerning the matter of how far inns influenced the public stage, the date of the Children at Blackfriars, the use of painted scenery on the stage, etc. A recent article by Mr. Graves (*Mod. Philology*, January, 1912) shows the incorrectness of Prof. Child's statement in regard to the performance of *England's Joy*, and adds information about hangings and curtains at the Swan. Prof. Manly's excellent chapter on the Children of the Chapel unfortunately ends with Elizabeth's reign. The chapter by Prof. Boas on the University Plays is an excellent study of an interesting phase of dramatic activity, and very valuable indeed for its enlargement of our view of that activity. Of exceptional interest are the discussion of *Perfidus Hetruscus* in relation to *Hamlet*, and the interpretation of the treatment of Shakespeare in *The Return from Parnassus*, Part II, as bitterly ironical. The text and the bibliography of the chapter need to be supplemented by the material furnished recently in Miss Morgan's article "The Latin University Drama" (*Jahrbuch der Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XLVII, 69 ff.). The chapter on the masque and the pastoral by Mr. Bayne includes a pleasing estimate of the masterpieces in the two fields, and a brief history of the two types, which had already been worked out unusually well. Jonson is naturally the central figure of this chapter. The enthusiastic praise accorded his *Masque of Christmas* is perhaps just, but Mr. Bayne apparently does not understand that much of its charm and its excellence as a picture of English life is due to its nature as a folk play. The relation of this masque to the sword-dancers' songs and the mummers' plays, as well as to *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, has been pointed out by me in *Modern Philology* (Oct., 1908). Mr. Child in his discussion of the folk drama in Vol. V does not refer to this masque of Jonson's. The chapter by Mr. Wilson on the Puritan attack fitly closes the volumes in which a record is made of the dramatic activity brought to a close by the Puritan forces that opposed it.

One of the important features of *The Cambridge History* is the plan of a separate bibliography for each chapter. The bibliographies in the volumes before me are on the whole disappointing, though many are apparently very good. While some of the contributors list all of the plays in the field rather carefully, and some give fairly full lists of works bearing on their field, others fall short in one or both respects. If the bibliographers had been handled uniformly well, the omission of plays, theories, etc. from the chapters themselves, made necessary by the limited scope of the work, might have been offset, and material might have been furnished for a full study of each field. It is rather hazardous to criticize a select bibliography, but I shall call attention to some of the important omissions that I have noted. No thorough test has been attempted of the reliability of the details given in the bibliographies or in the chapters themselves.

Omissions from the lists of plays are perhaps rarest. In both volumes, however, many of the writers pay little attention to the matter of lost plays. All of these of which we have any record ought to be listed in the bibliographies or in footnotes. This would seem especially feasible as well as valuable for the Henslowe group of writers. But the bibliography of the chapter on the lesser Elizabethan dramatists, of whom the Henslowe writers form the nucleus, does not even list all the extant dramas that belong to the field. Some of the extant plays omitted are *Coblers Prophecie*, *Pedlers Prophecie*, *Knack to Know an Honest Man*, *Stukeley*, and *Fair Maid of Bristow*. *The Hector of Germany*, reprinted by L. W. Payne, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *Histrionastix*, and *Jack Drum*—all discussed in the text—are apparently not included in any of the bibliographies; and *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools* and *Second Maiden's Tragedy*, which we might expect to find referred to under Chapman, seem likewise to have been omitted altogether. Frequently plays omitted where we would most expect to find them are included elsewhere without cross references. It is not surprising that certain editions or reprints are disregarded, but such omissions mar the bibliographies for practical purposes. For the chapter on Jonson the 1716 edition of his works and Hart's two volumes of his plays (part of an incomplete edition important on account of the introduction) should be listed. The reprints of Daborne's two plays in *Anglia*, XX and XXI, ought to be noted for the chapter on the minor seventeenth century dramatists. In the bibliography of the same chapter it is not made clear that *Every Woman in her Humour* is reprinted in Bullen's *Old Plays*. I have noted nearly a score more of such cases.

In the matter of critical material omissions can naturally be pointed out for most of the chapters, but in many cases these may be deliberate. Some very important works, however, are lacking. I shall mention only a few of them. Meyer's *Machiavelli* ought to be found in the Marlowe bibliography or in that of the chapter on early tragedy. Under Kyd or under *Hamlet*, should be given, as it seems to me, the more important articles dealing with the old *Hamlet*, especially those treating its relation to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The literature of the Hamlet saga is partly filled in on pp. 503 f. and 519 of Vol. V, but there are no cross references. Articles by Thorndike on *Hamlet* and the revenge plays (*Mod. Lang. Pub.*, March, 1902) and by Stoll on the malcontent (*Mod. Phil.*, Jan., 1906), as well as Lewis's *Genesis of Hamlet* and Werder's *Vorlesungen über Hamlet*, are important enough to deserve a place in the bibliography. In fact, though the general bibliography on the Shakespeare chapters seems good, the part dealing with separate plays is decidedly faulty. Apparently there is no principle of inclusion or exclusion here. In Vol. VI, Aronstein's *Ben Jonson* should appear in the Jonson bibliography. The bibliography of Chapter II has many omissions. Thus half a dozen articles dealing with Chapman are omitted, some of which, at least, deserve attention—Stiefel's "George Chapman und das italienische Drama," for example (*Jahrbuch der Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXXV). Crawford's *Collectanea*, also omitted here, is valuable for both Chapman and Marston. Few critical works are given for Middleton. Certainly Christ's *Quellen-studien zu den Dramen Thomas Middleton's* ought to be listed here, as well as some of the bibliographical items given in Morris's volume on Middleton and Rowley in the Belles-Lettres Series. Sampson's volume on Webster in the same series likewise takes account of some works that should not have been omitted from the Webster bibliography. Under Heywood, again, there is little critical material, Prof. Kittredge's treatment of the sources of *The Captives*, for example, being omitted. The bibliography of the chapter on "The Lesser Jacobean and Caroline Dramatists" is especially lacking in critical material. Typical of its weakness is the statement under *Sir Giles Goosecappe*, "BulLEN and Fleay suggest that it contains early work of Chapman," while the important articles of Parrott (*Mod. Philology*, July, 1906) and Kittredge (*Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, II, 10 ff.) are not mentioned. The bibliography for "The English Theatre" is fairly full, but G. F. Reynolds (*Mod. Philology*, July, 1911) mentions more than a score of monographs and articles of recent years not found in the section here on "Construction and Staging." Disregarding those published

since the chapter went to press, we still find some important items lacking. The bibliography for "The Puritan Attack upon the Stage" seems excellent, but I note the omission of Crosse's *Virtue's Commonwealth*.

Most of us have learned to be charitable in regard to typographical errors, but it must be said that a surprising number have escaped the proofreaders in these two volumes. The list of *errata* corrected for the fifth volume is a large one, and yet in the two volumes I have noted at least forty others. Errors are especially numerous in the bibliographies, where misspelled proper names and incorrect initials are frequent. It may be worth while to note some misprinted dates. Vol. V, p. 114, l. 33, 1638 should read 1538; p. 348, n. 1, 1560 should read 1580, the date of *The Third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres*; p. 528, l. 27, 1809 should read 1909; Vol. VI, p. 317, l. 15, 485 should read 1485; p. 331, l. 19, 1582 should read 1482; p. 356, l. 38, 1506 should read 1605; p. 442, l. 14, 1528 should read 1582, the date of Gosson's *Playes confuted in five Actions*. The following examples of errors in titles and proper names may be noted: Vol. V, p. 425 (under Collier), *The Three Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, and p. 552, *Rare Thoughts of Love and Fortune*, should read *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*; p. 434 (under C) *Dux Morand* should read *Dux Moraud*; p. 447, l. 31, Gandina should read Caudina according to Prof. Cunliffe's reprint in *Mod. Lang. Pub.*, March, 1911; Vol. VI, p. 35, l. 18, *Ovid's Banquet of Sauce* should read *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*; p. 279, l. 18, Nowell should read Knowell.

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STUDIER I BEOWULFSAGAN.....af Henrik Schück,
Upsala, 1909.

In this monograph Professor Henrik Schück of the University of Upsala presents the theory that the *Beowulf* was composed in Friesland by an English traveller, whose literary materials comprised two saga cycles, the one consisting of Danish stories told by Danes, the other, of Geatish stories told by Geats. Professor Schück also makes the conjecture that the name Beowulf resulted from a combination of the names of two heroes, Beow and Wulf.

Schück's argument is based on an examination of the figure of the hero, the fundamental motifs, and the episodes and allusions in the poem. The disparity in age between the young warrior of the Grendel exploit and the venerable king of the dragon fight leads him to assume that the Beowulf-

material up to the time of the Anglo-Saxon poet had celebrated two different heroes. He further argues that early in the development of the saga the Grendel-Grendelin portion had existed as two separate parts with separate heroes.

I

In order to prove the separate existence of the three fundamental stories in the poem, Schück reduces each to its simple motif and proceeds to find parallels to this in the popular literature of the North. The motif underlying the Grendel episode had its ultimate source in popular superstition and may be formulated as follows: A demon infests a dwelling or land, and is slain by a chieftain or hero, whereupon the dwelling or land becomes habitable. This motif appears as a local tale ("lokalsägen") in the Glam episode of the *Grettissaga*; as a burlesque folk-tale in Grimm's *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, No. 4; as a saga of heroic tinge in the story of Arnljót Gellini as told by Snorri¹ and as a pure heroic saga in Beowulf. In the *Grettissaga* the ghost of Glam haunts a farmyard killing livestock as well as the occupants of the house. Grettir comes and keeps watch alone in the house. A fight so violent that it almost wrecks the house ensues, and Glam is slain, after which the house is no longer haunted.

In the German story a youth wins a princess by occupying a haunted castle three nights. The first night he outwits and kills two huge black cats. The second night a number of horrible individuals appear and play nine-pins with skulls and bones. The youth is cool enough to join in the game until the stroke of twelve, when the evil spirits vanish. During the third night a coffin containing a corpse is brought in. The youth places the corpse near the fire, where it comes to life and attacks him, but is finally overpowered. Next a man with a long white beard appears, who engages the youth in a combat, but is overcome and escapes only by confiding the whereabouts of a treasure. After these exploits the castle is no longer haunted.

In the Arnljót story, as related by Snorri, twelve merchants sleeping in a hall are attacked by a witch. She slays eleven of the twelve. The last man calls for help and is rescued by Arnljót and his retinue, who occupy the loft. The witch then begins to devour the dead men but is interrupted by Arnljót, who pierces her between the shoulders with his spear. She flees with the spear transfixed in her body.

In Beowulf a new development of the motif is illustrated, for here it is closely connected with history. And this historical localization at Hrothgar's court could have been given

¹ Ed Unger, pp. 406 seq.

the motif only in Denmark. The hero, although a Geat in the poem, was not necessarily so in the saga. It was sufficient that he be some stranger.

It is to be kept in mind that Schück does not believe there are any literary relations between the various parallels here mentioned. He holds that these are different poetical expressions of the same processes of primitive imagination.

The motif of the dragon fight is that the hero kills a dragon but dies of the wounds received in the struggle. The parallels to this go back to the earliest and most widespread expression of popular superstition. Death was often imagined as a devouring monster. A relic of this belief is the Hell-Mouth of the miracle plays. This belief forms the basis for many a story. In a Danish tale a wolf attacks a shepherd boy, and devours his sheep, his colt, the boy himself, the master and his wife, and finally the dog and the cat. But the two pets fall to fighting so fiercely that the wolf's belly is ripped open, whereupon the whole company gets out and slays the wolf. Again, in a Norse saga, a prince is in search of a bride as red as blood and as white as snow. After passing through the jaws of a wolf and later through the jaws of a bear, he reaches a meadow where he finds the princess. On their return to the jaws of the bear he bids the lady close her eyes, whereupon he draws her through. In Norse mythology the death monster is represented by the wolf Fenrir, the hound Garm, the serpent Nidhogg, and the Midgard serpent.

Schück divides sagas about the death monster into two groups. In the first, the monster is slain by a hero or god who descends into the bowels of the beast to free the men or animals previously devoured. In the second group, the hero is killed and devoured by the monster, but his death is avenged by a second hero who enters the death monster and liberates his predecessor. For example, Fenrir devours Odin but the deed is avenged by Vidar. In the heroic saga of the Hartungs, Hartnit is devoured by a monster, but his fate is avenged by Hardheri. The dragon fight in Beowulf belongs to this second group. The original primitive motif has, however, become partly rationalized. The hero is not devoured, and, although dying, is partly his own avenger. The second hero has been subordinated and appears only as giving timely aid to the first hero. Originally Beowulf's fight with the dragon and Wiglaf's attack upon the monster were doubtless separate, though related, events. The combination was, of course, made very early. However that may be, it is important to observe that the dragon-exploit has been assigned to a Geat hero. And this could have happened only among the Geats.

Thus, considering the nationalities of the two main episodes in *Beowulf*, it seems most likely that the Grendel-saga as such took final form in Denmark and the dragon-saga in Geatland. Further, an examination of the Grendelin episode in itself indicates that the final stage of its growth took place in Denmark. The action is really a variation of the Grendel motif, resembling incidents in the *Grettissaga* (Chaps. 64-67), and in the *Ormssaga*. Schück's summary of resemblances must be given in full.

1. It is significant that the demons in both cases are mother and son. In the *Grettissaga* the hall is first haunted by a giantess. She is overcome, whereupon Grettir enters the lair and slays the giant. That the two beings are mother and son is to be inferred from the parallel in the *Ormssaga*.

2. More significant are the two combats. Both in *Beowulf* and in the *Grettissaga* the first combat takes place in the hall and the second in the lair. In the *Ormssaga*, to be sure, the two combats are fought in the lair. But there has evidently been a combination with the haunted house motif, for the witch first visits the tent of Asbjörn, where she slays twenty men.

3. In the combat with Beowulf Grendel loses his arm, a characteristic detail paralleled by the fact that Grettir cuts off the witch's arm.

4. The scene of the final fight is characteristic. Beowulf dives to the bottom of the pool, and is drawn into a fire-lighted den into which the water cannot come. In the *Grettissaga* the den, lighted by fire, is behind a waterfall above the surface of the water. In the *Ormssaga* the den is situated above the water.

5. Another detail is also characteristic. In *Beowulf*, when the Danes see the water stained with blood, they depart, believing that Beowulf has been vanquished. In the *Grettissaga* the priest, seeing the bloody entrails on the water's surface, believes Grettir dead, and leaves the spot.

6. The parallel of the swords is less definite. Beowulf's own sword, the *hæft-mece*,¹ is unavailing against Grendel's mother. But he finds another sword in the lair and with it kills his antagonist. A similar sword plays a part in the *Grettissaga*, but there is a variation from the original motif, which seems to have been that a demon could be slain by only one particular sword. The giant's sword is called a *hepti-sax*. It is the giant who, when his own *hepti-sax* becomes useless, reaches for another sword in the den. In the *Orms-*

¹ Schück translates *hæft-mece* and *hepti-sax* both as "shaft-sword, or a sword with a curious wooden shaft, or hilt."

saga the sword motif has been displaced by the magic gloves with which the hero overcomes his opponent.

7. At the beginning of the second episode in *Beowulf*, Grendel's mother carries off Aeschere, Hrothgar's dearest friend. This loss is avenged by Beowulf. In the *Ormssaga*, Asdbjörn first enters the lair and is killed, whereupon his comrade Orm avenges his death. This is the original motif, namely, that a hero is devoured by a monster of death but is avenged by his fosterbrother. *Beowulf* preserves merely the relic of this motif, for Aeschere is the dearest friend of Hrothgar, not of Beowulf. The *Grettissaga* does not contain this parallel.

From the above comparisons Schück concludes that the first two episodes of *Beowulf* were combined before the material reached the Anglo Saxon poet. For the existence of two demons in the Anglo-Saxon poem, as well as in the Icelandic sagas shows clearly that the combination of two fundamental motifs was made in the common source of these various stories. In regard to the literary relations of the *Beowulf* and the Icelandic sagas, the author accepts Vigfusson's theory in the main, namely, that "the old legend shot forth from its ancient Scandinavian home into two branches," one terminating in the English epic, the other in Icelandic popular saga.

If the epic is made up of three different stories there must originally have been three different heroes, or at least two of them, the hero of the demons and the hero of the dragon. It is to be observed that the name "Beowulf" is used for two different persons, one, the dimly delineated son of Scyld, and the other our hero. In a West Saxon genealogy we find Beow, the son of Scyld, and in the Anglo Saxon Chronicle Beaw, the son of Sceldwa. This Beaw, or Beow, seems to be identical with Beowulf, the son of Scyld in the epic. Now in endeavoring to discover the three heroes, one of two assumptions must be made, either that one hero was Beowulf and that the others have been forgotten, or that Beowulf combines the names of two heroes. The latter assumption is favored by the fact that the name Beow already exists outside of the epic. Of which story was Beow the hero, then? Clearly of the Grendel story, which is Danish in setting and in characters.

Then who was the hero of the dragon fight? It is a significant fact that the royal Scandinavian families were fond of alliterating names. The Danes were Healfdene, Heorogar, Hrothgar, Halga; Heorowearð; Hrethric, Hrothmund; and Hrothulf. The Swedes were Ongentheow; Ohtere, Onela; Eanmund and Eadgils. The Geats were Hrethel; Herebeald,

Haethcyn, Hygelac; and Heardred. Now we learn from the poem that the dragon hero was a Waegmunding. We also know that Weohstan and Wiglaf were his kinsmen. Applying the principle of alliteration, the name of the dragon hero should begin with the letter W. Perhaps it was Wulf, or Wulf plus another syllable. The conjecture is supported by the existence of the Wylfingas, or Ylfingas. Their founder must have been Wylf or Wulf. And the dragon hero may be identical with this same Wulf.

It now remains to find the hero of the third story, the fight with the sea monster. The poem calls Beowulf Ecgtheow's son. But Beow's father was Scyld, and Wulf's father was a Waegmunding, and in that house the names seem to alliterate on the letter w. Consequently Ecgtheow's son was a third person, doubtless the Grendelin hero. The three heroes were naively and crudely combined and thus we get "Beowulf, Ecgtheow's son."¹

III.

Schück's theory that the first part of the *Beowulf* is Danish saga material and that the second part is Geatish, is supported by his observation that the minor episodes of the first part are practically all Danish, and those of the second part, are practically all Geatish.

It is significant that the ~~second~~ second part of the poem contains only two brief allusions to Beowulf's Grendel exploit (2351-4; 2521). These are not organic and might have been inserted by the poet. The remaining episodes concern three different traditions; first, the Geats' raid into Friesland; second, a fratricide in the Geatish royal family; and, third, the Geatish-Swedish wars. Hygelac's raid into Friesland is historical and took place about 512. According to the poem Beowulf accompanied Hygelac and escaped by a remarkable feat of swimming. The second part of the poem mentions this raid in three different places. There is a slight allusion to it in the first part with reference to the Brising collar, but this is only casual and may have been an insertion by the poet. That Beowulf did not actually participate in this raid is to be inferred from the fact that he is not a historical figure. It

¹ The reader will, perhaps, observe some weakness in these arguments. Professor Schück has already said that the Grendel and Grendelin portions were combined early in the development of the saga. Was the hero then at that time called Beow, Ecgtheow's son if Beow was generally known as the son of Scyld? Furthermore, if Scyld's son slew Grendel at Hrothgar's hall, we shall have to explain how saga motif have combined with historical setting so as to form a new saga in which a grandfather cleansed the hall of his grandson. At any rate the poem makes it clear that Hrothgar was not the younger of the two men.

must have taken some time to connect the saga hero, a dragon-killer, with the historical tradition of Hygelac. The raid is described from a Geatish point of view and consequently the saga is Geatish.

Haethcyn's accidental slaying of his brother Herebeald is somewhat confusing as it stands in *Beowulf*. We get the impression (2450-2457) that Hrethel is left childless, while as a matter of fact he still has Hygelac as well as Haethcyn. This inconsistency probably indicates that originally there were only two brothers and that the surviving one had been put to death in retribution for the accident. However this is to be explained, the saga, because of its historical character, is Geatish in origin.

The Geatish-Swedish wars are spoken of in at least four different places in the dragon adventure, while in the first part of the poem there is only a slight allusion to Hygelac as the slayer of Ongentheow. The traditions of these wars are evidently Geatish for they are told from the Geats' point of view. It is interesting to note, that *Beowulf* plays no role in these struggles until the very end (2391-2395), when he assisted Eadgils. According to the poem, *Beowulf* did not participate during the strength of his youth. It was only in his "uferan dōgrum" that he gave assistance. The reason for this scanty and belated reference is plain. *Beowulf*, being a saga figure, never really took part in these wars at all, the connection being made later in story. This combination of saga and history is analogous to that in the *Nibelungen Lied*, in which historical tradition concerning the downfall of the Burgundians is interwoven with tales of the serpent-slayer Sigurd or Siegfried.

Judging from the minor episodes just discussed, it is clear that the Geats had a fairly large amount of saga material before the *Beowulf* epic was composed. It is also important to observe that the dragon part could stand by itself. Its independence is emphasised by the fact that it contains no allusions to the Angles, Saxons, or English, and only a passing remark about the Danes.

The Grendel and Grendelin portions of the epic are considered separately by Schück as to the character of their minor events. The episodes in the former fall into three groups, Danish, Danish-Friesian, and Germanic in general. The Germanic allusions are to the breast armor which was "Wēlandes geweorc" (455); the "Brōsinga mene" (1199); and the scop's comparison of *Beowulf* with Siegmund (875-897). The first two allusions are merely casual, and the poet perhaps did not have before him any definite lay or saga. The reference to Siegmund is probably based on some Germanic lay.

These three allusions to Germanic material are the only ones in the entire poem. A Danish-Frisian saga is presented in part in lines 1063-1159. The passages about Finn, which have no organic value in the epic, are to be considered Danish in origin, for the point of view is Danish. These references, like the Finnsburg fragment, are perhaps based on a collection of sagas or lays.

The third group of allusions deals with purely Danish material. The references to Heremod (898-913), which occur also in the Grendelin part (1709-1722), are apparently based on Danish lays. That the allusion to the coming of Scyld is based on Danish tradition is corroborated by Saxo's allusion.

The Grendelin part contains two allusions and two episodes. A reference to Heremod has been mentioned above. The future strife between Hrothgar and his nephew Hrolf Kraki is referred to in 1163-1165. Hrolf Kraki's enemy Hjorvard (Heorowearð) is mentioned in 2158-2161. An earlier allusion to the same strife was made in 81-85. Hence it appears, that the Anglo-Saxon poet knew the Danish sagas about Hrolf Kraki. The two episodes appear in "Beowulf's Return," a section of the epic which is doubtless original with the poet. The first narrates of the animosity between the Danes and the Heathobards (2032-2069). This has no direct bearing on the career of the hero, but the poet, mindful of some Danish tradition, has simply added this to the Danish lore already found in the Grendel-Grendelin saga. The second episode is based on the Offa saga (1931-1962). Schück thinks that Thryth was the wife of Offa II, Quendrida, or Cynethryth, who died in 796. This late date, with the fact that the introduction of the episode is abrupt and insufficiently motivated, leads him to conclude that the Thryth allusion is an interpolation after the poem was composed.

Schück's hypothesis that the Grendel hero and the Grendelin hero were originally different persons is at this point spun a little finer. He observes that the first was a land hero and the second a sea hero. Consequently when the first boasts of killing "niceras" (422), and of his race with Breca (499-581), he is alluding to sea exploits, and such allusions ought naturally to appear in the Grendelin portion. Hence Schück infers that the two heroes were combined early in Danish tradition and before this material reached the Beowulf poet.¹

The above examination of the heroes, the motifs, and the minor episodes and allusions in *Beowulf*, results in the conclusion that the Grendel-Grendelin saga was Danish, and that

¹ Why not infer from this evidence, thin as it is, that there never was more than one hero, and that he was amphibious in prowess?

around it were grouped a number of Danish sagas appearing in the corresponding part of the epic as episodes and allusions, and that the Geatish dragon saga was surrounded by a group of Geatish sagas which appear in the last part of the epic in a similar way, one saga cycle having grown up in Denmark and the other in Geatland. But in each of these main parts of the epic there is one saga that has its setting in Friesland. The first tells of the Finnsburg fight, the second, of the raid of Hygelac. One episode is told from the Danish, and the other, from the Geatish point of view, and neither from a Frisian point of view. This fact—that both poems (i. e. saga cycles) are set partly in Friesland—can hardly be a coincidence.¹ Upon this fact Professor Schück builds his theory, which he shares with Johannes Steenstrup, that the sagas reached England via Friesland.

There is evidence, says Schück, that the Northern countries had military and commercial relations with Friesland. Hygelac made his raid about 512. About 570 Venantius Fortunatus describes a combined expedition of Danes and Saxons into Friesland. And the poems tell of the fight at Finnsburg. That the road of commerce between Scandinavia and Southern Europe lay through Friesland is very probable because of this country's geographical location. In the *Vita Ansgarii* we have definite evidence that Dursteede was an important station on this road. The relations between England and Friesland, on the other hand, were mainly ecclesiastical. Bishop Wilfrid of York came over in 678, and other English missionaries followed him, among them St. Boniface.

Now, having argued that the Beowulf material existed in two separate cycles of sagas, one Danish, and one Geatish; having inferred a Frisian nativity of the epic, and having presented evidence that Danish, as well as Geatish warriors and merchants frequented Friesland, where according to history they might have met Englishmen, Professor Schück arrives at the conclusion that an English traveller had associated with these merchants, who were great story-tellers, and that, being impressed by the Grendel episode in one cycle and the dragon episode on the other, he combined the two into an epic. The young hero Beow was thus combined with the old hero Wulf. The Danish episodes and allusions, though somewhat obscured, kept their positions in the Beow part of the story, and the Geatish episodes and allusions similarly kept their place in the Wulf part of the story. The new hero Beowulf had to return to Geatland for his final deeds of prowess, so

¹ The translation of this passage is literal. I find no mention of other evidence from which Professor Schück might infer that the poem was composed in Friesland.

the Englishman composed the portion of the poem narrating that return. It might even be conjectured that the poet was the first to make the Grendel hero a Geat. For in the original Grendel story it was necessary only that the hero be a stranger.

The non-Scandinavian material in *Beowulf* is the allusions to Hama, Weland, and Siegmund. The poet may have got these either from England or from German merchants in Friesland. A detail of the poem, probably original with the poet, is the messenger's foreboding of hostility towards the Geats on the part of the Franks and Frisians. Such a fear would not naturally arise in the saga material of the North. Aside from these additions, the English redactor kept fairly close to his material. He emphasized certain episodes and subordinated others, but the general arrangement in two groups was adhered to. There is an almost total absence of cross reference, and the poem as it stands contains the Danish elements in one section and the Geatish in the other.

The foregoing summary indicates the main outlines of Professor Schück's argument. His theory is striking in its originality and its boldness, and it is presented with a good deal of effectiveness. Various objections will occur to the reader, one or two of which have been indicated in the foot-notes. But even if this ingenious hypothesis cannot stand, the general discussion and many suggestive details will prove to be of real service in the criticism of the poem.

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THE STAGE HISTORY OF SHAKESPEARE'S KING
RICHARD THE THIRD, by Alice I. Perry Wood. Pp.
186. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1909.

In the preface to this monograph Dr. Wood expressly rules out of her province discussions of text, date, and authorship, and confines the inquiry solely to tracing the fortunes of *Richard the Third* upon the stage. The wisdom of excluding problems of text and date from independent investigation, is questionable. The early history of this drama and its relationship to contemporary plays, as well as echoes and imitations of its lines by later writers, can scarcely be interpreted without some fairly definite assumptions as to the exact date of composition, and the authority of the Folio text as opposed to the Quarto. But in the present state of Shakespearian knowledge, these last two questions are far from settlement.

Dr. Wood's method of relating the *Richard* to contemporary dramas is not to seek for new sources, but to analyze

the chronicle history plays of the early nineties and to stress the conventional elements of this type, before giving a scene-by-scene analysis of Shakespeare's play. By this inductive method, the same method that is employed with far wider scope and keener penetration by Dr. C. R. Baskervill in his recent study, *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy*, Miss Wood makes the chronicle history a much more clearly defined *genre* than most critics have noticed. Frequently Dr. Woods finds occasion to acknowledge indebtedness to Professor Churchill's admirable monograph on the development of the Richard story (*Richard the Third up to Shakespeare, Palæstra*, No. 10, Berlin, 1900), and to Mr. F. G. Fleay's works on Elizabethan dramatic history.

Just here the book leaves something to be desired; the writer confidently relies on Mr. Fleay's conclusions. Since the preparation of her book, Mr. W. W. Greg in editing *Henslowe's Diary*, and Mr. J. T. Murray in his *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642*, have demonstrated how little dependence can be placed on Mr. Fleay's clever guesswork. But his results were subject to general suspicion long ago, and they should not have been accepted with such easy grace. For example, in a long foot-note at the bottom of pages 13-14, Dr. Wood lists "the extant tragedies and history plays produced between 1580 and 1594." One is surprised to find there no mention of the *Second and Third Parts of Henry the Sixth* or of *Richard the Second*, to go no further than Shakespeare. But the dates assigned are more questionable than the omissions. Taking the names almost at random, we have *Solyman and Perseda*, dated 1583; *The First Part of Jeronimo*, c. 1584; *Arden of Feversham*, 1585; and *King Leir*, 1588-9; when the consensus of present scholarly opinion is to date each play from two to five years later. The point is not that Dr. Wood's opinions are slightly at variance with those generally accepted, but that the dates appear without question marks; and the basis for them seems to be Mr. Fleay.

Later chapters of the book have chiefly to do with the substitution of Cibber's text on the stage for Shakespeare's, with contemporary accounts of the acting of Garrick, Kemble, Kean, Macready, Irving, and others in the title rôle, and, most valuable contribution of all, the history of *Richard the Third* on the American stage. This play, it seems, is the earliest recorded Shakespearian drama to be acted in the United States, being presented by certain Philadelphia comedians in New York, March 5, 1750, and again by an English company in New York in 1753. An excellent summary of the work, and an interpretation of the history involved, form a brief concluding chapter.

One or two errors of minor importance should be corrected. In the Index, p. 182, a reference to Howard; for "Sir Robert," read "James," Sir Robert's younger brother, and a less famous dramatist, but the man who provided a happy ending for *Romeo and Juliet*. On p. 85, n. 26, the lines quoted from *The Mirror for Magistrates*, should be tagged as consciously imitated from Chaucer's "Man of Law's Tale," ll. 834-861. Misprints are not numerous. The most serious one is a transposition of three lines of verse from the top of page 69 to the bottom, whereby they are lodged in a footnote instead of in the text.

While the work as a whole is not distinguished by brilliancy of treatment, it gives a straightforward account of some interesting chapters in different periods of English dramatic history, grouped about one of the most popular plays that Shakespeare wrote. Its special value lies in the right emphasis which it places on the relations of this play to its contemporaries, and the entertaining narrative of *Richard the Third* on the American stage.

The University of Texas.

ROBERT ADGER LAW.

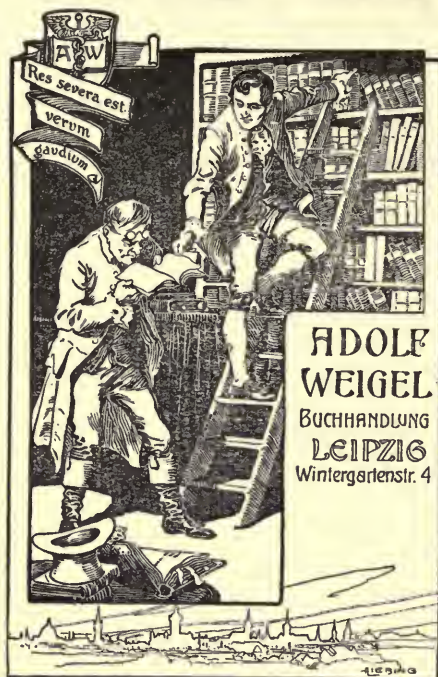
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GASTEREIEN, ETC.

[MIT EINER LATINISCHEN VERMANUNG DES HERRN RECTORIS.]

GEDRUCKT ZU WITTEMBERG DURCH GEORGEN RHAW, M. D.,
XLVI.

NACH dem der Durchleuchtigste vnd Hochgeborne Fürst vnd Herre / Herr Johans Fridrich Hertzog zu Sachssen / des heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertzmarschalh vnd Churfürst / Landtgraff in Düringen / Marggraff zu Meissen / vnd Burggraff zu Magdeburg / vnser gnedigster Herre / eine gemeine Landsordnung fürgenomen / von vber messiger kleidung / geschmuck / vnd bekostigung der Hochzeiten / Kindtauffen / vnd anderer Gastereien halben / Vnd vns / Rectorn / Magister / Doctorn / vnd personen dieser Vniuersitet zu Wittemberg / darinnen gnediglichen ausgeschlossen / doch also / das wir mit vorwissen S. Churfürstlichen G. vnter vns selbst ein Ordnung machen wolten / Dem nach inn vorsamletem rath / vnd nach nottürfftigem vorbedencken / wir vns / auff folgende masse / ordnung zuhalten / entschlossen.

ERSTLICH / VON DER KLEIDUNG DER DOCTORN VND LICENTIATEN.

Das die Doctores vnd Licentiaten / jrem stande zu ehren / vnd zu gutem Exempel / wie es souiel hundert Jar / bis auff diese zeit gewonlich gewesen / lange kleider tragen / also / das die röcke / eine kwere hand vnter die knie gehen.

Vnd dieweil die vnweise / mit dem zerschnitzeln / vnd mit souiel strichen am vorbremen / inn solchen personen kein wolstand-ist, sollen sie dasselb auch vnterlassen.

Welcher aber solchs nicht halten wirdet / der sol vom Rector vorwarnet werden / vnd so er dieses nicht endert / sol

er durch die Vniuersitet / vmb zehen gulden gestrafft werden / so oft er nach der verwarnung vbertrit.

VON DER MAGISTER / VND OBERN FACULTETEN BACCALAURIEN / KLEIDUNG.

Dergleichen sollen die Magistri / oder der obern Faculteten Baccalurej / sie sind Edel oder nicht / auch in welcher Facultet sie studiren / lange kleider / auff's wenigste vnter die knie / ein kwere hand tragen / vnd sollen keine sammete oder seidene röcke oder leibröcke / tragen / Aber seidene wammes vnd jecklein / als / von Damaschken / vnd schwarzen seidenem atlas / vnd nicht drüber / mögen sie tragen.

Sollen auch keine sammete Bareith oder schleplein* tragen / Doch sol jhnen erlaubt sein / vmb einen rock von gutem gewande oder schamlot / ein gebreme von sammet / eines fingers breit / Vnd sollen keine zerschnittelte kleider / wie sie namen haben mögen / tragen.

So oft aber einer vbertrit / sol er vmb fünff gulden / vnnachlessig / gestrafft werden.

VON KLEIDUNG DER EDELLEUT / DIE ZU WITTEMBERG / ALS STUDENTEN SIND.

Den Edelleuten / seind die kleider nach der achtung / werthschaft / vnd mit dem verbremen nachgelassen / wie den Magistris vnd Superiorum Facultatum Baccalaureis / Auch alle gantz vnzurschnittelt / vnd einer erlichen zimlichen lenge / Doch mögen sie Sammette Pareith oder Schleplein tragen / on allen geschmuck von Federn / Perlen / Golt / oder anderm gesticke / Vnd sollen hiemit gemeint sein / die / als Edelleut / von jren vier anhen geboren.

Aber Fürsten / Grauen / vnd Freiherrn seind hierinnen nicht begriffen / Sie sollen aber gleichwol ehrliche kleider tragen / jnen selbst zu ehren / vnd sich nicht leichtfertiglich halten.

Darbey sol allen Magistris / Edel vnd vnedeln / allen Studenten / Edel vnd vnedeln verboten sein / güldene Ketten / Tolchen oder Hessen ¹ mit Silbern scheiden / zu dem on das / solche wehren zutragen / verboten.

*Grimm, Dwb. IX, 649. Schleplein n. = Hütlein.

¹ Dwb. IV, 2 s. 1269. Eine Waffenart, nach Schmeller 2,249 ein Stossschwert. Jacob Grimm stellt in seiner Geschichte der deutschen Sprache die Vermutung auf, dass die Waffe nach dem Lande genannt sei.

Vnd / so einer vbertritt / soll er vmb fünff gülden gestrafft werden / vnd do er zum dritten mal strefflich worden / dieweil solchs als eine verachtung zuuorstehen / sol er ein jar Relegirt werden / Er sey ein Magister oder Edelman.

VON ALLER ANDERN STUDENTEN KLEIDUNG INN GEMEIN.

Alle andere Studenten / inn allen Faculteten / sollen nicht zurschnitzelte noch kurtze kleider tragen / sondern jre kleider ehrlich vnd einer zimlichen lenge sein / Nach dem es aber mit den kurtzen kleidern / bey dem Adel / vnd andern Studenten / seher gemein worden / Vnd die veränderung inn solchen kleidern / auff ein eile zugeschehen / nicht wol möglich / wollen wir / das in dem alleine gedult getragen / bis auff negst künfftig Michaelis / Also das ein jeder / er sey Edel oder vnedel / der alhie studiret / vnd dieser Vniuersitet freiheit geniessen wil / inn mitler weil sich darnach achte / vnd solche leichtfertige kleider ablege / vnd verändere / dann es zumahl ein grosse leichtfertigkeit / vnd misstand ist / so die jugent in kurtzen kleidern / vor ehrlichen vnd züchtigen Frawen vnd Jungfrawen gehet.

So soll auch allen Magistris / vnd andern / die Discipulos halten / geboten sein / das sie darauff sehen / damit dieselben ehrlich gekleidet gehen / vnd obberürte leichtfertigkeit / in kleidern vermieden werde.

Weiter sollen alle obgedachte Personen vnd Studenten / die nicht Magistri oder Edelleute sein / sich aller Seiden vnd Sammetten kleider / Jacken / Pareith vnd Schleplein enthalten / Doch soll jnen Cartecken ¹ / Schamlot ² vnd Vorstadt ³ zu Wammes / Jecklein vnd schleplein vnuerboten sein.

Vnd so einer inn vorgeschriebenen stücken vbertritt / sol er das erste mal / vmb drey gülden gestrafft / So er aber zum dritten mal solche straffe verachtet / ein Jar Relegirt werden.

¹ Carteck, m. ein seidenes Gewirk. Grimm, Dwb. II, 608.

² Grimm, Dwb. VIII, 2119. Shamlot < mlat. camelotum, ein im Mittelalter hochgeschätzter feiner Wollenstoff, zunächst ein aus Kamelhaaren bereiteter.

³ Vorstadt—nicht in den Wörterbüchern.

VON FRAWEN VND JUNGFRAWEN / VND ERSTLICH DER
DOCTORN VND LICENTIATEN HAUSFRAWEN / VND VN-
VORHEIRATEN TÖCHTERN / KLEIDUNG.

Wie von den Doctorn vnd Licentiaten gesagt / das sie
ihrem stande zu ehren / vnd guten Exempeln sich erlich sol-
len kleiden / Der gestalt sollen auch jhre Hausfrawen vnd
Töchtere mit der kleidung gebürliche masse halten / vnd
nicht Sammette Pareith vnd schleplein tragen / gefüttert oder
vngefüttert / auch Perlene oder geflitterte Hauben / doch
das jnen eine güldene vnuorflitterte Haube zutragen nachge-
lassen / Sollen auch vnten an seidenen röcken / kein höher
oder breiter gebreme tragen / dann einer hand breit / Aber
so ein alt kleid zu kurtz wirdet / mag man es mit einem zim-
lichen gebrem vorlengen / Doch sol das gebrem vnten nicht
besser sein / dann das gewant / dauon des kleid gemacht ist.

Vnd soll kein kleid mit gülden stücke oder Perlen ge-
sticke / vorberemet werden.

Wiewol sie sammette Jacken vnd Koller mögen tragen /
sollen sie doch die nicht zurschnitteln / noch mit gülden oder
silbern schnüren oder börtlein belegen.

Sollen auch nicht kurtze Mentelein tragen / vnten oder
oben vorberemet / odder / die vberschlege haben.

Item / Die hinder vberschlege an den langen schauben ¹ /
alle güldene Zöpfe / alle schleier durchaus vnd nach der
lenge / mit güldenen leisten / Flittern / oder Perlen beheff-
tet / sollen abgethan werden.

Vnd die weil Golt vnd Silber ein schatz ist / mügen sie
güldene Ketten / vnd silbern vbergülte Gürtel messiglich
tragen.

Es sollen aber güldene vnd silberne Armbende verboten
sein.

VON DER MAGISTER VND ANDERER VON DER VNIUERSI-
TET / FRAWEN / VND VNUORHEIRATEN TÖCHTER /
KLEIDUNG.

Diesen sollen alle Seidene kleider verboten sein / one Car-
tecken / Schamlot vnd Brückischer Atlas.²

¹ Schabe f. langes, weites, bis auf die Füße gehendes Oberkleid
für beide Geschlechter. Dw. VIII, 2297 ff.

² Identisch mit dem früher genannten "Vorstadt"?

Sammette koller / vnd damascken Jecklein / sollen jhnen zugelassen sein.

Die Röcke mögen oben mit dreier finger breit / sammet vorbremet werden.

Vnten / sollen sie kein gebreme an Röcken tragen / one so alte kleider erlengert werden / als dan / sol das gebreme nicht höher werd sein / dann das gewandt / dauon der Rock ist.

Sie mögen auch Perlene bendlein vnd börtlein tragen.

Sollen aber kein güldene Ketten / die vber funfftzig gülden wert sey / tragen. Zimliche silberne Gürtel / seind jnen zugelassen.

Mit den straffen / sol es gehalten werden / wie droben von den Mans personen geordent.

Dienstmegde / der Personen der Vniuersitet / sollen sich mit jrer kleidung vnd sonst halten / wie es durch vnsern gnedigsten herren / der Bürger Dinstgesindes halben / geordent.

VON HOCHZEITEN.

Wann ein Rector / Doctor / oder Licenciat / vor sich selbst Hochzeit hettet / einen Son oder Tochter ausgibet / der sol nicht mehr dann auff acht tische Geste / darzu zuladen haben.

Magistri vnd andere Personen der Vniuersitet / sollen nicht mehr dann auff sechs Tische zubitten / vnd zubesetzen haben.

Diener auff den Hochzeiten / die Essen vnd Trincken auff tragen / sollen nicht mehr dann zwene / auff einen Tisch gebraucht werden.

Zu allen Vorlößnissen / sollen nicht mehr dann ein Tisch Geste / oder Freunde geladen werden.

ESSEN AUFF DEN HOCHZEITEN.

Rector / Doctores vnd Licentiaten / sollen in jhrer / oder jhrer Son vnd Töchter Hochzeiten zu morgen malzeit / nicht vber sechs essen geben / vnd den abent fünffe / Weniger aber zu geben / sol inn jedes gefallen stehen.

Magistri vnd andere personen der Vniuersitet / mögen den morgen fünff essen / zu abend vier / vnd darüber nicht geben.

Die einheimischen Hochzeit Geste / sollen vber drey malzeit nicht gespeiset werden / wenn die Hochzeit auff ein abend angefangen / do sie aber des morgens angehet / sollen nicht mehr denn zwo malzeiten den tag gehalten / vnd den folgenden tag / die geste nicht mehr gespeiset werden.

Was aber frembde geste sein / mag man den dritten oder andern tag / nach dem die Hochzeit angefangen gewesen / ein früstucke geben.

Wes auch durch hochgedachten Churfürsten / vnsern gnedigsten herren / inn seiner Churfürstlichen ausgegangenen vnd gedruckten Ordnung* weiter vorschaffet / Das zucht vnd ehrliche masse / im Tantzen gehalten / Vordrehen / abstossen / vnd anderer vbelstand sollen vormieden werden / Auch die abendtentze / ausserhalb des Radthausen / abgethan sein / Von besoldung der Spielleute / ausspeisen / schanckungen auff Hochzeiten vnd Kindtauffen / Dergleichen / gefatterschaften / gastereien nach der Kindtauff vnd inn wochen / auch andern gastungen / abentzechen / vnd nachtsitzen / stille auff der gassen / gnediglich geordnet / vnd sein Churfürstlich gnad / mit ernst wollen gehalten haben / Solchs alles / wie es in berürtem drucke / angezeigter stücke halben begriffen / thun wir hieher erholen / vnd gebieten allen den vnsern / vnd vns vorwanten Personen sich jnn dem / vnd allen andern vorgehenden Artickeln / dieser vnser Ordnung / gehorsamlich zuhalten / bey peen vnd straff / so bey einem jeden Artickel vormeldet vnd ausgedrückt.

Vnd soll zu jeder zeit / der Rector *pro tempore* / auff diese stück / durch die Pedellen vnd sonst / ein auffsehen / vnd diese Ordnung handhaben / Vnd so er seumlich würde / soll jne die Vniuersitet darzu anhalten / vnd jhme treulich beistand leisten.

Die peen vnd straffen / sollen inn drey teil geteilt werden / wie es sonst mit andern straffen inn der Vniuersitet gehalten wirdet / Ein teil dem Fisco / der ander / dem Rector / vnd der dritte / den Pedellen / gebüren vnd gefallen.

*Des Churfürsten zu Sachssen etc. Vnd Burggrauen zu Magdeburg, Lands Ordnung. Von vbermessiger Kleidung, geschmuck, vnd beköstigung der Hochzeiten, Kindtauffen, vnd anderer Gastereien haben. 1546. 16. Bl. 27 S.

Vnd diese gefaste Ordnung / wollen wir das sie in vier wochen / nach dato vnd publication derselben / jren anfang sol haben / ausserhalb / mit der voranderung der kurzen kleider der studenten / die frist vnd zeit haben solle / bis auff Michaelis / wie oben vormeldet.

Damit auch niemand sich der vnwissenschaft dieser vnser ordnung zuentschuldigen / wollen wir / das zu jder zeit neben verkündigung der statuten öffentlich sol gelesen werden / zu dem wir sie auch inn druck gegeben / vnd darob mit vleis vnd ernst wollen halten / vnd gehalten haben / Zu urkund mit vnserm der Vniuersitet insiegel / vorsiegelt. Gegeben zu Wittemberg / Sontags Trinitatis. Anno M. D. xlvj.

In der Verordnung für das ganze Land heisst es am Schluss:

So hat sich auch vnser Vniuersitet zu Wittemberg / den Studenten / vnd gliedmassen der / Vniuersitet / hierinnen Ordnung zugeben / vnd darob zuhalten / vndertheniglich erboten.

Aus der allgemeinen Landesordnung bringe ich hier auch die genaue Definition der drei Stände zum Abdruck.

Abteilung der Stende in dieser Ordnung begriffen / ausserhalb der Grauen / Herren / des Adels / Doctorn / vnd vnserer Rethe / welche hiermit nicht gemeint sein / vnd jren halben mit der zeit auch Ordnung gemacht werden solle.

JN ERSTEN STAND.

Sollen gehören / Amptsvorwesen / die nicht Rethe / oder vom Adel sein / Schösser / Schultheiss / Gleitzleute / Zehender / Burgermeister / Richter / Schöppen / Ratspersonen / Müntz / vnd Bergkmeister / Bürger so sich von jren Lehengütern / oder mit redlicher Kauffmanschafft nehren / Stadtschreiber / Schulmeister / Bergknappen / vnd Müntzergesellen / so inn vnserm Landen nicht heuslich gesessen / Buchdruckerherrn / sampt jren Weibern / vnd vnuorheiraten kindern.

Die Pfarrer / Prediger / vnd Diaconi / werden sich mit der kleidung / vnd sonst jrem Stande nach / auff dass sie niemands zu nachrede / vnd ergernus vrsach geben / zuhalten wissen / Aber jrer Weiber / vnd kinderhalben / sol es gehal-

ten werden / wie jtz von dem ersten Stande meldung beschicht.

JN DEM ANDERN STANDE.

Sollen begriffen sein / gemeine Bürger / Handwercksleute / Kramer / Einwohner / Baccalaurien ausserhalb der Vniuersitet / Buchdruckers Gesellen / Steinmetzen / Vorstedter / Hausgenossen inn Stedten / Kirchner in Stedten / Handwercksgesellen / Dienstboten / Megde / vnd Knechte / sampt jren Weibern / vnuorheiraten kindern.

JN DEN DRITTEN STAND /

Pawern / Taglõner / sampt jren Weibern / Kindern / Knechten / vnd Megden.

Da das Wort "Barett" nicht ganz klar ist, lasse ich den Passus darüber aus der Landesordnung hier nachfolgen:

PARETHE.¹

Der erste Stand / Mag tragen ein Wüllen Pareth / mit Steinmardern / oder Marderkeulen gefuttert / Vnd darunter ein gefütterte / oder vngefüttete Cartecken Schleplein / auch eine Mützen vber einen gulden groschen nicht wirdig.

Der ander Stand / Mag tragen ein wüllen Pareth / mit Zmaschen oder Iltesen gefütterte / auch eine Mützen / vber einen halben gulden groschen nicht wirdig.

Der dritte Stand / Sol keine auslendische Pareth oder Schleplein tragen / Aber ein gering wüllen Schleplein / vber drey groschen nicht wirdig / auch ein Scheffene Mützen / Filtz oder Schaubhut / Vnd nichts höhers mögen sie wol tragen.

Es sol aber den Weibern vnd Töchtern / aller dreier stende / Sammette oder Seidene Pareth / zu tragen gantzlich verboten sein.

University of Wisconsin.

ERNST VOSS.

¹ Weigand, Dwb. das Barett—schirmlose runde oder eckige Kopfbedeckung Geistlicher und Doctoren.

Aus mlat. barrêtum, eig. birêtum und birrêtum, welches von lat. der birrus, das birrum = Oberkleid, Mantel, Bischofskleid.

Hier kann unter Pareth nur eine Art kurzen Mantels verstanden sein, ähnlich der über den Doctormantel (gown, engl.) herunterfallenden, hood, engl.

THE ATTITUDE OF GOETHE AND SCHILLER TOWARD THE FRENCH CLASSIC DRAMA

INTRODUCTION

The eighteenth century in Germany witnessed the slow break-up of a literary despotism and the establishment of the principles of a literary democracy which stood for the right to expression of individual—as opposed to collective—experience in suitably flexible forms. Seventeenth century France had bequeathed to Germany, along with social and political ideals, the mistaken notion that there was a set of rules—nearly rigid—by which all literary production was to be regulated. The brilliant literature of the French classic period had impressed the Germans, prostrate as they were from the after-effects of the Thirty Years' War, and it was only natural that they should turn to the sister nation for guidance. For more than a century, Germany's literary men sought to assimilate the rules of French composition vainly hoping to bring forth a literature comparable to that of the French.

With the opening of the eighteenth century, however, a rival entered the field, which was destined to put French ideals to flight: this was the literature of England. While the French type represented, in general, the formal intellectual elements of literary composition, the English ideal emphasized thought and feeling. These two ideals fought for supremacy long and bitterly, first in the strife between Gottsched on the one hand, and Bodmer and Breitinger on the other, later between Gottsched and Lessing. With the publication in 1767 of Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, the battle came to be waged most hotly in and about the drama. It was a question of who best represented the spirit of the ancient theater and the theories of Aristotle; Corneille, Boileau, Racine, and Voltaire, or Shakespeare? Lessing laid about him so stoutly with his criticism of the French ideals that he routed them from their position of domination in German letters, and victory came to rest with the freer, more virile, and more profound spirit of English literature. This movement reached its conclusion in the Storm and Stress

upheaval, which was simply an attempt to picture forth a world then newly discovered to modern German literature—that of feeling. When once the Germans had found their bearings, they struck out for themselves to seek their own destiny, and it was no longer a question of the rule of either English or French taste in Germany.

In the throes of the Storm and Stress movement, both Goethe and Schiller were born to German letters. Unlike the lesser men of the same period, they recovered their balance and gained a point of view which blended the formal and rationalistic elements characteristic of the French literature and the emotional and contemplative traits of the English. The struggle, then, between form and content, between collective and individual experience culminated in them.

It is the province of this investigation, in the light of what has been said above, to inquire into their attitude toward the French classic drama. This I have attempted to do by a study of what they said directly of it, and by inquiring into their attitude toward dramatic principles in general which are hostile or friendly to those espoused by the French. The deeper and more subtle question of the indirect influence of French drama and dramaturgy upon their own literary practice, of which they said nothing—and of which they themselves were beyond a doubt largely unaware—I have no more than touched upon here and there: the adequate consideration of such a problem does not fall within the range of this investigation.

The discussion has been divided into five chapters: chapters one and three take up for Goethe and Schiller respectively their general attitude toward the French classic drama both in its theory and in its concrete form; chapters two and four deal with their estimate of the individual dramatists and their works; chapter five, the conclusion, compares the opinion of the two men and attempts to arrive at some general conclusions concerning their contributions to the history of human ideals.*

*As sources for this study, I have used for Goethe the Weimar ed., Weimar, 1887-1909 (in four sections: I. literary works; II. scientific; III. dairies; IV. letters), the revised ed. of conversations by Flodoard v.

I

GOETHE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD FRENCH CLASSIC DRAMA IN
GENERAL

Goethe's attitude toward the French classic drama is, at bottom, his attitude toward various kinds of art in general. Pseudo-classicist, realist, classicist, and romanticist as he was in turn, it is natural to expect in his development a varying appreciation of the drama of the classic period of French literature. The following periods, differing widely from each other as regards his estimate of the dramatic productions of this age, stand out in his life. (a) the Frankfurt-Leipzig period, 1759-1770; this was a time when French influence most dominated Goethe: (b) the Storm and Stress period, 1770-1775, which began with his residence in Strassburg and acquaintance with Herder, and in which he protested vigorously against hampering limitations of form: (c) the period of silence, 1775-1799, which had no definite boundaries, for it grew gradually out of period (b) and shaded into period (d). This period marked a decided allegiance to classic Greek ideals but in it Goethe did not express any direct, important criticism of the classic art of the French. (d) The period of truest appreciation of French classic drama, 1799-1832. This period opened in the midst of Goethe's activity as director of the Weimar stage where he was endeavoring to institute a reform of the German theater.

Frankfurt-Leipzig Period, 1759-1770. In these years, Goethe was completely under the influence of French ideals. This was very natural, for his native city of Frankfurt was a cosmopolitan center in Goethe's time. *Dichtung und Wahrheit* gives a good idea of the various influences at work on the unusually receptive lad. French ideals of culture were not strangers in this city. The French themselves, their language,

Biedermann, Leipzig, 1911, and the ed. of *Urmeister* by Maync, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1911; for Schiller, the hist.-critical ed. by Goedeke, Stuttgart, 1867-1876, the ed. of his letters by Jonas, Stuttgart, Leipzig, and Berlin, n. d., and of his conversations by Petersen, Leipzig, 1911. I have examined all their writings—including paralipomena and text-readings—except the purely scientific works of Goethe found in sec. II. of Weimar ed.

their literature, and their theater were early known to and loved by him. He spoke French with servants, with the French soldiers quartered at his father's house during the occupation of Frankfurt (1759-1763), and he visited assiduously the French plays given in 1759 by a French troupe accompanying the army.¹ His delight in the French theater became a passion that grew with every play he saw, although, returning late home to meals, he often had to content himself with what was left on the table and at the same time to meet the strong disapproval of his father who thought his attendance at the plays a waste of time.²

The foreign troupe played comedy much oftener than tragedy. Goethe says that he understood it poorly. That was undoubtedly because of the witticisms in a foreign tongue, the very intimate relation of comedy to the life from which it springs, the merely suggested situations, and the rapidity of the action. On the other hand, the measured movement, the regularity of accent of the alexandrines, and the use of more general expressions made tragedy much easier of comprehension. The repertory of the troupe contained pieces of such authors as Molière, Destouches, Marivaux, La Chaussée, and perhaps also of Voltaire.³ And while there is no direct evidence that the masterpieces of Corneille and Racine were attempted on the stage, it seems probable from the fact that the young Goethe—as will be seen later—took to reading these writers with zeal. He was much impressed with the *Hypermnestre* of Lemierre, a philosophic tragedy, not exactly of the traditional classic type, which was characterized by rapidity of action, considerable pathos, and a rather nervous style. Of all the pieces which he saw, however, the half-allegoric, half-mythological dramas in the style of Piron appealed to him most.⁴ The play stirred him to a wider acquaintance with French literature. He studied Racine and read his dramas

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, I. Teil, 3. Buch; Weimarer Ausgabe, Abteilung I, Bd. 26, 141f.

² *D. u. W.*, I, 3; *W.*, I, 26, 166.

³ *Ibid*, 143; also Rossel, *Histoire des relations littéraires entre la France et l'Allemagne*, 532 (footnote).

⁴ *D. u. W.*, I, 3; *W.*, I, 26, 167.

aloud in true theatrical fashion with the greatest vivacity, although not always wholly understanding the words which he spoke. He even learned whole passages by heart and recited them.¹ And this when he was a lad of about twelve! He went so far as to try his hand at original composition in French. He tells in his autobiography how confidently he handed his first effort over to his companion, Derones, son of one of the members of the French company, for criticism. From him Goethe had heard so much of the three unities of Aristotle, of the regularity and symmetry of the French drama, of the probability of the situations, of the harmony of the verse, and of all that went along with these that he thought him a competent critic. "Er schalt auf die Engländer und verachtete die Deutschen; genug er trug mir die ganze dramaturgische Litanei vor, die ich in meinen Leben so oft musste wiederholen hören."²

By a merciless pulling to pieces and an arbitrary substitution of whole passages of his own, Derones completely disfigured Goethe's literary effort. Strange to say, this disappointment fanned rather than quenched the boy's enthusiasm. It aroused his interest in the matter of French dramaturgy. He read Corneille's treatise on the unities and the story of the quarrel over the *Cid*, but he became disgusted with the whole business. He then turned back with renewed interest to the presentation of the plays on the Frankfurt stage, and more zealously than ever he extended his reading knowledge of the French classics to include the whole of Racine and Molière, and a large part of Corneille. At this time, too, he, with other children of Frankfurt, gave a presentation of Racine's *Britannicus*, under the leadership of Schöff von Ohlenschläger. Goethe played the rôle of Nero and thoroughly enjoyed it.³ His enthusiasm for French literature now became so great at this time that he began a drama in French in the alexandrine meter.⁴

The stay in Leipzig, the "klein Paris," marked not a wan-

¹ *D. u. W.*, I, 3; *W.*, I, 26, 142.

² *D. u. W.*, I, 3; *W.*, I, 26, 169.

³ *D. u. W.*, I, 3; *W.*, I, 26, 170.

⁴ Bielschowsky, *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke*, I, 88.

ing but an intensifying of interest in French drama. He read Boileau, the theorist of this movement, and felt that his own literary ideals owed much to him and that he would be a safe guide to follow in French literature.¹ Though forced to the study of jurisprudence, Goethe was drawn by his inclinations more and more to literature.² On October 10, 1766, the new Leipzig theater was opened and Goethe was present.³ This event undoubtedly gave a new impulse to dramatic interest in the Saxon city. It is very likely that the young man was a familiar figure at the playhouse.⁴ Its repertory was largely made up of French pieces—for Gottsched ruled the stage—from such dramatists as Corneille, Molière, Voltaire, Destouches⁵ and in all probability Racine. The result of this contact with French dramatic art was the composition by Goethe of dramas of such thoroughgoing French spirit as *Die Laune des Verliebten* and *Die Mitschuldigen*, both in alexandrines.* He felt French classic art to be the acme of human effort, its limitations in form as indispensable, and he coveted a clear comprehension of its fundamental principles by which to judge his own works.⁶ †

Even before the opening of the next period, however, Goethe had already begun to pull at the moorings of the

* Curiously, however, in his earlier drama, *Balsazar*, he looked rather to English than to French tragedy for his verse form. Letters to Riese, Oct. 30, 1765; and to Cornelia, Dec. 7, 1765; W., IV, 1, 17 and 24.

† It is noteworthy, that, in the famous seventh book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*—the review of the literature contemporary with his younger years,—Goethe mentions French influence in Germany but once. He says that, as a result of the French tastes of Frederic the Great, a vast amount of French culture had come to Prussia, which had proved of negative value to the Germans by arousing them to oppose and offset it. *D. u. W.*, II, 7; W., I, 27, 105f.

¹ Letter to Cornelia, May 28 and Sept. 27, 1766; W., IV, 1, 54 and 70.

² *D. u. W.*, II, 6; W., I, 27, 50ff.

³ Sachs, *Goethes Beschäftigung mit französischer Sprache und Literatur*; Zs. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit., 23, 37.

⁴ Witkowski, *Goethe*, 40.

⁵ Sachs, 25, 37; letters to Cornelia, Oct. 13, Dec. 7, (reply to letter of Dec. 6), Dec. 23, 1765; W., IV, 1, pp. 9f, 24, 26, 28 and 32.

⁶ *Tag- und Jahreshefte*, 1764 bis 1769; W., I, 35, 3f.

French classic ideals, and by the time of his convalescence in Frankfurt, the poems which he had composed in Leipzig appeared to him cold, formal, and extremely superficial in their portrayal of the workings of the human heart and mind.¹

Storm and Stress Period, 1770-1775. Because of his interest in things French, Goethe chose Strassburg, which was then in French territory, as the place to continue his university work.² The months spent in the Alsatian capital, however, marked a decided turning point in the spiritual development of the young man. So, too, for his estimate of the French classic drama it was the closing of the first period—the time when he was under the influence of French classicism—and the opening of the Storm and Stress epoch, when content and spirit, not form, took first place in his literary philosophy.

The result of his stay in Strassburg was the exact opposite of what he had anticipated.³ The acquaintance with Herder and through him with the world of feeling and throbbing life in Hebrew and folk poetry, Shakespeare,* Ossian, and Homer opened up to the young man, dissatisfied with erudition, new vistas of human experience and hence of the possibilities of literary art.⁴ In comparison, the French literature of the 18th century especially seemed artificial and restrained, and showed decided signs of decay⁵—qualities utterly uncongenial to a youthful love of fullness of life. The new ideas meant life and liberty. In the exuberance of revolt against monotony, conventionality, timorous restraint, galling shackles, and decrepitude, Goethe fairly hissed forth his contempt for the rash and puny Frenchman, the "Französchchen," who had dared to don the armor of the Greeks. The French had mis-

* Herder's attitude toward the Elizabethan is well set forth in his essay, *Shakespeare*, in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (1773). This point of view undoubtedly helped to shape Goethe's Storm and Stress opinion of the Englishman.

¹ *D. u. W.*, II, 8; *W.*, I, 27, 216.

² *Ibid.*, III, 11; *W.*, I, 28, 50f.

³ *D. u. W.*, III, 11; *W.*, I, 28, 51.

⁴ *D. u. W.*, II, 19; *W.*, I, 27, 302-322; Bielschowsky, *Goethe*, I, 116f.

⁵ *D. u. W.*, III, 11; *W.*, I, 28, 57ff.

understood the spirit of Greek drama and they had based their dramatic literature upon this misinterpreted ancient drama. This was bad enough in itself, but when the Germans had blindly aped the French in this misunderstanding, dramatic art was indeed in a bad way. Almost nothing short of a new creation would dispel the chaotic darkness of perverted taste. Passages from a speech which Goethe delivered on Shakespeare's Day, October 14, 1771, in Frankfurt, in eulogy of the great Elizabethan, will best give an idea of his attitude—and incidentally of the exaggerated style of the "Geniezeit:"¹

"Ich zweifelte keinen Augenblick dem regelmässigen Theater zu entsagen. Es schien mir die Einheit des Orts so kerckermässig ängstlich, die Einheiten der Handlung und der Zeit lästige Fesseln unsrer Einbildungskraft. Ich sprang in die freye Luft, und fühlte erst dass ich Hände und Füsse hatte. Und ietzo da ich sahe, wieviel Unrecht mir die Herrn der Regel in ihrem Loch angethan haben, wie viel freye Seelen noch drinne sich krümmen, so wäre mir mein Herz geborsten, wenn ich ihnen nicht Fehde angekündigt hätte, und nicht täglich suchte ihre Türne zusammen zu schlagen.

"Das griechische Theater, das die Franzosen zum Muster nahmen, war, nach innrer und äusserer Beschaffenheit, so, dass eher ein Marquis den Alcibiades nachahmen könnte, als es Corneillen dem Sophokles zu folgen möglich wär.

"Erst Intermezzo des Gottesdiensts, dann feyerlich politisch, zeigte das Trauerspiel einzelne grose Handlungen der Väter, dem Volck, mit der reinen Einfalt der Vollkommenheit, erregte ganze grose Empfindungen in den Seelen, denn es war selbst ganz und gros.

"Und in was für Seelen!

"Griechischen! . . .

"Nun sag ich geschwind hinten drein: Französgen, was willst du mit der griechischen Rüstung, sie ist dir zu gros und zu schwer.

"Drum sind alle Französche Trauerspiele Parodien von sich selbst.

¹ Zum Shakespeares Tag; Oct. 14, 1771; W., I, 37, 131-135. (I have followed the spelling and punctuation of the critical editions of the works of Goethe and Schiller throughout.)

“Wie das so regelmässig zugeht, und dass sie einander ähnlich sind wie Schue, und auch langweilig mit unter, besonders *in genere* im vierten Act das wissen die Herren leider aus der Erfahrung und ich sage nichts davon.”

Then follows in exaggerated language praise of Shakespeare, great because of his conception of tragic situation and of his fidelity to nature. At the end is this fanfare to Goethe's deluded countrymen:

“Auf, meine Herren! trompeten Sie mir alle edle Seelen, aus dem Elysium, des sogenannten guten Geschmacks, wo sie schlaftrunken, in langweiliger Dämmerung halb sind, halb nicht sind, Leidenschafften im Herzen und kein Mark in den Knochen haben, und weil sie nicht müde genug zu ruhen und doch zu faul sind um tätig zu seyn, ihr Schatten Leben zwischen Myrten und Lorbeergebüschen verschlendern und vergähnen.”

Goethe expressed to Salzmann the need of finding a literary *genre* between the heavy pieces of Gottsched and the horseplay in the pieces of the Hanswurst type. In this spirit he wrote such realistic and defiantly unconventional works as *Götz*, the *Urfaust*, and the dramatic satires *Das Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern*—a travesty on the French classic drama,¹—*Satyros*, *Pater Brey*, and *Prometheus*.²

Toward the close of this period, however, his feeling toward the classic dramatic art of France had veered several points from the direction which it had taken at its opening. To be sure, he still expressed impatience with the dramatic critics for their continued insistence upon the circumspect observance of form—of length, of unities, and of similar matters—in a literary product. This opinion that almost anyone could bring forth a piece of literature by conscientiously exercising himself in certain mechanical rules, he vigorously repudiated.³ In common with the other leaders of the Storm and Stress movement, he believed that the true artist was he in whom the “Genius” dwelt as a living presence and through whom it

¹ Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, 246.

² Letter to Salzmann, Mar. 6, 1773; W., IV, 2, 66.

³ Aus Goethes Brieftasche; Mercier-Wagner, *Neuer Versuch über die Schauspielkunst*, ca. 1775; W., I, 37, 313 f.

spoke. Nevertheless, his radicalism of four years before had moderated enough to allow form a place in his literary philosophy. It still appealed to him as something unnatural in and of itself but necessary as a burning glass to focus the divine rays from the broad expanse of nature into the heart of man.¹

In retrospect, the Goethe of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* dated this change earlier and saw in the beginnings of a drama on the subject of Mahomet,* if not a return to French classicism, at least a tendency to reapproach the regular form to which he was attracted anew.² Minor, however, thinks that when Goethe wrote this passage he was looking through his experience as a translator of Voltaire and therefore very easily came to ascribe to his own earlier plan the regularity of the French drama.^{3†}

Period of Silence, 1775-1799. These dates set off a time in Goethe's life during which, with a single exception ‡ he expressed no direct critical opinion of the French classical drama. It is surprising that a *genre* which had aroused first his keen interest as the perfection of human artistic effort and

* Gräff, *Goethe über seine Dichtungen*, II, 4, 519, dates it 1772 (?).

† It is noticeable that up to 1775 Goethe mentioned but once (letter to Oeser, Oct. 14, 1769; W., IV, 1, 205) Lessing, who, in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*—especially in the 80th and 81st chapters—had driven the French from their place of supremacy over German letters. This is perhaps accounted for when Lessing's attitude toward the Storm and Stress movement and Goethe's *Götz* is recalled (Schmidt, *Lessing*, 2, 55ff).

‡ He saw Crébillon's *Electre* in an Italian translation in Venice and it disgusted him as insipid and tedious. (Italian Journey, diaries, Oct. 7, 1786; W., III, 1, 275.) In the Esther parody found in *Das Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern*, he hit off the style of the *haute tragédie* of the French, and in 1781, in *Das Neueste von Plundersweilern*, he had a little fun at the expense of the French tragedy, but these satires hardly constitute critical opinion. (W., I, 16, 54.)

¹ Aus Goethes Brieftasche; Mercier-Wagner, *Neuer Versuch über die Schauspielkunst*, ca. 1775; W., I, 37, 314.

² D. u. W., III, 14; W., I, 28, 295.

³ *Goethes Mahomet, ein Vortrag*, 58.

then his utter disapproval should be almost unmentioned critically for twenty-four years.*

Of course, part of this period—eleven years, from his advent in Weimar (1775) down to his trip to Italy (1786)—covers the time of his career as a minister at the court of Karl August when he was engrossed in affairs of state and his attention was largely drawn away from literature.

What, however, was the reason for the silence of the subsequent thirteen years? It could scarcely be fortuitous. Was it a time of gradual approach to the favorable attitude of the last period, or did the enthusiasm for ancient art force the consideration of that of France into the background? The latter alternative seems more likely, but the evidence is by no means one-sided.

In general, this period shows a modifying of Goethe's radicalism in all directions. The acquaintance with Frau von Stein and his increasing and intimate interest in the established order of society as represented in the government of Karl August induced a slowing down of Goethe's Storm and Stress pulse and a calmer outlook on life. It marked the beginning of conservatism—a common ground on which it would be more easily possible for him to sympathize with the spirit of institutionalism as opposed to that of his own earlier individualism. In this period the idea of limiting the individual was not so galling to him. Such a point of view would at least make him more open to a truer appreciation of the French classic drama—the product of a highly absolutistic society.

Then, another element which might have helped to recon-

* Corneille is mentioned twice:—conversation with Iffland, Dec. 22, 1779; Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*, 1, 103; letter to Frau v. Stein, Feb. 3, 1781; W., IV, 5, 45; Molière eight times:—diaries, Feb. 5 and 7, 1777; Oct. 20, 1778; June 10, 1779; Jan. 22, 1798; Apr. 24, 1799; W., III, vol. 1, pp. 33, 71, 86, and vol. 2, pp. 197f, 243; letters to Frau v. Stein, Apr. 12, 1782; to Karl August, Nov. 17 and Dec. 8, 1787; W., IV, 5, 309; 8, 294, 306; Voltaire twice:—conversation with Leisewitz, Aug. 14, 1780; B., 1, 107; diaries, Jan. 12, 1799; W., III, 2, 229; Crébillon:—Italian Journey, diaries, Oct. 7, 1786; W., III, 1, 275; Destouches once:—diaries, Apr. 16, 1799; W., III, 2, 242; and French classic drama in general twice:—letter to Dalberg, Apr. 10, 1780; W., IV, 4, 207; *Das Neueste von Plundersweilern*; 1781; W., I, 16, 54.

cile him with French ideals was the French culture of the Weimar court.¹ In such an atmosphere, French literature and French ways of looking at things must certainly again have had an influence upon him.

Nevertheless, when Goethe took up his pen again in 1786, he did not express any attitude toward French classic drama although during the two years following he was revelling in classicism in Italy. This visit to the South marked a development in him of enthusiasm for the noble simplicity, quiet grandeur, and moderation of Greek art, and a growth away from those ideals which produced the impetuous overflow of spirits of a *Götz von Berlichingen* to those which found expression in the noble dignity of an *Iphigenie*.

In his essay on *Epic and Dramatic Poetry*, contained in the Goethe-Schiller correspondence* and written in 1797, Goethe gave expression to his ideas on the rules governing these *genres*. In some ways he approached the standpoint of the French drama. In his opinion, for example, the action of the piece must be limited in time,² but he did not restrict it to the conventional twenty-four hours of French tragedy. Tragic action consists, not in "alarums and excursions" but in soul conflicts, that is, the struggle should be an inner rather than an external one, and therefore needs little extent in space.³ The characters, too, he said, are best of a certain degree of culture⁴ so as to be capable of a high degree of self-expression. They should be influential, not because they are kings, or priests, or warriors, but because they possess personality. Goethe's *Iphigenie* is a good type of such a character. On the other hand, he repudiated the French use of the epic element in the drama, their employment of narration as a substitute for action completely present.⁵

In 1798-99, in commenting upon Diderot's *Essai de la*

* This essay was originally a supplement to Goethe's letter to Schiller, Dec. 23, 1797 (W., IV, 12, 381), W., I, 41², 521.

¹ Rossel, 439; Köster, 246.

² *Über epische und dramatische Dichtung*; 1797; W., I, 41², 220.

³ *Ueber epische und dramatische Dichtung*; 1797; W., I, 41², 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 220.

peinture, Goethe, in opposition to the French writer, emphasized the idea that rules and forms arise, not from without, but from within the soul of a great genius; they are results, not causes. Utterly futile is the attempt to force genius to conform to art credos developed in other times and other places. No nation has the supreme and only inspired word on art and hence no right to foist upon other peoples as an absolute norm, even the results of their best experience.*¹

True, it is of art in general and not of French dramaturgy in particular that he is here speaking, but from this statement it is easy to perceive the real point at issue between Goethe and French classic dramaturgy: the former saw more beauty in content and spirit clothed in appropriate form, while the latter saw the greater beauty in form. The difference between these two points of view is very fundamental and one which Goethe felt throughout his life, except in the Frankfurt-Leipzig period.

It seems fairly certain, then, that Goethe's growing enthusiasm for the classic point of view in this period, his appreciation of French classic dramaturgy increased only in so far as he esteemed it to have caught the spirit of the ancients.

* This is a larger development, but in a calmer fashion, of the idea contained in embryo in the Shakespeare speech (cf. above, p. 516) and more explicitly stated in the Mercier-Wagner essay of the same period (cf. above, p. 517).

¹ Sie (artists or nations) conveniren nicht über diess und jenes, das aber anders sein könnte, sie reden nicht mit einander ab, etwas Ungeschicktes für das Rechte gelten zu lassen, sondern sie bilden zuletzt die Regeln aus sich selbst, nach Kunstgesetzen, die eben so wahr in der Natur des bildenden Genies liegen als die grosse allgemeine Natur die organischen Gesetze ewig thätig bewahrt. Es ist hier gar die Frage nicht, auf welchem Raum der Erde, unter welcher Nation, zu welcher Zeit man dieses Regeln entdeckt und befolgt habe. Es ist die Frage nicht, ob man an andern Orten, zu andern Zeiten, unter andern Umständen davon abgewichen sei, ob man hie und da etwas Conventionelles dem Gesetzmässigen substituirt habe; ja es ist nicht einmal die Frage, ob die echten Regeln jemals gefunden oder befolgt worden sind? sondern man muss kühn behaupten, dass sie gefunden werden müssen und dass, wenn wir sie dem Genie nicht vorschreiben können, wir sie von dem Genie zu empfangen haben, das sich selbst in seiner höchsten Ausbildung fühlt und seinen Wirkungskreis nicht verkennt. *Diderots Versuch über die Malerei*; W., I, 45, 257f.

He shows no liking for elements typically French; indeed, he criticises the French writers indirectly for their attitude in believing themselves the only recipients of the inspired word of dramatic law and for their tendency not to represent action as completely present. The points of which Goethe does grow in appreciation in these twenty-four years are: the use of verse in elevated drama,¹ the stricter observance of the unities of time and place, the beauty of the inward as opposed to the outward struggle on the stage, the elevated rank of tragic characters, and a general tone of moderation, simplicity, and grandeur—all points found in Greek practice. It was, apparently, the necessity of providing a more dignified art for the German stage that gave the impetus in the next period to his more favorable attitude toward French classical drama and broke the silence of a quarter century.

Something should be said here of the expressions of opinion of the French classic drama in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and especially in the first version of this work, *Wilhelm Meisters Theatralische Sendung*, or the *Urmeister*. In the latter several pages are taken up with a discussion of the French dramaturgy—material which was omitted from the final version altogether. For example, during Wilhelm's convalescence, after the close of the affair with Marianne, Werner visits his friend each evening to divert his attention from his misfortune. Among other things Werner, who has been reading Corneille, is much confused by the quarrel over the rules and unities and expresses a great desire for a standard of judgment in theatrical matters. To help his friend out of the difficulty, Goethe-Wilhelm, who has thought much on such affairs and has acquired a point of view, utters some very sensible words about the troublesome unities: he declares any rule good which is based upon real observation of nature and in harmony with the character of an object and is of its very essence. As to the unities, there are a dozen—unity of customs and manners (*Sitten*), of tone, of language, of character drawing (*Charakter in sich*), of dress, of decoration, and of illumination (*Erleuchtung*)—quite as important as the noted three of the French. He grows enthusiastic over

¹ Letter to Schiller, Nov. 25, 1797; W., IV, 12, 361.

Corneille for his independence and nobility of his characters, for his skill in handling situation, and for the rhetorical quality of his verse.¹

These sentiments do not necessarily reveal Goethe's attitude during the years 1777ca-1782, the period of composition of the *Urmeister*, but they seem rather his feelings of the Frankfurt-Leipzig period as modified by the point of view of the later Storm and Stress;² for it is apparent that these recollections are tinged with a mature and more liberal view of art than Goethe had attained in either the Frankfurt-Leipzig or in the early Storm and Stress period. Nor can the decidedly pro-French attitude of the *Lehrjahre* proper and the admiration for Racine³ especially be definitely stamped as a product of the early Weimar years, but it seems to have its roots in the boyish enthusiasm for a brilliant court life and for the French drama.

Period of Truest Appreciation, 1799-1832. "The chief lack of our theater and the reason that neither players nor spectators get a proper idea of what it should be is, in general, the variegated nature of what appears on our boards and the default of suitable limits by which one can form one's taste. It seems to me to be no advantage that we have widened out our theater to take in, as it were, the limitless spectacle of nature. Neither directors nor actors, however, can set narrower limits until the taste of the nation itself shall mark out the proper bounds. Every good society can exist only under certain conditions; so it is, too, with a good theater. Certain manners and ways of speech, certain subjects and sorts of behavior must be excluded. One does not become poorer for limiting one's household."⁴

Possibly it was while confronted with the practical problems of theatrical management that Goethe wrote the above words in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. It was a time, in Germany, when the ideals for the drama in the modern sense were

¹ Maync, *Goethe. Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung*, 76.

² Billeter, *Wilhelm Meisters Theatralische Sendung*, Einleitung, 6-10; cf. above p. 517.

³ *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, III, 8; W., I, 21, 288f.

⁴ *Lehrjahre*, V. 16; W., I, 22, 232f.

in process of formation. Goethe longed for a more artistic type than was prevalent and it was the increasing sense of this lack which formed for him the connecting link with the classic dramatic art of the French. When Goethe had first taken over the direction of the court theater in 1791, he felt little interest in his task. As time went on, however, and especially under the impulse of the friendship with Schiller, he manifested an increasing determination to make this stage the home of a dignified art,¹ but he found himself confronted by two problems which put his ideals for the drama to a severe test; first, how to get his actors to speak their rôles in a distinct and dignified fashion; and second, how to wean the public from a taste for vapid realism, crass naturalism, rant, and diseased passion to an appreciation of a more elevated, restrained and dignified drama.² By 1796, however, a long hoped-for visit of Iffland gave a new impulse to correct acting, and in 1798, Schiller came to his friend's aid with a noble example of dramatic art in verse, *Wallenstein*.³ These beginnings were excellent, but only a small part of what was needed. It was in this time* of appreciation of a regular and elevated drama and in his hour of need as a theatrical manager that he received Wilhelm von Humboldt's letter from Paris. Here Humboldt set forth soundly and at considerable length the merits and defects of French histrionic and dramatic art, laying especial emphasis on what the Germans might learn from their neighbors in the way of an artistic drama. He also indicated that the French had more passion and "Lebensgefühl" in their dramatic literature than had been supposed.⁴

This letter impressed Goethe profoundly and helped him, as he says, to a clear conception of French classic drama.⁵ Here in the one-time despised literature he found an art—not the noblest to be sure, but a worthy and lofty one⁶—which

* August 1799.

¹ Devrient, *Gesch. d. deut. Schauspielkunst*, 2, 71ff.

² Wahle, *Das Weimarer Theater unter Goethes Leitung*, 71ff.

³ Ibid, 60ff, 96ff, 132.

⁴ *Propyläen*, 3, 66-109.

⁵ Letter to v. Humboldt, Oct. 28, 1799; W., IV, 14, 209.

⁶ *Einige Szenen aus Mahomet nach Voltaire*; ca. Oct. 15, 1799; W., I, 40, 67ff.

could very well serve his purpose for the Weimar stage, and which gave opportunity to re-introduce verse as the proper medium of tragedy,¹—a reform which lay very near his heart. Enlightened and made enthusiastic by Humboldt's letter, he prosecuted more vigorously² the translation of Voltaire's *Mahomet*, which had been begun at the request of the Duke.³

Goethe's reawakened interest in the French classic drama was thoroughgoing: he not only read it again with increased pleasure,⁴ but the next year he began staging French classic pieces, among them Molière's *Avare*, Corneille's *Cid* and *Rodegune*, Racine's *Mithridate* and *Phèdre*, and Voltaire's *Zaïre*, *Mort de César*, *Mahomet*, and *Tancrède*.⁵ Of these dramas Goethe himself translated the last two.*

On the whole, throughout this period, Goethe manifested no variation from this moderately but genuinely appreciative attitude toward the classic drama of the French. To be sure,

* Of the seventy-nine foreign dramas played on the Weimar stage during Goethe's directorship, thirty-six, or nearly one-half were French. Heine, *Die Ausländischen Dramen im Spielplane des Weimariſchen Theaters unter Goethes Leitung*, Zs. f. vgl. Lit.-Gesch., N. F., 4, 314.

¹ Wahle, 135.

² Dieser Aufsatz, (Humboldt's letter, *Propyläen*, 3, 66-109) welcher sehr zur rechten Zeit kam, hat auf mich und Schillern einen besondern Einfluss gehabt und unser Anschauen des französischen Theaters völlig ins Klare gebracht. Durch eine sonderbare Veranlassung übersetzte ich den Mahomet des Voltaire ins Deutsche. Ohne Ihren Brief wäre mir dieses Experiment nicht gelungen, ja ich hätte es nicht unternehmen mögen. Da ich das Stück nicht allein ins Deutsche, sondern, wo möglich, für die Deutschen übersetzen möchte; so war mir Ihre Charakteristik beyder Nationen über diesen Punct ein äusserst glücklicher Leitstern und ist es noch jetzt bei der Ausarbeitung. So wird auch die Wirkung des Stücks auf dem Theater Ihre Bemerkungen, wie ich voraussehe, völlig bekräftigen. Letter to W. v. Humboldt, Oct. 28, 1799; W., IV, 14, 209.

³ *Briefwechsel Karl Augusts mit Goethe*, 252.

⁴ Seitdem mir Humboldts Brief und die Bearbeitung Mahomets ein neues Licht über die französische Bühne aufgestellt haben, seitdem mag ich lieber ihre (the French) Stücke lesen und habe mich jetzt an den Crebillon begeben. Letter to Schiller, Oct. 23, 1799; W., IV, 14, 203.

⁵ Heine, 4, 317ff; Burkhardt, *Das Repertoire des Weimariſchen Theaters unter Goethes Leitung*, 1791-1817; *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, 1, 35-104.

there are several statements of his which might be quoted to prove the contrary, for Goethe's sensitive nature reacted differently toward this, as many another subject, under varying moods and in different presences. With one person he might point out its defects, with another he might dwell on its merits. To illustrate this apparently unstable attitude let me juxtapose some statements which seem to approach contradiction of each other.

When Frau von Staël visited Weimar in 1804, he felt heartily out of sympathy with the restricted form and unnatural pathos of the French classic drama* and he declared that the Germans would rather do without the kernel of value in French drama than thresh over a mass of worthless straw.¹

In a more appreciative mood, in a letter to Schiller the following year (1805), he felt that in their treatment of French literature either as a model or otherwise, they had regarded it as too stiff.² Again, in 1808, saddened by the sight of so many young and promising German talents shipwrecking on the rocks of Romanticism with its lack of form and technique, he felt that, in the mastery of form,³ in many of the limitations,⁴ and in the unity of idea although mechanically interpreted,⁵ there were qualities which should not be considered too unkindly and which should to a certain degree be coveted.^{4, 6}

Writing to a Frenchman, de Vitry, in 1824, Goethe declared that it would always be a pleasure to feel himself somewhat in accord with French literature which he had always

* This was perhaps due to the personality of Frau von Staël herself, with whom he had little patience.

¹ Es ward abermals klar, der Deutsche möchte wohl auf ewig dieser beschränkten Form, diesem abgemessenen und aufgedunsenen Pathos entsagt haben. Den darunter verborgenen hübschen natürlichen Kern mag er lieber entbehren, als ihn aus so vieler nach und nach darum gehüllten Unnatur gutnützig herausklauben. *Biographische Einzelheiten*; 1804, W., I, 36, 262.

² Letter to Schiller, Feb. 28, 1805; W., IV, 17, 263.

³ Letter to C. F. v. Reinhard, Mar. 30, 1827; W., IV, 42, 112.

⁴ Conversation with v. Humboldt, Nov. 17, 18, 1808; B., 2, 5.

⁵ Conversation with S. Boisserée, Aug. 7, 1815; B., 2, 320.

⁶ Conversation with Falk, Feb. 1810; B., 2, 67.

highly appreciated and to which he owed so much.¹ The following year (1825), he assumed a less sympathetic attitude. He saw in French literature not the expression of the universal, but rather many elements of the unusual which would cause it to age.² Again, in 1828, he asserted that much of the Frenchman's admiration for his drama was worship of aristocracy of dramatic convention, and that this regard caused him to forget that he was in reality greatly bored.³ But, again, compare with these last two expressions of opinion a statement to Kozmian in 1830 that the masterpieces of the French stage will remain masterpieces forever.⁴

Stephan Schütze reports a conversation* with Goethe in which this very changeableness of attitude is brought out:⁵ "One must not at all believe that Goethe always remained fixed in his views. No! but it was the very fact that he was always open to conviction and continually subjected things to new investigation and that which for the time being seemed to him certain to new tests, which made him receptive for such different things. His doubting and his accepting often went to strange lengths. He said to me once: 'I don't know after all but that the French (in their classic tragedy) were on the right road.' Perhaps he said this in his own interest since in his own dramas, because of the increasing epic serenity of his own nature, he let his characters give full expression to themselves—which of course is the main thing—in long speeches and with little display of physical action. That, in this way, he could produce no theatrical effects, he recognized afterwards and said, 'I have written *against* the theater'".

As to a strict interpretation of the unities, Goethe was in the main never very friendly; yet on some occasions he seemed to value them more highly than on others. In 1808, Napoleon, discussing with him the French theater, reproached the Ger-

* At the home of Johanna Schopenhauer.

¹ Mar. 29, 1824; W., IV, 38, 97.

² Conversation with Eckermann, June 11, 1825; B., 3, 210f.

³ *Französischer Haupttheater*; 1828; W., I, 40, 134.

⁴ Conversation with Kozmian, May 8, 1830; B., 4, 270.

⁵ 1806, 1807, and later; B., 2, 240.

mans with laxity in this respect. Goethe replied, "Sire, les unités chez nous ne sont pas essentielles."¹ In his *Maximen und Reflexionen über Literatur und Ethik*,* he declared that there was nothing to be said against the three unities when the subject was very simple. Even a larger number ("drei mal drei Einheiten"), cleverly employed, might on occasion be effective.² In the mask, *Mahomet*, in 1818, he asserted that the drama in all its plenitude of incident must limit itself in time, place, and action as in the French and Greek theater.³ Then, in a different mood, he spoke of the Scylla of the three unities and declared that it mattered little where or how one admitted the improbable on the stage as long as there had to be improbabilities if there was to be any drama at all.⁴ Discussing the same point with Eckermann in 1825, he said that the French had misunderstood the spirit of the Greek drama, had divorced the unities from their cause, and had come to worship them as good in themselves, and had overlooked the fact that with the Greeks the proper presentation of a dramatic subject was more than the observance of any rules. In other words, the unities are useful in so far as they aid in making a drama more comprehensible. Unfortunately, the French, in their over-anxiety to follow rules of thumb, sin against the very comprehensibility which they desire, by substituting narration for action.⁵ This is apparently the crux of the whole matter in Goethe's mind, as far as the question of the unities is concerned.†

* I could find no date for this other than that of *Kunst und Altertum*, 1817-1827.

¹ Conversation with Napoleon, Sept. 30 and following days, 1808; B., 1, 541.

² *Maximen und Reflexionen über Literatur und Ethik; Aus Kunst und Altertum*; W., I, 42², 159. (1817-1827).

³ *Maskenzug von 1818, Mahomet*; W., I, 16, 279.

⁴ Conversation with v. Müller, May 8, 1822; B., 2, 571.

⁵ Conversation with Eckermann, Feb. 24, 1825; B., 3, 162f.

† In this connection, Goethe's changing attitude toward Shakespeare and the Englishman's disregard of the unities is interesting. In 1815 he denied the Elizabethan the unity of idea which the French observed, but mechanically (conversation with Boisserée, Aug. 7, 1815; B., 2, 320), and deemed him epic and philosophic rather than dramatic (conversation with Boisserée and Thibaut, Sept. 20, 1815; B., 2, 343f). In 1818, he felt

In a word, Goethe's final attitude toward the French classic drama was that, in so far as it represented artistic self-control and not artistic malnutrition, it was true art. It was his belief that the dramatic genius, at first avoiding all limitations as unnatural, tended more and more to produce according to rules, developed from his own experience and thus to approach nearer the strictness of form of French tragedy. He regarded the Greek drama not as an arbitrary model but as the acme of dramatic production—and therefore to be followed—because the insight of the ancient Greeks into the nature of the drama had been so keen that none had yet surpassed their discoveries in this field. He did not bow down to worship these forms because they bore the stamp of the authority of an Aristotle or of a French Academy, but because he felt that these rules, rightly understood, sprang from the nature of the drama itself. Here is the essential difference between Goethe's point of view and that of French classicism: he refused recognition to any rules of literary creation imposed by tradition or convention, acknowledging only those arising from inner necessity.*¹

II

GOETHE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD FRENCH CLASSIC DRAMATISTS IN PARTICULAR

Corneille. Goethe refers to Corneille but few times and only twice at length. Although he had read him largely as

the same lack (*Maskenzug von 1818 Mahomet*; W., I., 16, 279), but in 1825, he acknowledged that, in spite of this defect Shakespeare's pieces are easily understood while those of the French, with their Pharisaic observance of the law, are not. (conversation with Eckerman, Nov. 24, 1824; B., 3, 143).

* In this connection should be mentioned Goethe's attitude toward A. W. Schlegel's criticism of French drama. In the beginning he felt in fullest accord with his statements—and perhaps continued to be so with reference to French tragedy—but later Goethe took umbrage at his low estimate of Molière and declared this critic an unsafe guide. (Letters to Eichstädt, Nov. 18, 1807; W., IV, 19, 459f; to Frau v. Stein, Nov. 19, 1807; *ibid.*, 19, 461; to v. Knebel, Jan. 10, 1810; *ibid.*, 21, 161; conversation with Eckermann, Mar. 28, 1827; B., 3, 359f.)

¹ Cf. p. 521, note 1, also letter to Reinhard, Mar. 30, 1827; W., IV, 42, 112.

early as 1761,¹ he mentions by name but three of his dramas: the *Cid* five times,² *Cinna* twice,³ and *Nicomède* once.⁴ The earliest mention at any length,—found in the *Urmeister*,—(above, p. 14) shows Goethe very enthusiastic over the powerful situations, the noble characters, the simplicity, beauty, grandeur, and naturalness of his pieces and also over the dramatist's own nobility of soul shining through his situations and personages. "Ich bewundere, was über mir ist," says Goethe, "ich beurteile es nicht . . . Eine tiefere innere Selbständigkeit ist der Grund aller seiner Charaktere, Stärke des Geistes in allen Situationen ist das Liebste, was er schildert. Lass auch, dass sie in seinen jüngern Stücken manchmal als Rodomontade aufschlägt und in seinem Alter zu Härte vertrocknet, so bleibt es immer eine edle Seele, deren Aeusserungen uns wohl thun."⁵

Something of the same exalted opinion he expressed to Eckermann in 1827: he saw in Corneille a man of noble mind, fitted to inspire heroic souls, one at once prolific and possessed of a potent and lofty spirit manifest in all his work, although less felicitously in those of his youth and of his later years. It was this quality in Corneille which appealed to Napoleon, who needed a stout-hearted people, and caused the Emperor to say that, if the poet were living, he would make him a prince.⁶

A short statement in *Maximen und Reflexionen über Literatur und Ethik* also sheds light on Goethe's estimate of him. "Durch die despotische Unvernunft des Cardinal Richelieu war Corneille an sich selbst irre geworden."⁷ This very evidently refers to the quarrel over the *Cid* and the way in which Corneille had been turned aside from the dramatic pro-

¹ *D. u. W.*, I, 3; *W.*, I, 26, 171.

² *Ibid*; also conversation with Ifland, Dec. 22, 1779; *B.*, 1, 103; diaries, Oct. 5, 1799 and Jan. 30, 1806; *W.*, III, 2, 263 and 3, 116; *Französisches Haupttheater* (Lesarten); 1828; *W.*, I, 40, 420.

³ Letters to Frau v. Stein, Feb. 3, 1781; *W.*, IV, 5, 45; Maync, *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung*, 79.

⁴ Diaries, Oct. 27, 1807; *W.*, III, 3, 289.

⁵ Maync, 80.

⁶ Conversation with Eckermann, Apr. 1, 1827, *B.*, 3, 365.

⁷ *Aus Kunst und Altertum*; 1817-1827; *W.*, I, 42³, 118.

gram started in that drama and had been forced into the strait-jacket of the rules, into an art form essentially uncongenial to him.¹

Molière. In the previous chapter, it was seen that Goethe's attitude, favorable or otherwise, toward French classic drama was almost altogether an estimate of its form. This feature did not play so large a rôle in his judgment of comedy, for this type of drama does not need as much breathing space as tragedy. Goethe was not disturbed, therefore, by the vexatious questions of the observance of rules in his relationship with Molière. It was as an artist and as a personality that Molière attracted him. The relation of Goethe to the great comedy writer rises and stays, undisturbed, on a higher plane than that between him and any other French dramatist, or many great literary men, for that matter. In the case of Molière and Goethe, it was one man speaking from the depths of his experience and insight through the medium of a finished art to a fellow artist and a fellow man of extraordinarily sympathetic temperament.² Of all writers of the French classic period, then, Goethe felt most attracted to Molière, quoting from him frequently, referring to his works very often, and devoting some time every year to renewing his inspiration at this unfailing source.³ No such compliment does he mention paying to any other man. "Personne en Allemagne n'a jamais voué à Molière un culte aussi ardent."⁴

Goethe had read all Molière's works as early as 1761. At the first, his pieces did not especially impress him.⁵ By 1769, however, he had studied him very closely,⁶ and felt competent to make some selections for Cornelia, his sister, to read.⁷ A presentation of the *Tartuffe* appealed to him because of the

¹ Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, IV, 1, 280f.

² Ehrhard, *les Comédies de Molière en Allemagne*, 305-368.

³ *Tag- und Jahreshefte*; 1805; W., I, 35, 189; conversation with Eckermann, May 12, 1825; B., 3, 209; *ibid*, 358.

⁴ Ehrhard, 306.

⁵ *D. u. W.*, I, 3; W., I, 26, 143.

⁶ *Tag- und Jahreshefte*; 1764 bis 1769; W., I, 35, 4.

⁷ Letter to Cornelia, Dec. 1765; W., IV, 1, 28.

truth in the drawing of the hypocrite: "Neulich sah ich Tartüffen. Top! da fiel mir ein Kerl ein der ebenso aussieht. . . Ein Schurke, wie der andere."¹

Three times Goethe speaks of his interest in Molière as life-long and of reading some of his pieces every year. This is probably true, even for the Storm and Stress years. There was little or no conflict between the spirit of the "Geniezeit" and that of Molière, and despite Lessing's cool and somewhat supercilious attack in the *Dramaturgie*, he probably suffered very little under the general contempt into which French classicism fell during the years 1770-1775.²

In Goethe's later years, he speaks very often to Eckermann of his high esteem for the Frenchman and of the great debt which he felt he owed him. He read him over and over again to keep Molière's greatness fresh in his mind and at each re-reading he felt increasing admiration for the genius of the playwright and for his unique personality. To him, Molière's comedies bordered on tragedy.³

He placed Molière among the greatest men of France,⁴ in the front rank of comedy writers,⁵ and he named him with Shakespeare and the Greeks as being the classics most worthy of study.⁵ This is because Molière was more than a mere successful stager of comic situations. To Goethe, he was in addition a man of culture in the very highest sense of the term. "Es ist nicht bloss das vollendete künstlerische Verfahren, was mich an ihm entzückt, sondern vorzüglich auch das liebenswürdige Naturell, das hochgebildete Innere des Dichters. Es ist in ihm eine Grazie und ein Takt für das Schickliche und ein Ton des feinen Umgangs, wie es seine angeborene schöne Natur nur im täglichen Verkehr mit den

¹ Ibid, 26.

² Rossel, 435, sees influence of *Tartuffe* on *Pater Brey*, and on the *Gross-Cophtha* of a later period, 441. Ehrhard sees resemblances between *Don Juan* and *Faust*, 351; also Minor, *Goethes Faust*, 1, 164. This of course does not exhaust traces of Molière's influence on Goethe that various critics have pointed out.

³ Conversation with Eckermann; May 12, 1825; B., 3, 203.

⁴ Conversation with Eckermann; May 3, 1827; B., 3, 386.

⁵ *Französisches Schauspiel in Berlin*; 1828; W., I, 40, 131.

⁶ Conversation with Eckermann; Apr. 1, 1827; B., 3, 365.

vorzüglichsten Menschen seines Jahrhunderts erreichen konnte."¹

Or again he says, "Was kann man mehr von einem Künstler sagen, als dass vorzügliches Naturell, sorgfältige Ausbildung und gewandte Ausführung bei ihm zur vollkommensten Harmonie gelangten?"²

Le Misanthrope, a favorite with Goethe,³ seemed to him, in content and treatment, tragic. In it is found the conflict between an extreme individualism on the one hand and the vapidity and deceits of society on the other. Molière proposes the question, How far must each give up in order to come together on a working basis? Goethe saw in the figure of the hero the uncorrupted instincts of Molière himself in the toils of the artificialities of the court life in which he moved, and a man who, unspoiled by the superficial elements of society, has remained sincere with himself, and would have only too gladly been so with others. Never, to Goethe's mind, had an author portrayed his own soul more completely and more attractively than Molière has done in this piece.⁴

Goethe expressed himself in much the same fashion about the *Avare* and the *Médecin malgré lui*. Disgusted at the signs of disease in contemporary literature, he found comfort in reading and studying Molière. He again felt impressed with the soundness of his nature and with the tonic effect of his plays: "Es ist an ihm nichts verbogen und verbildet. Und nun diese Grossheit! Er beherrschte die Sitten seiner Zeit . . . Molière züchtigte die Menschen, indem er sie in ihrer Wahrheit zeichnete."⁵

Not only as a man of ideas, of culture, and of sound instincts did Goethe recognize Molière but he perceived in him an eye for the theatrically effective and in his dramas the best modern theatrical practice. "Wenn wir . . . für unsere

¹ Conversation with Eckermann; Mar. 28, 1827; B., 3, 358.

² *Französisches Schauspiel in Berlin*; 1828; W., I, 40, 131.

³ Conversation with Eckermann, Mar. 28, 1827; B., 3, 358.

⁴ Notice sur J. Taschereau's *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Molière*; 1828; W., I, 41², 334.

⁵ Conversation with Eckermann; Jan. 29, 1826; B., 3, 254.

modernen Zwecke lernen wollen uns auf dem Theater zu benehmen, so wäre Molière der Mann, an den wir uns zu wenden hätten." ¹ He cites as further proof of this perfect knowledge of the tricks of the playwright's trade the scene in the *Malade imaginaire* (II, 11) where he used retardation to such good purpose to keep up the suspense. ¹

Naturally enough, then, A. W. Schlegel's belittling criticism of the comic dramatic poet* was a blow to Goethe. ² With his criticism of French classic tragedy, Goethe had been at first in fullest accord, ³ but for his disparagement of Molière he could not forgive him. This, with the fact that Schlegel was one of the founders of the Romantic school, undoubtedly helped to put Goethe out of sympathy with him. ⁴ He criticised him harshly and accused the Romanticist of lacking a sound basis for his criticism and of having failed utterly to understand the import of Molière's work. Goethe recognized that Schlegel knew a mass of facts and had read an enormous amount, but he denied that these things could take the place of sound judgment. He wound up by saying: "In the way in which Schlegel treats the French theater, I find a formula for a poor reviewer, who lacks every sense of what is excellent and who passes over a great personality as though it were chaff and stubble." ⁵

Racine. There are quite a few references to Racine in Goethe's works,† but only four in which he expressed himself critically on this French dramatist.

Goethe early knew and venerated Racine. As a lad of twelve he had read him entire and the French tragic poet had

* In general, Schlegel's criticism of Molière was that he was a conscienceless and unskilled borrower of plots and tricks, a buffoon, a caricaturist; that he wrote much trash; that he was clumsy in handling situation; that he was unsound in his motiving. He denied him nearly every right to the praise of his countrymen. *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*, 22. Vorlesung, 6, 103-124.

† I have found twenty-two such references.

¹ Conversation with Eckermann, Mar. 28, 1827; B., 3, 358.

² Letter to Zelzer, July 27, 1828; W., IV, 44, 229.

³ Cf. p. 529, (footnote).

⁴ Conversation with W. v. Humboldt, Nov. 17 and 18, 1808; B., 2, 5.

⁵ With Eckermann, Mar. 28, 1827; B., 3, 359f.

become his "Abgott."¹ It was seen above (p. 4) how as a child, Goethe had enjoyed playing the rôle of Nero in *Britannicus*. Recalling this period sixty-nine years later (1830) he testified to a great interest in this dramatist and added that, under his inspiration, the idea of writing dramas had first come to him.² Goethe saw in Racine a "feinführenden Franzosen" and a realistic portrayer of the complicated life of a great court. In the third book of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Wilhelm expresses the following appreciation of the dramatist.† He tells the Prince that "he holds the French theater in very high esteem and that he reads the works of the great masters with delight, and with especial joy had he heard that the Prince fully appreciated the great talents of Racine. 'I can easily imagine,' he continued, 'how persons of high rank and superior breeding must hold a poet in high regard who portrays so artistically and correctly the circumstances of their lofty station. Corneille, if I may say so, has delineated grand and noble characters; Racine, persons of patrician rank. When I read his pieces, I can always picture to myself the poet who lives at a brilliant court, in the presence of a great king, holding constant intercourse with the most distinguished persons, and penetrating into the secrets of human nature, as it works concealed behind the gorgeous tapestry of palaces. When I study his *Britannicus* or his *Bérénice*, it seems to me as if I were transported in person to the court, were introduced to the ins and outs of these dwellings of the earthly gods, and saw through the eyes of a Frenchman of delicate sensibilities kings adored of a whole nation, courtiers envied by thousands, in their natural bearing, with their faults and their troubles'."³

† After a careful study of Goethe's general attitude toward Racine, I feel justified in citing this passage as his point of view put into Wilhelm's mouth. Whether or not it was altogether typical of Goethe's attitude toward Racine in the years 1794-1796—when the greater part of the *Lehrjahre* was written—is not certain. Cf. Billeter, *Einleitung*, pp. 6-10; also Creizenach, *Einleitung zu Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren*, Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe, 17, xxvff.

¹ *D. u. W.*, I, 3; *W.*, I, 26, 170.

² Conversation with Kozmian, May 8, 1830; *B.*, 4, 270.

³ *Lehrjahre*, III, 8; *W.*, I, 21, 288f.

Voltaire. Goethe's attitude toward Voltaire is not like that toward any other French classic dramatist. It has been noted that he esteemed Corneille for his noble sentiments, Molière for the soundness of his nature, for his culture, and for his unsurpassed artistic skill, and Racine for his penetrating and psychologically subtle portrayal of court life; but Voltaire he appreciated rather as a master of form, as an author of dramas occupying a middle ground between the naturalism prevalent on the German stage and the classic idealism which, during his directorate of the Weimar stage, he came to covet for it. While he appreciated these other men more or less throughout his life, he was interested in Voltaire as a dramatist only for a few years beginning with September, 1799.

Goethe knew Voltaire as a playwright as early as his first year in Leipzig (1765).² Even at this time when Shakespeare had not yet assumed for him the importance which he later did, and while the young German was most sympathetic toward French classicism, he recognized that the intellectual and spiritual capacity of the Englishman was cast in a larger mold than that of Voltaire.¹

In the Storm and Stress period, Voltaire did not escape Goethe's iconoclasm; indeed, it seems that it was the French literature of the eighteenth century represented by Voltaire, its senility and its conventions which had first cooled Goethe's sympathy for French culture, in the Strassburg time.

Not until 1799 did Goethe's interest revert to the "Patriarch of Ferney." This return was brought about not by reading Voltaire's dramas but by Karl August's request for him to stage a Voltairean piece. "Als er jetzt, unfreiwillig und ohne besondere Lust, ja, wie Karl August recht gut erkannte: gegen seine Natur und Ueberzeugung, an die Arbeit ging, war es nicht der Stoff, sondern nur die Form, die ihm allmählig ein tieferes Interesse abgewann."² In the midst of this unpleasant prospect, as we have seen, Goethe

¹ Letter to Cornelia, ca. Dec. 6, 1765; W., IV, 1, 26.

² Letter to Oeser, Oct. 14, 1769; W., IV, 1, 205.

³ Minor, *Goethes Mahomet*, 43; *Briefwechsel Karl Augusts mit Goethe*, 252.

received great encouragement for his task from Humboldt's letter on the French theater.¹ He began the translation of *Mahomet* in September, 1799, and finished it by October 11; and the drama was represented January 30, 1800.² The undertaking, although an experiment,³ proved of great value to the Weimar stage by helping to clinch the reforms in acting and in dramatic style already begun by Iffland and Schiller. The experience gained in this presentation prepared the way for the heavier and more difficult pieces which soon followed.⁴

The success of *Mahomet* warranted doing *Tancrède* into German. He began it July 22, 1800 and finished it December 24, of the same year.⁵ *Mahomet* was translated almost as literally as the change from Alexandrine to pentameter blank verse permitted, but *Tancrède* was worked over in a freer fashion:⁶ it was given a less bombastic diction and relieved of some of the restraint of the original. Goethe himself considered the drama of much theatrical merit and an addition in many ways to the repertory of the Weimar stage and he had no doubt of its wholesome effect.⁷

It might be asked why Goethe played more of Voltaire's dramas on the Weimar stage than of any other French classic dramatist, and why he translated his pieces for this purpose and not those of any other French dramatic poet. Carel tries to answer the question by saying that Voltaire combined with the French theories of structure a keen sense of what is suited for presentation on the stage.⁸ *Mahomet*, Goethe tells us,⁹ was played to drill the actors in word for word memorizing, in declamation, and in dignified action; its general inter-

¹ Cf. above, p. 524.

² Diaries, 1799; W., III, 2, 262ff; *Tag- und Jahreshefte*; 1800; W., I, 35, 85.

³ Letter to v. Knebel, Nov. 7, 1799; W., IV, 14, 217.

⁴ *Tag- und Jahreshefte*; 1800; W., I, 35, 85.

⁵ Diaries, 1800; W., III, 2, 302-315.

⁶ Rossel, 446 (footnote); letter to Schiller, July 29, 1800; W., IV, 15, 91.

⁷ Letters to Schiller, July 25 and 29, 1800; W., IV, 15, 89, and 91.

⁸ Carel, *Voltaire und Goethe*, part IV, 20.

⁹ *Einige Szenen aus Mahomet nach Voltaire*; ca. Oct. 15, 1799; W., I, 40, 68.

est, its clearness, its pathetic situations, and the fewness of its characters made it in every way suitable for his stage.

A number of Goethe's friends expressed surprise and regret that he had dropped original work and taken up the translation of French drama.¹ Much later (1819), C. F. Zelter, in the same mood, was inclined to reproach Goethe for spending his time on such a task, for he felt that *Mahomet* and *Tancrède* lacked tragic significance, although he was fully aware of Voltaire's beautiful French and the symmetry and harmony of the dramas as a whole.² In reply to his friend's criticism, Goethe stated the whole purpose of his staging French dramas: "Was du über Mahomet und Tancrède sagst, ist vollkommen richtig; doch waren mir dergleichen abgemessene Muster zu meinen Theaterdidaskalien höchst nöthig und haben mir unsäglichen Vortheil gebracht, weswegen ich ihnen nicht feind seyn kann."³ Or as Schiller said, "Nicht Muster zwar darf uns der Franke werden, . . . ein Führer nur zum Bessern."⁴ His purpose was, then, a pedagogical one: this idea he reiterates a number of times.⁵

Minor Dramatists. Crébillon. With the revival of interest in the French classic drama, Goethe turned his attention to this French writer with the hope of possibly finding something serviceable for the Weimar stage. He said of this dramatist that he treated the passions of his characters like a deck of cards and that he produced astonishing situations by simply shuffling them together. Thus they did not change in the least by contact with each other nor did they manifest any reactions toward their fellows.⁶

¹ *Tag- und Jahreshefte*; 1801; W., I, 35, 91.

² Riemer, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796 bis 1832*; 3, 41ff.

³ Letter to Zelter, Oct. 7, 1819; W., IV, 32, 52.

⁴ *An Goethe, als er den Mahomet von Voltaire auf die Bühne brachte*; Jan. 1800; G., 11, 325.

⁵ Letters to Hufeland, Dec. 30, 1799; W., IV, 14, 238; to Wolf, Nov. 15, 1802; *ibid.*, 16, 141; to Voss, Nov. 30, 1802; *ibid.*, 16, 147; to Zelter, Feb. 23, 1817; *ibid.*, 27, 350; to same Oct. 7, 1819; *ibid.*, 32, 52; conversation with David, Aug. 20, 1829; B., 4, 165.

⁶ Letter to Schiller, Oct. 23, 1799; W., IV, 14, 203f.

Of Crébillon's pieces Goethe mentions the *Electre*¹ and *Rhadamiste et Zénobie*. In the latter he saw the acme of French classic mannerism, in comparison with which Voltaire's drama was pure nature.²

Destouches. As a boy Goethe held Destouches in high esteem for his portrayal of manners, but this playwright had fallen into disrepute by the time of Goethe's Strassburg period and he no longer mentioned him for fear of being called provincial.³

By way of summary, let me point out that as regards Corneille, it was the spirit and not the form of his works that Goethe valued; his content of ideas and his dramatic skill contributed nothing vital and lasting to the German poet. In spite of the enthusiastic mention of Corneille, the fewness of references to him seems to indicate that Goethe's appreciation was intellectual and that the French poet was a statue to be admired from a distance rather than a friend to be taken to his heart.

Molière, on the other hand, was an intimate acquaintance whom he admitted to the holy of holies of his affection, a free spirit like himself which could laugh at lifeless ideals and rise above them. To Goethe, he towered above all other French classic dramatists and took his place among the first literary men of the ages.

Goethe's relation to Racine—like that to Corneille—was one of thorough acquaintance merely and not that of intimacy and companionship as in the case of Molière. He appreciated this French dramatic poet for his artistic sincerity and for the truthfulness of his dramas. In connection with his discussion of Racine, he says nothing of matters of form and nothing of the unities of the French drama. This is surprising, for Racine is the consummate artist of French tragedy. Of all classicists, he best accommodated himself to the limiting traditions of French classic dramaturgy.

Goethe's renewed interest in French classic drama was

¹ Italian journey, diaries, Oct. 7, 1786; W., III, 1, 275.

² Letter to Schiller, Mar. 19, 1802; W., IV, 16, 58.

³ D. u. W., III, 11; W., I, 28, 63.

due to Humboldt's letter, the translation of *Mahomet*¹ and his need for dignified pieces for his stage. Perhaps he would have remained indifferent to it except for these impulses. Voltaire bridged the gulf to the better understanding of French drama. Two reasons induced Goethe to use him as a model; first, because he was nearly contemporary and had wielded an enormous influence on the century²—two facts which made the appeal of his pieces greater; and second, because his dramas, while they observed the limitations of French classicism, betrayed a greater practical knowledge of what was theatrically effective than did the pieces of Corneille and Racine. As for Crébillon and Destouches, Goethe found in them no great artists but rather the stragglers of the classic movement.

It is evident that Goethe's attitude toward the French classic dramatists as individuals, does not allow the same division into definite periods as does his estimate of the drama in general. On the whole, he never spoke of the French dramatists themselves with acerbity and rarely with disparagement. Of them all, Voltaire came nearest to passing through the same stages in Goethe's appreciation as did the school to which he belonged. While Corneille and Racine received almost no critical mention in the Storm and Stress time and the period of silence (1770-1799), Goethe's regard for them, in its recorded expression, suffered practically no change; that is, the value he sets upon them in the last period is his estimate of them in the Frankfurt-Leipzig years. On the other hand, his esteem for Molière as artist and man appears to rise in a steady crescendo culminating in the expressions of admiration in the conversations with Eckermann.

III

SCHILLER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD FRENCH CLASSIC DRAMA IN GENERAL

In Schiller's life there are no variations of attitude toward French classic drama sufficient to warrant dividing his career

¹ Letter to Schiller, Oct. 23, 1799; W., IV, 14, 203.

² Conversations with Eckermann, Feb. 13, 1829 and Jan. 3, 1830; B., 4, 68 and 186f.

into periods. His school days were passed in a very French atmosphere, but the French point of view took such slight hold upon him that in later life it seems to have influenced him very little, if at all, in his judgment of the French ideals for the drama.

When he arrived at Castle Solitude and thus came under the domination of the pedagogical ideals of Duke Karl Eugen, he entered a world thoroughly French.¹ The Duke's own education had been French; and when he came to rule in Stuttgart, he modeled his court after that of Versailles.² When he caught the fever of reform, he set up a school copied after French institutions³ where the French language was given greater prominence than in any other German schools of the time.⁴ Native French teachers were employed. Thus it came about that Schiller was well instructed in the French type of the philosophy of the Enlightenment,⁵ and had a better reading and speaking knowledge of French* than of any other foreign idiom.⁶ With such surroundings it is certain that he became acquainted with the masters of the French classic stage.† If he had left an autobiography, as did Goethe, we might know definitely what he became acquainted with and how it impressed him. Whatever he may have read or seen, however, left no deeply vital impress upon his literary consciousness.

To those acquainted with the career of Schiller, it is well

* To be sure, one gets no very favorable idea of Schiller's attainment even in French: in the school records for the years between 1776 and 1778, we find his grade only "fairly good" (ziemlich gut). Minor, *Aus dem Schiller-Archiv*, 18.

† He apparently knew little of Voltaire as a dramatist until 1799. Letter to Goethe, May 31, 1799; Jonas, *Schillers Briefe*, 6, 35.

¹ Conversation with Genast, May 13 and 14, 1800; Petersen, *Schillers Gespräche. Berichte seiner Zeitgenossen über ihn*, 298; Schanzenbach, *Französische Einflüsse bei Schiller*, 5; Berger, *Schillers Leben*, 1, 99.

² Schanzenbach, 5.

³ Ibid, 6.

⁴ Ibid, 7.

⁵ Ibid, 9.

⁶ Ibid, 7f.

known that his school life in the ducal military academy was not the happiest. The rigorous restraint and suppression of the individuality of the pupils approached brutality.¹ It is not astonishing, therefore, that, relieved from such confinement, he underwent a period of violent reaction.

In the iconoclastic drama, *Die Räuber*, published in 1781, this reaction first finds in Schiller vehement expression. In it and in its preface, he announces his Storm and Stress platform containing both social and literary planks. This piece of work is not only a protest against social decay and tyranny, but it treads ruthlessly on some of the sacred conventions of the French stage by its setting in the present, by its boisterous action, by its use of a robber band as the protagonist, and by its disregard of the unities of time and place. Schiller feels his own literary consciousness to be a safe enough guide in his literary self-expression, and so, like Goethe in his period of revolt, he throws off the yoke of tradition and institutionalism and demands to see and feel for himself. To this young disciple of Rousseau, French classic drama has removed itself so far from nature that it is worthy only of scorn. Theoretically, as well as practically, he criticises both the spirit and the form of French drama. To the German dramatist, drunk with the spirit of a newly found liberty, no sorrier fate can befall a hero than to appear some day in the strait-jacket of French tragedy.*

In the preface to *Die Räuber*, Schiller pointed out some of the reasons why French drama is so stiff and repelling. To his mind, the French lack to a large degree a sense of what is truly dramatic when they substitute such a large element of narration for action on their stage. It is here that he first took issue with this narrative element in the French classic

* Karl Moor, denouncing the enervation and decrepitude of the age, cries out to Spiegelberg (*Die Räuber*, I, 2): "Schöner Preiss für euren Schweiss in der Feldschlacht, dass ihr jetzt in Gymnasien lebet, und eure Unsterblichkeit in einem Bücherriemen mühsam fortgeschleppt wird. Kostbarer Ersatz eures verprassten Blutes, von einem Nürnberger Krämer um Lebkuchen gewickelt—oder, wenns glücklich geht, von einem französischen Tragödienschreiber auf Stelzen geschraubt, und mit Drathfäden gezogen zu werden. Hahaha!" Goedeke, *Schillers Werke*, 2, 29.

¹ Berger, 1, 62ff.

pieces and asserted that tragedy must portray its world as *present* and the passions and secret sentiments in the hearts of its characters *by their own words and actions*. This art of direct representation is lost to the French and consequently their drama is so much the weaker for it.¹

The following year (1782), in strong words typical of Storm and Stress exuberance, he poked fun at the affected and blasé spirit of French tragedy: it was too self-conscious and too calculating, too fearsome and too mincing to appeal to him. "Die Menschen des Peter Korneille sind frostige Behorcher ihrer Leidenschaft—altkluge Pedanten ihrer Empfindung. Den bedrängten Roderich hör ich auf offener Bühne über seine Verlegenheit Vorlesung halten, und seine Gemüthsbewegungen sorgfältig, wie eine Pariserin ihre Grimassen vor dem Spiegel, durchmustern. Der leidige Anstand in Frankreich hat den Naturmenschen verschnitten.—Ihr Kothurn ist in einen niedlichen Tanzschuh verwandelt. . . Zu Paris liebt man die glatten zierlichen Puppen, von denen die Kunst alle kühne Natur hinwegschliff. Man wägt die Empfindung nach Granen und schneidet die Speisen des Geists diätetisch vor, den zärtlichen Magen einer schwächtigen Marquisin zu schonen."²

As early as this same essay, *Ueber das gegenwärtige deutsche Theater*, however, and in connection with one of his most drastic criticisms of the French theater, Schiller announced a principle by which he stood throughout his life, namely, that the German stage must find a middle course between the over-refinement of the French on the one hand and the over-coarse and realistic art of the English on the other. It is the duty of the dramatist to give all the truth and proportion of the wall-painting on the smaller scale of the miniature. We human beings, he says, stand in the presence of the universe like ants before a majestic palace. It is an enormous structure of which our insect gaze takes in but the one wing. We perhaps find its columns and statues chaotically arranged while the eye of a higher being can perceive also the opposite wing whose statues and columns, corresponding to the first,

¹ Erste Vorrede zu *den Räubern*; 1781; G., 2, 4.

² *Ueber das gegenwärtige deutsche Theater*; 1782; G., 2, 343f.

give the building a symmetry which we thought lacking. Let the poet depict for the insect eye if he will, but let him bring also into our field of vision, in miniature, the other half of the whole. Let him prepare us for the harmony of the mass through that of the detail, for the symmetry of the aggregate through that of the part. A neglect in this regard is an injustice to the eternal Being who demands to be comprehended from the totality of the world and not from single, isolated fragments.¹

By 1784, the Storm and Stress hardness of heart toward things French had modified sufficiently for Schiller, in the *Rheinische Thalia*, to grow enthusiastic over a situation in Corneille's *Cinna*. This is the scene (V, 3) where the emperor, Augustus, forgives the conspirator, Cinna, for his designs on the imperial power. To Schiller's mind, such an occurrence presented on the stage could not but stir the springs of magnanimous action in the hearts of the spectators.²

The idea of discovering a mean between the extremes of the French and of the English drama grows on him. It is in this same year (1784) that he extends his reading acquaintance with French literature in order to gain a broader basis for a theoretical knowledge of the theater: at this time, too, he finds enough value in the French drama to begin to cherish the idea of translating pieces of Corneille, Racine, Crébillon, and Voltaire for the Mannheim theater.³

His early dramas—*Die Räuber*, *Fiesco*, *Kabale und Liebe*—had been written in prose, but by 1786, he had proceeded far enough from Storm and Stress carelessness of form and the realism of the middle-class tragedy to use blank verse—iambic pentameter.*—in his *Don Carlos*. In his preface, he expressed his conversion to the justice of Wieland's demand that

* Lessing, following in the footsteps of Shakespeare, had set the first successful example in his *Nathan* (1779) for the use of verse, and particularly of this meter, in the German drama.

¹ *Über das gegenwärtige deutsche Theater*; 1782; G., 2, 344f.

² *Rheinische Thalia*; 1784; G., 3, 516.

³ Letter to Dalberg, Aug. 24, 1784; J., 1, 207.

drama requires the added poetic quality of verse.* On the other hand, he discarded rhyme as an unnatural ornament and a substitute for an harmonious diction.¹

In the essays on esthetic and literary subjects, written in the late eighties and early nineties, Schiller defines his attitude toward several sacred dramatic dogmas of the French. While he did not always mention these dogmas, the enunciation of the following five principles must certainly show how he regarded them in the practice of the French classic tragedy.

First. The demand of the French that the dramatist adhere closely to the facts of history or of legend. One of the fairly inflexible rules of the French classic stage was that the dramatist do no violence to history or legend in the composition of the play.² Schiller feels that the insistence on such a rule is shooting beside the mark. It is a very short-sighted theory of art which would thus clip the wings of poetic imagination. It is the dramatist's business to aim at esthetic effects and it makes not an iota of difference whether he observes the sequence of facts of history and legend as long as he attains the highest possible poetic truth. "Die poetische Wahrheit besteht aber nicht darin, dass etwas wirklich geschehen ist, sondern darin, dass es geschehen konnte, also in der Möglichkeit der Sache."³

Second. Narration versus action in tragedy. The limitations prescribed by the unity of time and the tendency to debar almost all action—especially violent scenes—necessitated that a large part of the action be unrepresented on the stage and be communicated mediately to the spectator by narration and description. Schiller insists that such a procedure is essentially undramatic and lacks the attention-compelling

* In the *Teutsche Merkur*, Oct. 1782, 29, 83, in the second letter "An einen jungen Dichter," Wieland, influenced by French tragedy, had demanded verse and rhyme for German tragedy. Schiller agreed with him on the first point but not on the second. A. W. Schlegel had also proved experimentally the importance of verse. See Köster, 87.

¹ Einleitung zu *Don Carlos*; 1786; G., 5¹, 3f.

² Corneille, *Discours de la tragédie*. Oeuvres, ed. Marty-Laveaux, 1, 77ff. Racine, Introductions to *Bajazet* and *Mithridate*. Oeuvres, ed. Régnier, 2, 488f and 3, 16.

³ *Vom Erhabenen*; 1793; G., 10, 173f.

power of the highest type of tragedy.* The sufferings of the tragic hero, their causes and degree must be given not by narration but by action.¹ Otherwise the play becomes simply a "five-act conversation." Schiller demands that the hero must not only suffer keenly but that he must be allowed to give full expression to what he feels, in order that the moral victory of his better self may be the more glorious. If the sharpness of the struggle be softened, it is impossible to tell whether he acts from deep moral conviction or not. "Dies leztere ist der Fall bei dem Trauerspiel der ehemaligen Franzosen, wo wir höchst selten oder nie die *leidende Natur* zu Gesicht bekommen, sondern meistens nur den kalten, deklamatorischen Poeten oder auch den auf Stelzen gehenden Komödianten sehen."²

Third. Demand for drawing-room manners on the stage. In Schiller's opinion French tragedy suffers from an overstraining after dignity in language and in the bearing of the characters. Its style is cold and declamatory, appealing to the head rather than to the heart. This is partly due to the fact that the characters are too self-conscious: they are psychologists examining their own states of soul. They are—to use Schiller's terminology—sentimental rather than naive individuals. They never let themselves go, forgetful of all else but elemental passions. They prefer to be dignified rather than full-blooded men and women. The kings, princesses, and heroes never forget their rank: they resemble the kings and emperors of the old picture books, "die sich mitsamt der Krone zu Bette legen."¹

Fourth. Persons of rank alone are suitable subjects for tragedy. French classic dramaturgy demanded that tragic characters be taken from the highest ranks of society. Here the French mistook the point entirely. The Greeks portrayed mostly kings and heroes in their tragedies out of the dramatic necessity of finding tragic heroes capable of complete expres-

* In working over *Egmont* for the stage, in 1795, Schiller puts this principle into practice. In this revision, therefore, "was Goethe erzählt, das stellt Schiller vor die Augen des Zuschauers." Köster, 6ff.

¹ *Über die tragische Kunst*; 1792; G., 10, 29f.

² *Vom Erhabenen*; 1793; G., 10, 151.

sion of human experience. Schiller appreciated this point for he asserts that it matters little from what stratum of society the tragic character be taken as long as he be capable of forceful self-expression. Baseness is not necessarily concomitant with humbleness of rank: a slave or person of low degree may be as capable of noble self-assertion as a king and if so, the former is as worthy of being the subject of tragedy as the latter.¹ *

Fifth. The drama must portray a single situation. The limitation of time tended to make French drama one of a single situation. While in the Shakespearian tragedy there is a gradual rising action, climax, falling action, and catastrophe, and character development, generally in its French fellow the play begins only shortly before the climax: it omits the gradual development of the situation, substituting narration for action, and either begins almost immediately with the turning point or crowds events in such a fashion that the French sin as much in their own way against dramatic verisimilitude as does Shakespeare in his.² In his essay, *Ueber die tragische Kunst*, Schiller expresses the feeling that tragedy demands more fullness and completeness of treatment than the French drama gave it, that threads of human will and fate, which lead up to tragic results are longer in spinning than the conventional twenty-four hours of French dramatic theory.³

The preceding five principles are the backbone of Schiller's criticism of French classic dramaturgy. Later he

* Lessing, following Diderot's example in France, had instituted the middle class tragedy in his *Miss Sara Sampson*, in 1755 (Schmidt, *Lessing*, 1, 300ff). Schiller also employed this type of drama in *Kabale und Liebe* in 1783 (Kühnemann, *Schiller*, 226ff). It is interesting to notice, however, that in most of his subsequent dramas—*Don Carlos* (1786), *Wallenstein* (1799), *Marie Stuart* (1800), and *Die Braut von Messina* (1803)—he reverted to the general practice of the Greeks and to the demands of the French, and chose his tragic personages from the highest ranks of society.

¹ *Gedanken über den Gebrauch des Gemeinen und Niedrigen in der Kunst*; 1802; G., 10, 213.

² Cf. Corneille's *Cid* and *Horace*, and Racine's *Phèdre* and *Andromaque*.

³ *Über die tragische Kunst*; 1792; G., 10, 35f.

touches upon other points, some of them of lesser importance, but his later statements can all find a basis in the general attitude which he adopts in his literary and philosophical essays.

While the German dramatic poet re-wrote his *Wallenstein* in rhymeless iambic pentameter and thus definitely conformed to the ideal of verse for tragedy,¹ he feels that the French alexandrine arranged in couplets destroys the fullest appeal of verse and satisfies the intellect alone: "Die Eigenschaft des *Alexandriners* sich in zwey gleiche Hälften zu trennen, und die Natur des Reims, aus zwey *Alexandrinern* ein *Couplet* zu machen, bestimmen nicht bloss die ganze Sprache, sie bestimmen auch den ganzen innern Geist dieser Stücke, die *Charactere*, die Gesinnung, das Betragen der Personen. Alles stellt sich dadurch unter die Regel des Gegensatzes und wie die Geige des *Musicanten* die Bewegungen der Tänzer leitet, so auch die zweyschenkligte Natur des *Alexandriners* die Bewegungen des Gemüths und die Gedanken. Der Verstand wird ununterbrochen aufgefordert, und jedes Gefühl, jeder Gedanke in diese Form, wie in das Bette des *Procrustes* gezwängt."²

In 1799, Schiller's interest in French dramatic and histrionic art is further aroused by Humboldt's instructive letter from Paris.³ Like Goethe, Schiller had been urged by the Duke to translate French pieces for the Weimar stage⁴ and this letter cheers him to the task. The aim of this translation of French classic pieces for the German theater, he sums up in his poem, "An Goethe, als er den Mahomet von Voltaire auf die Bühne brachte." In it, he first expresses mild surprise that Goethe, who has freed the Germans from the shackles of the "rules," is now sacrificing to the French muse; he feels, however, that his friend, by this innovation, has no intention of putting German drama back under the thrall of French dramaturgy. Real art can be born only in free souls

¹ Letter to Cotta, Nov. 14, 1791; J., 5, 286; cf. above, 45 (footnote).

² Letter to Goethe, Oct. 15, 1799; J., 6, 96.

³ Cf. above, p. 524.

⁴ Köster, Einleitung zu *Phädra*, Schillers Sämtliche Werke, Säkular-Ausgabe, 10, vif.

and not under a despotism such as dominated the period of Louis XIV. Not eloquence but truth to nature is the aim of art. Passion must be portrayed. Beauty must spring from the truth of a drama and not from its form alone. Although French classic drama never attains the height of real art, its elevation, harmony, order, and charm may serve excellently as an antidote for the crass naturalism of the then German stage as ruled by Kotzebue and Iffland. In conclusion, he sums up the whole purpose of the translation of French pieces by saying:

“Nicht Muster zwar darf uns der Franke werden,
Aus seiner Kunst spricht kein lebend'ger Geist,
Des falschen Anstands prunkende Gebärden
Verschmäh't der Sinn, der nur das Wahre preist,
Ein Führer nur zum Bessern soll er werden,
Er komme wie ein abgeschied'ner Geist,
Zu reinigen die oft entweihte Scene
Zum würd'gen Sitz der alten Melpomene.”¹

The French prided themselves on being heirs of the ancient classic dramaturgy, but instead of being the perpetrators of pure classic tradition, they have become its pharisees. In a letter to Goethe in 1797, Schiller points out that they have missed the spirit of the ancients in a desire to follow the letter of dramatic law. Even Aristotle, whom they recognized as final dramatic authority, was far more concerned about the content (*Wesen*) of the drama than about the outer form. He believes that Shakespeare with all his laxity is nearer the spirit of the author of the *Poetics* than are the French.² He proceeds unmercifully against some of their reasoning. He shows how fallacious is their demand for an action in a play whose prototype in actual life shall not exceed the “two hours’ traffic of the stage.” The French declared that it was ridiculous to represent on the boards the whole life of an individual: that demands too great a stretch of imagination on the part of the spectator. Schiller reminds them, however, that the daylight and the architecture—and he might have said the location—on the stage are not real, but artificial, and that the metrical language is not that of even the most edu-

¹ *An Goethe*, etc.; G., 11, 325.

² Letter to Goethe, May 5, 1797; J., 5, 188.

cated persons. Why, then, insist that, in the midst of all this illusion, the action alone be so like actuality that it will not tax the imagination?¹

This is the position he takes in 1803 when he attempts a piece—*Die Braut von Messina*—in the classical style. He feels deeply how eminently untrustworthy are the French in their interpretation of the Greek spirit. He scores them for having done away with the ancient chorus,—with the Greeks it had added to the concreteness of the drama—and having substituted therefore “die charakterlose langweilig wiederkehrende Figur eines ärmlichen Vertrauten.”² He shows how the Greek drama had taken its rise from the chorus; and holds that this lyric element gave the ancient drama its elevated tone and is the only justification for such a tone. The French have attempted to imitate the dignity of the Greeks, but, having cast aside the chorus, this dignity becomes forced and unnatural.³

Even in this period when Schiller is conforming his own dramatic production to some of the limitations of classical tradition, he maintains a very frosty attitude toward the French drama.⁴ True, in 1802 and 1803, he works over Picard's two comedies, *le Moyen de parvenir* and *Encore des Ménechmes* into *Der Parasit* and *Der Neffe als Onkel*, and later, in 1805, he translates Racine's *Phèdre* but with greater reluctance than Goethe did Voltaire's *Mahomet* and *Tancrède*.² It was an irony of fate that some of the last work Schiller ever did was that on *Phèdre* when one sees the severely critical attitude which he maintained toward French classic drama throughout his literary career.

To sum up: Schiller, brought up in school in a French atmosphere, and nurtured in French ideals received no vital impress from any typically French element in the drama:

¹ Einleitung zu *der Braut von Messina*; *Über der Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie*; 1803; G., 14, 7.

² *Ibid*, 7f.

³ *Ibid*, 10f.

⁴ Letter to Sophie Mereau, Mar. 1802; J., 6, 370; to G. Körner, Jan. 20, 1805; *ibid*, 7, 206; conversation with Charlotte von Schiller, Dec. 15, 1803; P., 369; and other references.

⁵ Köster, Einleitung zu *Phädra*, 10, vii, f.

whenever he leaned toward ideals for which the French stood (verse, characters of exalted rank, unities of time and place), he was drawn to them by laws arising from the nature of the drama itself as it had naturally developed in the practice of the Greeks. With two exceptions,¹ he never gave the French classic drama unqualified praise, and for the most part he showed himself out of sympathy with it. Because of the intellectual elements of dignity, harmony, and order, he grudgingly accepted it for the Weimar stage in lieu of the more distasteful naturalistic drama prevalent in Germany.² In this foreign *genre* he found no emotional truth—except in the one case of *Cinna*,—only one tragic conflict of a high type—in the *Cid*,—and no great characters. In short, Schiller felt that the French drama was essentially an intellectual product with an appeal to the head only.³ Because to the Germans, perhaps above other nations, the element of human feeling is not only as important and as worthy to be depicted as the intellectual element, but also is the very source of art, Schiller was right in saying that on the whole, for them, the French drama lacked depth.⁴ *

* In his essay, *Ueber die tragische Kunst* (1792), Schiller enunciated most fully his theory of tragedy. In a word it is this: Pleasure in tragedy arises from witnessing, between the moral man and his sensuous self, a keen struggle in which the higher nature, the moral dignity of humanity, eventually comes off victorious. To produce such pleasure, tragedy must portray *motived* and *present action*, not unrelated events, past action, nor fleeting emotional states. This conflict must be bitter and the suffering of the tragic hero great and fully apparent to the spectators so that the final victory may be the greater. It was because he held such a point of view, that he saw in French dramaturgy a superficial interpretation of the laws of dramatic production.

¹ *Rheinische Thalia*; 1784; G., 3, 516; *Über die tragische Kunst*; 1792; *ibid*, 10, 26.

What he appreciated in *Cinna* and the *Cid* was nothing that was characteristically French.

² *Tag- und Jahreshefte* (Lesarten); 1804; W., I, 35, 313.

³ *Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen*; 1792; G., 10, 16.

⁴ Letter to Goethe, Apr. 25, 1805; J., 7, 239.

IV

SCHILLER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD FRENCH CLASSIC DRAMATISTS
IN PARTICULAR

Corneille. Of the French classic dramatists, Corneille received most attention from Schiller, but that attention was mostly derogatory criticism. The German dramatist found the work of the Frenchman typical of the striking general weaknesses of French tragedy. Schiller cites Corneille many times to illustrate how the French had failed to understand not only the nature of dramatic art but even the spirit of the ancient dramatic pieces. It is apropos of Corneille's works that Schiller was impressed, as early as 1781, with the need of a drama portraying by present action, and not by narration, the conflict of passions and ideals, and presenting the spectacle of visible and natural tragic suffering. He compares the theatrical pose of Diego, in the speech beginning, "O rage! ô désespoir!" (*Cid*, I, 4) as the old man realizes that he is too infirm to avenge his honor, with the simplicity of Macduff's cry, "He has no children" (*Macbeth*, IV, 3) when the old warrior learns that the king has murdered his family. Schiller is convinced that Corneille was incapable of reading the human heart and of giving expression to real emotion on the stage.¹

In 1796, in a *Xenion*, he pokes fun at the "divine Peter." Like that King Salmoneus of old of whom we read in the *Aeneid*, who presumptuously aped Zeus, the thunderer, and was hurled into Tartarus for his rashness, Corneille had tried to ape genius but had been consigned to the realms of oblivion and punishment for his presumption.²

In a letter to Goethe of May, 1799,—hence but a short time before the arrival of the famous Humboldt letter from Paris—Schiller attacks some of Corneille's most famous pieces with a savageness at least equal to, if not exceeding, that of Lessing in the *Dramaturgie*. After reading *Polyeucte*, *Pompeé*, and *Rodogune*, he leaves scarcely a timber standing in the structure of these plays and is no less severe in regard to their spirit: "Ich bin über die wirklich enorme Fehlerhaftig-

¹ Erste Vorrede zu *den Räubern*; 1781; G., 2, 4.

² *Xenien*, 1796; *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, 8, 54.

keit dieser Werke, die ich seit 20 Jahren rühmen hörte, in Erstaunen gerathen. Handlung, dramatische Organisation, Charaktere, Sitten, Sprache, alles selbst die Verse bieten die höchsten Blössen an." Schiller thought that Corneille was the initiator of French classic drama and that many of his defects must be charged to the immaturity of the art form. Even this, however, can not suffice to excuse all his many faults. The German dramatist found nothing happily treated except the heroic element and even this—a rather scanty ingredient—monotonously handled. His pieces were characterized not only by poor taste but also by poverty of invention, lack of imagination in the treatment of character, coldness of emotions, stiff and halting action, and a lack of the interesting throughout.¹

This is the most drastic and sweeping criticism that he makes of any French classic dramatist. As we have seen, most of these defects he feels in all French classic drama.²

To Schiller's mind, the characters in Corneille have the same flaws as are inherent in French tragic personages in general: they lack naturalness and full-bloodedness. They are cold-blooded spectators of their own emotions, blasé psychologists of their own sensations.³ Self-forgetfulness is not one of their virtues: they are not real men and women struggling without consciousness of self against odds opposing them, but show-figures fully aware that they are on parade, consequently never failing to act in a very dignified fashion.⁴

In contrast to these severe criticisms, there are only a few passages in which he is at all appreciative of this French dramatist. Only twice does he give him unqualified praise: in 1784, he was enthusiastic over the scene in *Cinna* (V, 3) where Augustus, the Emperor, shows his magnanimity to the conspirator, Cinna. Schiller felt this scene worthy to illustrate how the theater may stir to great-hearted action;⁵ and in 1792, he felt that the situation in the *Cid* was interesting

¹ Letter to Goethe, May 31, 1799; J., 6, 35.

² Cf. above, pp. 543, 551.

³ Cf. above, p. 543.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 546.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 544.

and of a very high tragic quality because it represented a conflict between different kinds of equally justifiable duties. From this point of view, he considered this drama the masterpiece of the French classic tragedy; in fact, as far as the complication of the plot was concerned, of all tragedy.¹ It should be noted that these points which aroused Schiller's enthusiasm were not elements of form characteristic of French dramatic art but were situations which might have appeared in the drama of any nation.

Outside these two statements of appreciation, then, Schiller's attitude toward Corneille's work is, in general, cool, sometimes contemptuous. His criticisms were directed in part against defects inherent in French tragic manner—the conventionalized, blasé, self-analytical characters, the demand for perfect drawing-room manners on the stage at the cost of truth, the lack of any intense tragic suffering, and the declamatory style—and in part against defects in the poet himself—poverty of invention, and the monotonous treatment of the heroic element.

Molière. Schiller has no feeling of spiritual kinship with Molière such as Goethe felt. We have seen that the latter esteemed the French comic playwright as a genius of the very first rank, and appreciated him for his consummate artistic skill and his uncorrupted humanity.² Schiller, however, has the least to say of Molière of any of the French classic dramatists. He bestows upon him neither great praise nor great blame.

Schiller probably became acquainted with the works of Molière in Stuttgart.³ But there is no record to show what pieces they were nor how they impressed him. Throughout all his writings he mentions but three of Molière's comedies: *l'École des femmes*,⁴ *le Tartuffe*,⁵ and *l'Avare*.⁶ He speaks

¹ *Über die tragische Kunst*; 1792; G., 10, 26.

² Cf. above, p. 533.

³ Berger, 1, 99.

⁴ Letter to Goethe, Mar. 20. 1802; J., 6, 372.

⁵ *Über das gegenwärtige deutsche Theater*; 1782; G., 2, 341; *Tragödie und Comödie*; Nachlass; G., 10, 544.

⁶ *Rheinische Thalia*; 1784; G., 3, 518.

of the French playwright as one who portrays types rather than individuals.¹ While he appears to classify the French classic poets as "sentimental," he speaks of Molière as expressly a "naive dramatist."² In the essay, *Ueber naive und sentimentale Dichtung*, in expressing the opinion that the comic poet, whose genius draws most of its material from actual life, is most exposed to becoming insipid, he asks "mit welchen Trivialitäten quälen uns nicht Lope de Vega, Molière, Regnard, Goldoni?"³

The *Tartuffe* Schiller criticised as not being a comedy. A character like the hero who always excites disgust is not adapted to the merriment demanded of comedy. The genius of comedy had abandoned Molière when he wrote this drama.⁴

I have found no direct statement of appreciation of any of Molière's works, although Schiller seems to have thought *l'Avare* a great comedy.⁵

Racine. Schiller mentions only three of the pieces of this tragic poet: *Mithridate*,⁶ *Iphigénie*,⁷ and *Phèdre*.⁸ Although he speaks once in actual disparagement of Racine's art⁹ and is only faintly laudatory of the *Mithridate*,¹⁰ he is most attracted to him of any of the French dramatic poets—which, to be sure, is saying little. Recognizing the effeminaey of Racine and seeing in him all the defects of the French manner, he still feels this man's works to be unquestionably nearer the dramatic ideal than those of his co-laborers on the French classic stage.

In 1803, Schiller gives in to the wishes of the Duke and

¹ *Dramatische Preisaufgabe in Propyläen*; 1800; G., 10, 540.

² *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (footnote); 1795; G., 10, 453f.

³ *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*; 1795; G., 10, 497.

⁴ *Tragödie und Comödie*; Nachlass; G., 10, 544.

⁵ *Rheinische Thalia*; 1784; G., 3, 518.

⁶ Letters to Goethe, Jan. and Jan. 17, 1804; J., 7, 110 and 115.

⁷ Anmerkungen zu *Iphigenia in Aulis*; 1788; G., 6, 229.

⁸ Conversation with L. v. Wolzogen, 1797; P., 282; letters to Iffland, Jan. 5, 1805; J., 7, 199f; to Cotta, Jan. 18, 1805; *ibid*, 205; to Körner, Jan. 20, 1805; *ibid*, 206; to W. v. Humboldt, Apr. 2, 1805; *ibid*, 227.

⁹ Letter to Goethe, May 31, 1799; J., 6, 35.

¹⁰ Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, 267.

looks through some French pieces with a view to translating them for the Weimar stage. Director Goethe was also anxious to gain pieces for his repertory which should serve the Germans as models in the matters of form and manner.¹ With a view to meeting both these wishes Schiller chose *Phèdre*.^{*} Because of its many points of merit, Schiller worked on it carefully and sympathetically as a play not unworthy to be transplanted to the German stage.² He criticised Racine's *Iphigénie* for being on a lower ethical plane than Euripides' drama of like name. Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, is to be sacrificed to appease the gods so that they will grant the Greeks favorable winds for the expedition against Troy. In Euripides, Achilles, out of human feeling pure and simple, intervenes and saves the girl from her fate, while in Racine Achilles is the lover of Iphigenia and rescues her from death for selfish reasons. This substitution of a love motive for one of broad humanity lowers the tone of the piece and by so much does the French drama fall short of the tragic seriousness demanded by the Greeks.³ Undoubtedly this is one of the points which Schiller had in mind when he declared Racine to be on the whole weak.⁴

Voltaire. When Schiller became acquainted with Voltaire as a dramatist, it is hard to say. In a letter to Goethe, May 31, 1799, he says, "Nun bin ich in der That auf *Voltaires Tragödie* sehr begierig, denn aus den *Critiken*, die der letztere über *Corneille* gemacht, zu schliessen, ist er über die Fehler desselben sehr klar gewesen."⁴ From this it would seem that he knew none of Voltaire's dramatic works until 1799, about the time when both Goethe and himself were casting about them to see how they could comply with the wishes of Karl August. On the other hand, as we have seen, he expressed a desire back as far as 1784 to translate French pieces—among them Voltaire's—for the Mannheim theater⁵—which might

^{*} He also started a translation of *Britannicus* in 1804 but got no farther than the first scene. Köster, 269.

¹ Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, 271.

² Letter to Iffland, Jan. 5, 1805; J., 7, 199f.

³ Anmerkungen zu *Iphigenia in Aulis*; 1788; G., 6, 229.

⁴ Letter to Goethe, May 3, 1799; J., 6, 35.

⁵ Letter to Dalberg, Aug. 24, 1784; J., 1, 207.

imply that he was acquainted with them. Again, in 1793, in his essay, *Vom Erhabenen*, etc., he says that the kings, princesses, and heroes of Corneille and Voltaire never forget their rank even in the most violent suffering.¹

All in all, however, it seems very probable that Schiller knew Voltaire as a dramatist as early as 1784 and certainly by 1793, in spite of his apparent ignorance in 1799 of what he was like.

He mentions the dramatist Voltaire nine times;² of these references, four are general, four are to *Mahomet*, and one to *Tancrède*, i. e., the plays which Goethe translated. He first refers by name to one of his plays (*Mahomet*) in October 1799, and the last mention of Voltaire's tragedies is in December, 1800—the two years when Goethe was translating *Mahomet* and *Tancrède*, and he himself Racine's *Phèdre*. In spite of this paucity of attention to Voltaire, he agrees with Goethe's choice of these pieces for the Weimar theater—if French pieces are to be given at all—because of the interest of the first and its freedom from the unpleasant French dramatic manner,³ and because the second will serve the dramatic purposes well, which Goethe and Schiller had in mind, and will give another play in the more elevated theatrical style which they were trying to graft on to the German stage.⁴

Considering the fact of Schiller's education in the ducal military academy of Karl Eugen, of Goethe's knowledge and appreciation of Voltaire as a dramatist, of the prominence of Voltaire⁵ both as publicist and author of tragedies, of Schiller's knowledge of the Frenchman's version of the story of the Maid of Orleans,⁶ and of Schiller's supposedly wide

¹ Cf. above, p. 546.

² *Vom Erhabenen*; 1739; G., 10, 151; *An Goethe als er den Mahomet von Voltaire auf die Bühne brachte*, 1800; G., 11, 322ff; letters to Dalberg, Aug. 24, 1784; J., 1, 207; to Goethe, May 31, 1799; *ibid*, 6, 35; same, Oct. 15, 1799; *ibid*, 95; same, Oct. 18, 1799; *ibid*, 99f; same, July 26, 1800; *ibid*, 176; to Iffland, Dec. 18, 1800; *ibid*, 230; to Goethe, Apr. 25, 1805; *ibid*, 7, 239.

³ Letter to Goethe, Oct. 15, 1799; J., 6, 95.

⁴ Same, July 26, 1800; J., 6, 176.

⁵ Goethe in conversation with Eckermann, Jan. 3, 1830; B., 4, 186f.

⁶ Letter to Wieland, Oct. 17, 1801; J., 6, 308.

knowledge and catholic appreciation of all dramatic literature, his neglect of reference to Voltaire strikes me as unaccountable.

In his last letter to Goethe, Schiller criticises his friend's estimate of Voltaire in the *Anmerkungen zu Rameaus Neffen* as follows: "Freilich wird es schwer sein dem *Voltaireischen Proteus* einen *Character* beizulegen. Sie haben zwar, indem Sie *Voltaire* die *Tiefe* absprechen, auf einen Hauptmangel desselben hingedeutet, aber ich wünschte doch, dass das, was man *Gemüth* nennt und was ihm sowie im Ganzen allen Franzosen so sehr fehlt, auch wäre ausgesprochen worden."¹

In Voltaire, then, as in the other French classic dramatists, he misses the element of true and deep feeling which goes into the make-up of a fully developed harmonious personality.

Minor Dramatists. Of the minor dramatists, Schiller mentions only Regnard and Crébillon. Of the latter's pieces, he refers only to the *Rhadamiste et Zénobie*, which evidently Goethe had thought for a while to translate for the Weimar stage. Apropos of this, Schiller writes his friend in March, 1802, "Gott helfe Ihnen durch dieses traurige Geschäft."²

Thus we can see that Schiller felt no spiritual kinship with the French classic dramatists as men and found only a modicum of value in their works. For him they have added nothing new of worth either to the drama as an art-form nor have they increased our knowledge of the workings of the human heart.

V

CONCLUSION

First of all, in comparing Goethe and Schiller as regards their attitude toward the French classic theater, let us note the *differences* in their opinion of it. We have seen that Goethe's life falls into four clearly defined divisions in regard to this great foreign dramatic literature. In contrast to this, Schiller's career offers no periods with their varying appreciations: excepting some exaggerations of statement in

¹ Letter to Goethe, Apr. 25, 1805; J., 7, 239.

² Same, Mar. 17, 1802; J., 6, 366.

the Storm and Stress years, his attitude was announced in the preface to *Die Räuber* (1781) and remained at bottom the same for the remainder of his life. Even the friendship of the two men, which brought a modification of the views of each in many other subjects, had, as far as I can discern, no effect on either in the matter of the French drama. Then again, it is especially worthy of note that, in the period of their activity as translators of French pieces for the ducal stage, while Goethe gained a more genuine and a more just opinion of French classic drama,¹ Schiller, although by the nature of the case forced to express himself more often about these foreign pieces, gave them a very qualified approval that revealed the same spirit as that of his earlier utterances.

Goethe was far more widely and thoroughly acquainted with this dramatic literature. In his first period, he had read all of Molière and Racine and a good part of Corneille. He mentions by name twenty-seven French classical pieces: of Molière, 10; Racine, 7; Voltaire, 5; Corneille, 3; and Crébillon, 2. Schiller on the other hand, nowhere mentions having read any French authors entire, although in 1784, he extended his knowledge of the French drama considerably. *In toto*, he mentions by name only fourteen: of Corneille, 5; Molière and Racine each 3; Voltaire, 2; and Crébillon, 1.

It is strange that Schiller as a dramatist should have known less of a great dramatic literature like that of the French than did Goethe, who was not so much of a dramatist as a lyric poet. Nevertheless, we must recall that Goethe was connected with the Weimar stage for twenty-six years as its manager, and we must also remember how much longer he lived than his friend, and how much more we know of his life and opinions—from the autobiography, diaries, conversations, a novel like *Wilhelm Meister* that includes much of Goethe's experience, and from a vast number of letters. Set over against this large amount of biographical material for Goethe, we have only the letters and a small volume of conversations for Schiller.

¹ Goethe's more sympathetic attitude toward French classic drama was undoubtedly induced in the last period by his hopes for a world literature. "Die Vorstellung einer Weltliteratur gewinnt für Goethe Bedeutung seit der Mitte der zwanziger Jahre." W. I., 42², 491.

It seems, then, to be perfectly within the truth to say that Goethe was more lenient and catholic in his taste than Schiller. On occasion, he was as caustic in his comment as the younger man,¹ but he was also more willing to see the merits of the French drama.² Schiller adopted the scientific point of view in his criticism while Goethe was both scientific and impressionistic. There were only two things in French dramatic literature which thrilled Schiller, there were many which did Goethe. Schiller was interested in this literature as drama merely—he discussed its shortcomings as an art form and compared it very unfavorably with the Greek and with the ideal demands of dramatic art: Goethe, while he criticised it as a whole on some of the same points as Schiller—too strict interpretation of the unities and over-insistence upon form and not enough leeway to the genius of the dramatist,—looked behind some of the dramatic work to the personality of the author. Goethe saw in Racine a man very sensitive to the artistic, in Corneille a noble soul, and in Molière a great man and artist in whom culture and natural instincts had blended into an harmonious whole. Schiller mentioned none of these things: he says only that the dramatic characters of Corneille and Voltaire are too sophisticated, incapable of feeling deeply, and over-refined; while Molière is frequently trivial and makes but little appeal to him.

While Goethe was much more hearty in his estimate of French classic drama in general than Schiller, the greatest difference between the two men is seen in their attitude toward Molière. Schiller puts him aside with a few words: his *Tartuffe* is a failure as a comedy, being instead tragic in its treatment: his work is too realistic and for Schiller lacks seriousness. For Goethe, Molière, by his knowledge of stagecraft, belongs in the company of Shakespeare and the Greeks, and he esteems him highly for his rich personality.

Such are some of the differences in the attitudes of the two men toward French classic drama. Now let us notice some of the things in which they were alike.

¹ Cf. above, p. 516f.; *die Räuber*, I, 2; G., 2, 29.

² Cf. above, pp. 529f, 534 ff.

They were alike in seeing in Greek dramatic art the supreme expression of dramatic genius because it combined dignity and significance of content with artistic form. In so far as the French had succeeded in attaining this dramatic point of view, the two German poets, in varying degree, appreciated them and found them of use in opposing an undignified art rampant in the Germany of their day. They were, however, of one opinion that a large part of the dramatic traditions of the French which the latter had supposedly taken directly from the ancients were unhistoric and undramatic. In regard to the French point of view they assumed an attitude which might be summarized under three heads.

First. The French had misinterpreted the spirit of Greek drama. Their theorists had taken the best usage of the Greeks, as noted by Aristotle, to be as unchangeable as an imperial fiat and had thought that to follow such formulae was to insure dramatic success. Goethe and Schiller saw that the laws practiced by the Greeks were not a Procrustean bed but were the natural form which their dramatic production assumed. Goethe, especially, pointed out that the unities find their *raison d'être* only in making a drama unified enough to be easily comprehended. If they become hindrances to comprehensibility, it is ridiculous to consider them so sacred that they can not in whole or in part be laid aside. He showed how even the Greeks did not always comply with them, for a good drama was more to them than the sanctity of any dramatic tradition. He concluded by saying, "Die französischen Dichter haben dem Gesetz der drei Einheiten am strengsten Folge zu leisten gesucht, aber sie sündigen gegen das Fassliche, indem sie ein dramatisches Gesetz nicht dramatisch lösen, sondern durch Erzählung."¹

Second. The French were at fault in considering themselves the only true interpreters of Greek dramatic usage. Goethe and Schiller attacked them for the position which they assumed that they alone had grasped the principles of Aristotle's *Poetics* and for not recognizing a piece as a true drama that did not follow their interpretation. The official inter-

¹ Conversation with Eckermann, Feb. 24, 1825; B., 3, 162f.

preters of French dramaturgy had quarrelled with Corneille over the *Cid* and forced him in subsequent dramas to shoulder the yoke of dramatic convention and consequently had stifled his best self. Goethe and Schiller in common with Lessing, held that, with all his laxness, Shakespeare is nearer the spirit of the Greeks.

Third. The French failed to recognize that genius may produce a drama with little regard to established rules. From the French point of view dramatic theory was deductive and dramatic art static: from the point of view of Goethe and Schiller dramatic theory was inductive and dramatic art evolutionary. Goethe, in discussing rules in art in general, said that nations and artists do not agree among themselves to consider some ridiculous convention as law in art but "sie bilden zuletzt die Regeln aus sich selbst, nach Kunstgesetzen, die ebenso wahr in der Natur des bildenden Genius liegen als die grosse allgemeine Natur die organischen Gesetze ewig tätig bewahrt."¹ Schiller acknowledged the same principle, i. e., the possibility of development in art, in his essay on tragedy in 1792. Here he laid down the principle that when art can portray the hero of tragedy as seeing in his own individual fate, not a blind, unfeeling necessity, but a small part of the good and great order of the universe, it has reached a higher development than tragedy had even among the Greeks. "Zu dieser reinen Höhe tragischer Rührung hat sich die griechische Kunst nie erhoben, weil weder die Volksreligion noch selbst die Philosophie der Griechen ihnen so weit voranleuchtete. Der neuern Kunst, welche den Vortheil genießt, von einer geläuterten Philosophie einen reinern Stoff zu empfangen, ist es aufbehalten, auch diese höchste Forderung zu erfüllen und so die ganze moralische Würde der Kunst zu entfalten. Müssten wir Neuern wirklich darauf Verzicht thun, griechische Kunst je wieder herzustellen, wo nicht gar zu übertreffen, so dürfte die Tragödie allein eine Ausnahme machen."²

Schiller also assumed the same attitude in practice when he strove to create a German drama, not one copied after the ancients, but one which should occupy a middle ground be-

¹ *Diderots Versuch über die Malerei*; 1798-1799; W., I, 45, 257f.

² *Über die tragische Kunst*; G., 10, 27.

tween the extremes of the French and the English theater. He shaped his drama to suit the temperament of the Germans, who demanded more life and emotional fullness than they could find in the French drama.

This evolutionary position of Goethe and Schiller may be looked at in another way. The hard and fast lines of French dramatic convention were part and parcel of a larger point of view, which suffused the entire life of the French people, namely, the feudalistic idea of institutionalism. From this point of view, the mass was the unit and the individual was a negligible quantity. Over this mass were a few persons or a single individual who did the thinking and feeling for the crowd. The individual's political thinking was done by the state, and his faith was dictated by the church: he had little autonomy. It was this same point of view pervading literature which gave the rules of French dramaturgy such authority. Once fixed they must be obediently and blindly followed, as Corneille had learned.

Lessing, first, had revolted against French authority in German letters in his *Dramaturgie* (1767), where he contended that the French had misunderstood and misinterpreted Aristotle. Goethe and Schiller* had based their disapproval of French practice very little upon the interpretation of theories but rather upon the usage of the Greeks, of Shakespeare, and upon their own instincts. They revolted against any imposition of arbitrary, outside authority in dramatic art. This point of view was an inheritance of the Storm and Stress movement which, under Herder's leadership, had boldly declared the freedom of German literature from the leading strings of any such authority. Goethe and Schiller outgrew, of course, the exaggerations of the "Geniezeit," but they always stood for the freedom of the literary conscience, for the liberty of the dramatic genius to form the rules for literary production from within himself. Although disturbed

* It is surprising that Goethe and Schiller have so little to say of Lessing and his liberation of German literature from French ideals. They both fully acknowledge his critical ability and his service (for Goethe's opinion, cf. letter to Oeser, Oct. 14, 1769; W., IV, 1, 205f; and conversations, 1809; B., 2, 107; for Schiller, cf. letter to Goethe, June 4, 1799; J., 6, 37), but the paucity of references makes their exact attitude toward him problematical.

by the license to which such a point of view led in a movement like the Storm and Stress and later in Romanticism, in their own theory and practice they represented a liberal democracy in literature.

Lastly, Goethe and Schiller felt that the French were slaves to their intellect and that it limited them in their appreciation of the totality of human experience of which the feeling is an essential part. To this characteristic they seemed to lay their failure to comprehend the spirit of the Greek drama. The beauty of their pieces was in form—harmony and regularity of verse, rhetorical language, and symmetry and clearness of the whole—and not in emotional truth or in ideas. After they had gone over a piece with their intellectual rule and callipers, if they found it wanting in any of the traditional requirements, they discarded it, whatever revelation of spiritual truth there might be in it. Schiller says, “Gleichgültig gegen den Inhalt werden diese (art connoisseurs like the French) durch die Form befriedigt. . . Diese Art Kenner suchen im Rührenden und Erhabenen nur das Schöne; dieses empfinden und prüfen sie mit dem richtigsten Gefühl, aber man hüte sich, an ihr Herz zu appellieren.”¹ Goethe’s criticism is pitched in the same key, “Die Franzosen bleiben immer wunderlich und merkwürdig . . . sie müssen erst alles was es auch sei sich nach Ihrer Weise zurechte machen. Ihr unseliger Respekt für den Calcül bornirt sie in allen artistischen, ästhetischen, literarischen, philosophischen, historischen, moralischen, religiösen Angelegenheiten, als wenn das alles dem unterworfen sein müsste. Sie merken gar nicht, dass sie hier auf die niederträchtigste Weise Knechte sind.”²

In a word, then, since man is as truly part emotional as intellectual, and since those in whose veins Teutonic blood runs demand that art shall present the *whole* man, Goethe and Schiller, in their maturity, felt that French classic drama, despite artistic excellencies, lacked the power of bringing before our eyes human nature in convincing fullness and in its truest relations.

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¹ *Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen*; 1792; G., 10, 16.

² *Diaries*, June 7, 1831; W., III, 13, 86f.

'ΑΠὸ ΚΟΙΝΟῦ IN GUDRUN

The term ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is first used in a syntactical sense by Apollonius in his *De Constructionibus*, where he cites as an example Διονύσιος περιπατεῖ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος.* Modern grammar, however, has restricted the term to a more specific and technical use. A definition of the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction depends upon the definer's view-point as to its nature and origin. Panzer in his *Hilde-Gudrun* considers it a "syntaktische Verschränkung," in which two constructions cross at a common point. Kellner (*Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, §§110, 111, 274) treats ἀπὸ κοινοῦ under the head of adjective clauses with the relative pronoun omitted, but distinguishes it from a construction where the apparently relative clause *may* be looked upon as an independent sentence. He does not admit ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in a sentence like *se faeder hire sealde āne þeówene Bala hātte*, "the father gave her a servant was called Bala" (*Genesis*, XXIX, 29). In this sentence a period after *þeówene* would make *Bala hātte* an independent sentence: "the father gave her a servant. Bala was she called."

Paul in his *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik* (§385) gives a double-headed definition which, however, seems to cover the case better than either of those given above. He says that ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is a part of a sentence which belongs equally to two co-ordinate sentences, placed in the middle between the two without a copulative particle. He defines another kind of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ as that construction which exists when some part of the principal clause acts also as the subject in a logically, tho not formally, dependent clause; e. g. *under einer banier grüne, was mit golde durchleit* (Alphart), *wër was ein man lac vor dëm Grâl* (Wolfram).

The difficulty with all of the above definitions is that none of them is broad enuf to cover all the examples that are ad-

* Notice Sanskrit *kākāksivat*, "in the manner of a crow's eye," used of a word which appears only once in a sentence, but which applies to two portions of it, both the preceding and the subsequent. Crows are supposed by the Hindus to have only one eyeball, which, as occasion requires, moves from the cavity on one side into that on the other.

mittedly ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. The same difficulty is met in the various attempts to trace the origin of the construction. Kellner apparently claims that ἀπὸ κοινοῦ originated in the omission of a relative. His discussion of the subject is headed "The oldest Stage of the Adjective Clause (Omission of the Relative Pronoun)" and in his examples of the starting point of the construction he inserts in each case a relative in brackets. The more generally accepted view is that ἀπὸ κοινοῦ had its origin in anacoluthon.

Neither of these explanations of the origin of the construction satisfies all the indisputable cases of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, and one is driven to the conclusion that the construction may have arisen, and probably did arise, in several different ways. When one reads in Shelley, "I know a charm shall make thee meek and tame," or in *Winter's Tale* (V, I, 23), "You are one of those would have him wed again," one feels simply the omission of the relative pronoun, and in turning poetry to prose would read "I know a charm *that* shall make thee meek and tame," and "You are one of those *who* would have him wed again."

But with *Gudrun* 478 the feeling is different:

ir sult umbe sehen,
daz uns iht ergâhe hie in dirre marke
Hagene der ist grimme.

"You shall see to it
 that overtakes us not here in this country
 Hagen he is bold."

Here one feels that the author either consciously or unconsciously ignored the fact that he had already made *Hagene* the subject of one verb when he made it also the subject of *ist grimme*. Hence we conclude that in some cases ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is, in result, a species of anacoluthon or "grammatical break," which is, according to Sweet, "beginning with one grammatical construction and then changing to a different one, the result either of forgetting the grammatical form of the beginning, or of confusion of that caused by a complex arrangement of clauses." It is apparent that this "grammatical break" sometimes takes the form of the syntactical Janus that we call ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

But there are cases in which it is impossible to believe that a relative pronoun ever existed and there are cases which could not have had their origin in anacoluthon. The quotation above (*Gudrun* 478) is an example in which insertion (or restoration, as Kellner would call it) of the relative is impossible. A relative cannot be inserted, nor can the demonstrative *der* be made a relative so long as the sentence stands in the order given to it by the manuscript.

There are other examples where the insertion of a relative is possible from a grammatical point of view, but where such insertion would not only spoil the sense, but would even produce nonsense. A case in point is *Gudrun* 706:

dar umbe muosten doln
diu her ze beiden sîten wunden vil ir mâgen
gewunnen zallen zîten.

“therefore had to suffer
the armies on both sides many wounds their kinsmen
kept getting all the time.”

Inserting a relative pronoun in this sentence would be to say: “therefore had to suffer the armies on both sides many wounds *which* their kinsmen kept getting all the time.” Obviously “armies” and “kinsmen” could not receive the same wounds.

An attempt to reduce the origin of all ἄπὸ κοινοῦ constructions to anacoluthon leads to improbable conclusions, for the construction is found in sentences too short and direct to admit of its probability. To say that the construction of “It is thy sovereign speaks to thee” is (to again use Sweet’s definition of anacoluthon) the “result either of forgetting the grammatical form of the beginning or of confusion of thot caused by a complex arrangement of clauses” is to credit the author with a marvellously short memory or a violent susceptibility to grammatical confusion.

Admitting that ἄπὸ κοινοῦ sometimes results from the omission of a relative pronoun and that in long, involved sentences it may be produced by anacoluthon, this paper would defend the thesis that the construction in certain cases, and originally perhaps in most cases, developed from subordination without relative pronouns—a period which immediately

followed parataxis—and that it existed thruout the usage as plain demonstratives of what later became relative pronouns. This latter stage is represented by the example mentioned above:

ir sult umbe sehen,
daz uns iht ergâhe hie in dirre marke
Hagene der ist grimme.

where we have an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in which the *der* that later became a relative is used in a demonstrative sense.

In such cases the construction may have developed in some such manner as the following:

1. Parataxis: *dô spranc von dem gesidele her Hagene. her Hagene alsô sprach.*

2. Subordination, which we may represent by parentheses: *dô spranc von dem gesidele her Hagene; (her Hagene alsô sprach) or (der alsô sprach).* This subordination was originally not syntactical, but merely subordination in thought and expression.

3. Coalescence of two words which stood side by side and had the same meaning, resulting in what we call ἀπὸ κοινοῦ: *dô spranc von dem gesidele her Hagene alsô sprach.*

It might be possible to maintain that the existence of numerous ἀπὸ κοινοῦ's or anacolutha in the *Volksepos* is a mark of improvising. But even in cases where ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is apparently a conscious literary (usually poetic) device, its psychological background is often to be found in subordination and the consequent coalescence of similar elements. The construction is, naturally enough, more frequent in older and more popular poems than elsewhere. With more cultivated style the construction tends to disappear.

In *Gudrun* may be found 16 possible examples of regular ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction, altho no two critics agree as to the number, each editor differing from the others in the avoidance here and there of the construction thru varied punctuation and textual readings. The following arrangement of the examples in *Gudrun* follows a classification which is more or less a composite of those used by Panzer, Haupt and Kellner.

1. The common middle part acts as the subject of the two clauses.

314, ^{2, 3}

*sîn kraft und ouch sîn ellen sind stark und ouch sîn hant
hât uns gemachet âne maneger vröuden guot.*

This reading agrees with the manuscript and is cited by Panzer as an example of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, making *ouch sîn hant* part of the subject of *sint stark* and the subject of *hât gemachet*. Martin and Bartsch put a comma after *hant* and insert *er* before *hât*. Symons evades the construction by substituting *sîn sterke* for *sint stark* and changing *hât* to *hânt*, thus making *kraft, ellen, sterke* and *hant* all the subjects of *hânt*. However, the manuscript reading retaining the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction seems here the easiest and most natural.

478, ^{2, 3, 4}

*ir sult umbe sehen,
daz uns iht ergâhe hie in dirre marke
Hagene der ist grimme.*

Symons and Panzer consider *Hagene* as the subject of both *ist grimme* and *ergâhe*. Martin and Bartsch avoid ἀπὸ κοινοῦ by striking out *ist* and putting *der grimme* in apposition with *Hagene*.

538, ^{1, 2}

*Do er si und Hildeburge zuo im komen sach,
dô spranc von dem gesidele her Hagene alsô sprach :*

Martin, Symons, Bartsch, Panzer and Haupt all consider *her Hagene* as ἀπὸ κοινοῦ—the subject of *spranc* and *sprach*.

885, ^{1, 2}

*Sinen vater wolte rechen der küene Ortwin
dô kom mit grôzer menege und die helde sîn.*

This is the manuscript reading and is cited by Martin as an example of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, i. e. *der küene Ortwin* is the subject both of *wolte rechen* and *kom*. Symons has a period after *Ortwin* and inserts *Hôrant* between *menege* and *und* as the subject of *kom*, but is himself dissatisfied with the arrangement. Bartsch and Panzer agree with Symons in all except the dissatisfaction.

1024, ^{2, 3}

*deheiniu guotiu kleider tragen si enliez
Gêrlint sluoc si dicke.*

Martin and Panzer consider *Gêrlint* the subject of both

enliez and *sluoc*. Bartsch and Symons omit *sluoc* and substitute *diu übele* for *si dicke*.

1194, ^{3, 4}

sus kunde si bedenken

Gêrlint diu vil übele liez si ligen âne küsse ûf herten benken.

Bartsch, Panzer, Symons and Haupt consider *Gêrlint* the subject both of *kunde bedenken* and of *liez*. Martin also has the same reading, altho, probably thru an oversight, he does not include this case in his list of examples of ἀπό κοινοῦ.

2. The common middle part functions as the object of both clauses.

92, ^{1, 2}

*Mit sîner bloeder krefte het er ûf gezogen
manic starke strâle schôz er ûz dem bogen.*

Bartsch, Symons, Martin and Panzer all regard *manic starke strâle* as the object both of *het ûf gezogen* and of *schôz*. Simrock in his translation supplies "bow" as the object of *het ûf gezogen*, but so far as the Middle High German text is concerned ἀπό κοινοῦ evidently cannot be avoided.

291, ^{1, 2, 3}

*Si giengen ûz den schiffen und truogen ûf den sant,
swes sô man bedorfte, veile man dâ vant,
und swes ieman gerte.*

Martin and Panzer treat *swes sô man bedorfte* as the object both of *truogen* and of *vant*. Martin says that to take *truogen* in an absolute sense would be to allow an ellipsis that could not be supplied. Bartsch and Symons have a period after *sant* and no punctuation after *bedorfte* nor after *vant*, thus allowing no ἀπό κοινοῦ. They consider *truogen* as used absolutely and supply some such object as *ir habe* or *ir dinc*. As the passage stands it is clearly ἀπό κοινοῦ and the emendation that requires *truogen* to be used absolutely is unnecessary and unconvincing.

303, ^{1, 2, 3}

*Dar brâhte man gesatelet zwelf kastelân
und ouch manege brünne und helme wol getân
hieze man mit in vüeren unde zwelf schilte,*

Panzer considers this ἀπό κοινοῦ, making *kastelân*, *brünne*, *helme* and *schilte* the objects of both *brâhte* and *vüeren*. But

Bartsch, Symons and Martin have a comma after *kastelân*, making it the object of *brâhte* alone. It seems well to accept such a slight emendation as the insertion of a comma at the end of a line, whenever in that way the looseness of the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction may be avoided without stretching or destroying the evident sense of the passage.

483, ⁴

er beslôz mit armen der schoenen lip vil süezeclîch er kuste.

Ettmüller, followed by Bartsch, Symons, Panzer and Haupt, treats *der schoenen lip* as the object of both *beslôz* and *kuste*. The manuscript, however, has *besloss sy*.

706, ^{2, 3, 4}

dar umbe muosten doln

diu her ze beiden sîten wunden vil ir mâgen
gewunnen zallen zîten.

Panzer and Haupt take *wunden vil* as the object of *muosten doln* and of *gewunnen*. Bartsch, Symons and Martin avoid ἀπὸ κοινοῦ by means of a period after *sîten* and the absolute use of *doln*. The position of *wunden vil* after the caesura might favor the latter interpretation, but it does not necessitate it. On the other hand, the reading with a period after *sîten* might reasonably require the probably difficult demonstration of the use in the *Gudrun*, without an object, of *doln* in the sense of "suffer."

752, ^{1, 2}

Dô si nu getruogen und vuorten ab der fluot
vil schilde si besluogen und manegen helm guot.

Martin, Panzer and Symons construe *vil schilde* as the object both of *getruogen und vuorten* and of *besluogen*. Bartsch unnecessarily supplies some word for weapons with the first line.

853, ^{1, 2}

Dô sach der marnaere ûf den ûnden wagen
ein schif mit richen segelen hiez er dem kûnege sagen.

Haupt alone considers this half-strophe an example of the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction. He takes *ein schif* as the object of both *sach* and *hiez sagen*. Bartsch, Martin and Symons have a period after *segelen*, and for *hiez er dem kûnege sagen* have *dem kûnege hiez erz sagen*.

3. The common middle part functions as the object of one clause and the subject of the other.

214,^{2, 3}

hieʒ Hôranden bringen: dem ist wol erkant
alle site Hagenen hât er wol gesehen.

Panzer, Martin, Bartsch and Symons unite in considering this an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, taking *alle site Hagenen* as the subject of *ist erkant* and the object of *hât gesehen*.

654,^{1, 2, 3}

Mit hundred sîner helde gieng er dâ er vant
gezweiet mit ir muoter von Hegelinge lant
Kûdrûn enphieng in mit anderen vrouwen.

Bartsch, Panzer, Symons, Martin and Haupt all construe *von Hegelinge lant Kûdrûn* as the object of *vant* and the subject of *enphieng*.

4. All cases of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ not provided for in the three other classes. Of this fourth class *Gudrun* offers but one possible example:

780,^{3, 4}

zuo in ûz der veste
die Hetelen degene wolten slahen die vil werden geste.

Panzer considers this an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction where the subject and a part of the predicate (*die Hetelen degene wolten*) are common to two clauses. He apparently construes *wolten* both with an understood verb of motion and with *slahen* and regards *degene* as the common subject of both verbs. But Bartsch, Martin and Symons make *slahen* an infinitive of purpose, i. e. "to them from the fortress Hetele's thanes would (go) in order to slay the noble guests." This seems by far the more sensible arrangement.

Finally, it may be claimed that no conclusion in regard to genuine and spurious strophes may be reached from an investigation of the occurrence of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in *Gudrun*. The number of strophes in which the construction is found is too small to allow definite conclusions as to its distribution between genuine and spurious strophes. But even this small number shows no indication in either direction. Martin maintains that ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in *Gudrun* is found chiefly in spurious strophes. Martin's criterion of genuineness is Müllenhoff's

edition. Following this, we should expect, if the cases of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ were proportionately divided between genuine and spurious strophes, to find that 415/1705 of the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ strophes (considered as such by Martin, Panzer, Bartsch or Symons) were genuine. Instead, we find the proportion to be 3/16, making a difference of less than 1/16, that is to say, less than one strophe. Thus Martin's assertion would lead us to the conclusion that because we find that one more ἀπὸ κοινοῦ strophe is spurious than we expected to find from the proportion thruout the poem between genuine and spurious strophes, therefore ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is found chiefly in spurious strophes—a conclusion that is obviously a *reductio ad absurdum*.

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THE GEATS OF BEOWULF

It is a curious fact that the people most prominently mentioned in Anglo-Saxon epic poetry are not yet certainly identified. As late as 1907 the nationality of the Geats was still being discussed, and even to-day the question would seem to be an open one.

Most scholars have assigned the Geats of *Beowulf* to the Swedish province of Götland, which apparently was an independent state up to the middle of the sixth century. On the other hand, very few of the early *Beowulf* scholars held the opposite view that the Geats were inhabitants of the Danish peninsula of Jutland; among them may be mentioned R. T. Hampson in England, H. Leo in Germany, and F. J. Schallemose in Denmark, none of whom made their opinions a subject for serious argument.

In recent times, however, the identification of the epic Geats and the historical Jutes has been defended in a thoroughly scientific way. Pontus Fahlbeck, for instance, a renowned Swedish historian, wrote in 1884 a treatise on "The Beowulf as a Source for Ancient Northern History"¹ in which he contended that the Geats could not have been inhabitants of Götland, but must have dwelt in Jutland. Admitting that Geats ordinarily means Göts, inhabitants of Sweden, he points out that in some dialects it means also Jutes. This point, in the opinion of the present writer, has been somewhat overvalued. A nation's name may be easily changed. In the cycle of the Nibelungs, to note a striking example, the Nibelungs are generally named Burgundians and their antagonists, the Völsungs, are commonly called Franks; but in the poem of *Waltharius* these designations have been shifted, and during the wandering of the story through Scandinavia, the Nibelungs are occasionally made Danes and Swedes. May not a similar confusion have arisen in regard to the Geats? If such be the case, we had better turn from the name itself to a consideration of the geographical details in the text of Beowulf. It is to Fahlbeck's credit that he was the first

¹ Beovulfsvädet såsom källa för nordisk fornhistoria, Antiquarisk tidskrift för Sverige, VIII, 2.

to recognize the importance of this point of view. His conclusions have been adopted by several scholars, notably by Steenstrup in his contribution to "Danmarks Riges Historie." We shall follow the summary of Fahlbeck's views which was recently presented by Axel Olrik at a meeting of the "Philologisk historisk Samfund" in Copenhagen.

The first thing to do, says Olrik, is to examine the collective evidence bearing on the nationality and geography of the nation in question. Fortunately we may begin here with a few more or less generally accepted identifications. As early as 1816, Grundtvig identified the Geatic hero Hygelác with the historical king Chochilaicus mentioned by Gregory of Tours as reigning about the year 520; perhaps, too, Hygelác may be identified with king Huglethus, mentioned by Saxo (IV, 175). The Swedes Óthhere, Onela, and Eádgils of *Beowulf* have been generally equated with the Swedes Óttar, Áli, and Áthils of *Inglingsatal*. In the light of these identifications, now, we should keep in mind the following facts:

1. The Gallo-Roman Gregory of Tours, historian of the Franks, was born only about forty years after the expedition of Chochilaicus, king of the Danes,—the Hygelác of *Beowulf*.

2. The Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*, preserved in a manuscript of the tenth century, was composed about the year 700. Hygelác in this poem is king of the Geats, which may in some dialects be equivalent to Jutes. The Geats are called also Wederas, which is most probably equivalent to Eudoses, neighbours of the Angles and their fellows in the cult of Nerthus.² The Geats are intimate allies of the Danes. Whereas their stories are recorded with the most friendly and minute interest by the Anglo-Saxons, whose epics have never put on record a single deed or person undoubtedly Gótic, of the Swedes only those are mentioned who had something to do with Geatic affairs.—The Geats undertake a great expedition against Gaul as the Jutes often did, together with Saxons or insular Danes, whereas no such expedition is ever heard of in the case of the Góts. The Geats, in return, are threatened by the Franks of Gaul as the Jutes repeatedly were from the

² See Tacitus, *Germania*, Ch. 40. For correspondence of We and Eu compare the old Teutonic tribe called Vithungi, Iuthingi, Euthingi. S voiced would develop into R.

sixth to the ninth century. The Franks are accordingly thought of as neighbors to the Geats, *not* separated from them by the sea. The Geats are constantly fighting the Swedes, just as the Jutes must have been doing in the eighth and ninth centuries, when a swarm of Swedish invaders settled in South Jutland near the town of Slesvig under kings of their own, Gnupa and Sigtrygg; but from the country of the Swedes the Geats seem to have been *separated by the sea*.

3. The Danish author Saxo, living in the twelfth century, calls Huglethus king of the Danes. This information is recorded among traditions intimately concerning the Jutes, and we learn further only that Huglethus engaged in a contest with two Swedes, (h) ömoth and (h) ögrim,³ whom he conquers at sea.

4. In the *Ynglingatal* of the Norwegian author Þjóðholfr enn hvinverski, composed about the ninth or tenth century, we learn that the Jutes of Skjoldungian times (sometimes called Danes) are constantly fighting with the Swedes, among whom Óttar is named as an active participator, whereas his son Áthils, "the foe of Áli," is mentioned only by the way.⁴ Battles are mentioned in this work as taking place in the Limfjord and in Vendel (the Jutlandic district of that name?); the Swedes make attacks over the sea.

5. In modern Jutland, names of persons and places may in some cases be plausibly identified with Geatic names in *Beowulf*. Hugle-stath, mentioned in the Schleswig by-law as an important place of customs on the southern frontier of South Jutland, is very likely the present Hollingsted near the river Eider.⁵ Again, a name still used for persons, Howli in western Jutland, Holli in South Jutland, is probably to be derived from Huglek, a Danish form of Hygelác.⁶

In summary of the above it may be said that we have

³ Danish ö corresponds to Anglo-Saxon ea. Compare Hygelác's son and successors fighting with the Swedes Eanmund and Eádgils in the *Beowulf*.

⁴ Compare Óhthere, his son Eádgils and brother Onela in the *Beowulf*.

⁵ This identification is suggested by H. V. Clausen.

⁶ No parallels have hitherto been found in Götland or elsewhere on the Swedish peninsula; there are none on the rune-stones collected by Liljegren, Run-urkunder, or in M. F. Lundgren's collection of mediæval Swedish names in "Svenska Landsmälen" (1892ff).

traditions from four different nations—Franconian, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norwegian—extending from the very time of the events in question to some 600 years after; that there are no traces of literary inter-communication; and that the records are quite consistent, unanimously speaking of Danes or Jutes, or of neighbors of the Franks separated from the Swedes by the sea. Such are the most important arguments set forth by Fahlbeck and his adherents. Now let us look at the arguments advanced by their opponents.

Important pleas have been made by the lamented Swedish archæologist Knut Stjerna, especially in his "*Svear och Göter under folkvandringstiden*," published in "*Svenska fornminnes föreningens tidskrift*," Bd. 12, 339; 1905. Other discussions of note are by H. Schück, particularly that presented in his "*Folknamnet Geatas i den fornengelska dikten Beowulf*," published in the "*Upsala Universitets Årsskrift*" 2, 1907. The most important objections of these two scholars to the arguments advanced above may now be considered.

1. A MS. of the fables of Phaedrus, dating from about the tenth century, contains an addition concerning the "Getic" giant Huiglacus, who was killed near the mouth of the Rhine and buried on a neighboring island. Here we are no doubt confronted with the true Geatic Hygelác, remembered in Frisian or Franconian tradition. The only question is how to interpret the name "Geti." The most obvious interpretation would be: Geti= Goti. In a song dating from about 560 Venantius Fortunatus calls a Goth "Geta." After Jordanis published his "Getica" or history of the Goths, the fusion of Geti and Goti became international in literary usage, just as the Danes were called by the antique term, "Daci." And "Goti," further, would seem to be Göts, if anything.⁷

2. Danes, in Franconian tradition as elsewhere, could mean Scandinavians generally, including the Göts. Since Gregory knew the Danes from their expedition in the year 560, when they were defeated near Bordeaux, he might easily have used their name instead of a less well known tribe name from their neighborhood (Schück, p. 29, 30).

⁷ See Schück, "*Folknamnet*," p. 31.

3. Wederas, the surname of the Geats, might point to the "Väderöar" ("Weather-islands") near the coast of Bohuslän and North Halland, districts both of which formerly belonged to Western Götland. Taken as a whole, the topographical details of the Geatic country, such as cliffs etc., agree with Götland better than with Jutland (Schück, 25ff.).

4. The Geatic state is independent of the Danish just as Götland was, whereas no independent Jutlandic state was ever heard of (Schück, 31).

5. If the Geats had not only been the good friends of the Danes, but had also lived on Danish ground, we should have expected Danish tradition to take a keen interest in the Geatic-Swedish conflict, but of this there is no trace. Danish tradition has a list of Swedish kings differing altogether from those mentioned in *Beowulf* and *Ynglingatal* (Stjerna).

6. The Geatic-Swedish conflict, on the other hand, was sufficiently important and dramatic to interest even the Anglo-Saxons, for it was a struggle between life and death, ending with the ruin of Geatic independence and the absorption of the Götlic state into Sweden. (Stjerna).

7. If the Geats had been Jutes we should have expected a close intercourse with the Saxons and Bards, but of this there is no trace in *Beowulf*. (Schück 41, 42).

8. The account of the Franks threatening the Geats is not as significant as the account of the relations between Geats and Swedes. The former might easily have been interpolated during the wandering of the tradition through the neighborhood of the Franks. Besides, even the Jutes had no great reason for fearing the Franks. (Schück 43).

9. The expedition of the Geats against Gaul is an isolated incident, no link in a chain of unbroken relations like those between Geats and Swedes. Such a single expedition from Götland to Gaul might have taken place, just as Norwegians were sometimes seen operating in Frisland or Gaul. (Schück 42).

10. There is a most vivid description of the intercourse existing between Geats and Swedes, indicating that they were close neighbors. (Schück 41, Stjerna).

11. If the Geats in *Beowulf* meant Jutes, we should have

to account for the strange absence of any allusion to the powerful Göts, who lived between the Swedes and the Danes. (Schück 44).

12. The Göts of ancient times were certainly not the inland nation that Fahlbeck and his adherents maintain. And even if Götland is contiguous with Sweden, still the main intercourse between the two countries must in ancient times have been by water, over the great lakes Vättern and Vänern. (Schück 21ff., 32ff.).

13. The *Ynglingatal*, in reality, is neither Swedish nor Norwegian, but represents a version redacted in England by Danish vikings who desired to celebrate the victories of the Danes over the Swedes. That the redactors, far from the scene of events, should have transplanted Götlic localities and persons to Jutland, is quite natural. Moreover this displacement was favored by the fact that the Swedish district of Vendel, which played an important part in the Geatic-Swedish struggle, had a namesake in Jutland. (Stjerna).

Schück and Stjerna have indeed set forth many arguments worthy of consideration. But there is one fact which cannot fail to impress the reader: notwithstanding that the collective evidence against their position is consistent, Schück and Stjerna undertake to undermine this consistency by a series of negative arguments too personal, or questionable, to inspire confidence.

2. The term "Danes" of Chochilaicus would have to be taken not in its most obvious sense.

8. The passage about the Franks threatening the Geats would have to be interpolated.

12. Intercourse "over the sea" would have to be construed to mean something different from "Intercourse between nations separated by the sea."

13. The *Ynglingatal* would not belong to the nationality to which it is by tradition ascribed. Its "Jutic" localities and persons would no longer be Jutic.

Do not the negations in this list seem extremely improbable? Let us now look carefully at single statements, many of which will prove even more conjectural.

1. Schück maintains that Geti (Goti) points toward

Göts, not toward Jutes. Of course it does, if we regard the modern spelling only. But at the very time of the event described, the Göts were "Gauts"; and the Jutes were "Eots," or something like that. Accordingly, the evidence of the vowels does not in reality favor the Göts. Moreover, we must remember that King Alfred in his translation of Orosius calls Jutland exactly "Gotland." And other instances seem to prove that names like "Geti" are little to be relied upon. In a manuscript mentioned by Kemble⁸ we find the following list of names,—Cinrincius, Gothus, Jutus, Suethedus, Dacus, Wandalus, Gethus, Fresus, Geatte,—said in the commentary to be the ancestors of nine nations which have conquered Britain: namely, the Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Vandals, Geats, and Frisians. However, the terms in this list may have been used originally, in its present form Gothus is evidently a doublet for Jutus, and Gethus and Geatte simply the triplet and quadruplet of the same name. Therefore it were best to leave Huiglac's "Geti" with a sign of interrogation.⁹

2. That *Danes* in Viking times often meant Scandinavians in general, is admitted. But what authority can be cited to support the claim that the name had already acquired this significance by the middle of the sixth century? The only fact in evidence is that the name of Danes was at that time beginning to spread beyond its original boundaries; the Danes had expelled the Herules (Jordanes), and the tribes on the Jutlandic peninsula were occasionally called Danish (Procopius). But the subordination of the name Jutes to that of Danes had not yet become a fixed rule; about the

⁸ Translation of Beowulf, London, 1837, preface, p. VIII.

⁹ The Icelandic author Snorri Sturluson, in his *Ynglinga Saga*, relates a tale about a Swedish king Hagleik who is slain by Starkad. It would at first glance seem likely enough that this was the Geatic Hygelác, who, as king of the Göts, had in epical tradition become a Swede because his country had been swallowed up by Sweden. But, in Saxo's version of the same tale (VI, 279), the corresponding person, Haglethus, is called King of Ireland (Hibernia), and he has nothing at all to do with Sweden. In Starkad's death song, the most authentic source of tradition about this hero, the episode in question does not occur. According to Olrik, Danmarks Heltedigtning, II, 115ff., the whole episode of Hagleik in *Ynglingasaga* would be a late Norwegian fiction.

year 580 the Gallo-Roman court-poet Venantius refers to the Danes, Jutes (Euthiones), and Saxons side by side as neighbors of the Franconian territory; and about the year 550, the Franconian king Theodeberht relates the voluntary submission of the Saxons and Jutes (Eucii), making no mention of the Danes. Now, as a matter of fact, the said submission was an illusion, and Hygelác's expedition against Gaul about the year 520 remained for at least forty years the only epically celebrated meeting between Franks and Northmen. Its renown among western nations is testified to by the tale of the giant Huiglac, still remembered in the tenth century. And the defeat of the Danes near Bordeaux in the year 560, even though sung by the Gallo-Roman court-poet Venantius, never obtained the same epical importance. Therefore, if one of the two bands of invaders gave its name to the other, it must have been that of the year 520, and not that of the year 560.

3. Equations of ancient tribe names and modern place names, such as Wederas and Väder-öar, are very questionable, as long as the said place names do not belong to large, important districts. In the present case, Schück's equation may at least be balanced by the equation Wederas-Eudoses, where the correspondence to the tribe name is a tribe name itself. It may be added that the Eudoses no doubt lived in North Jutland, for here Ptolemy mentions a tribe Fundusioi, nowhere else spoken of, quite obviously a misreading of *Eudusioi; they are neighbors of the Charudes from whom the modern district name Har-syssel or Harthe-syssel is derived. About 60 B. C. Edusii (or Eudures) and Harudes followed the Swabians on their expedition to Gaul.

As for the more local details in *Beowulf* they can hardly be taken into account as being more than poetic fancies. If, for example, the Geatic country is said to be a rocky one, this description is not necessarily based upon geographical knowledge, nor is Götland indicated to the exclusion of Jutland, for the poet probably knew as little about that one country as the other, and derived his descriptive terms from his knowledge of the topography of English or French shores.¹⁰

¹⁰ Schück identifies Earnanaes (*Beowulf*), with Aranäs on the coast of North Halland. He thinks there is no corresponding name in Jutland. But there is at any rate an Arnaes on the coast of South Jutland.

4. A "state of Jutland" as balancing the "state of Denmark" is not the matter in question. Since antiquity knew neither the one nor the other, but only small independent tribes in Jutland as in all other Teutonic countries, there is nothing to prevent the assumption that such independent tribes still existed in the times of the Skjoldungs. "Geats" are not necessarily equivalent to "all the Jutes," but on the other hand may be only *one* of the Jutlandic tribes. The alliance between Geats and Skjoldungs may have been the first step toward the full union established later.

5. That the Swedish kings in Danish tradition are called by names quite different from those in the *Ynglingatal* is shown by Olrik in "Danmarks Heltedigtning." But the use made by Stjerna of these discrepancies is misleading; their bearing upon our problem is merely on the surface. In Danish, as in other Scandinavian traditions, the current of epical themes flows steadily from the south toward the north carrying with it southern heroic names to be transplanted upon northern soil. Thus a great number of homeless Gothic or Germanic heroes were turned into Norwegians or Swedes. And the result is that strange list of "Swedish" kings appearing in Saxo's epical books,—fictions indeed, quite different from the list of the *Ynglingatal*. This whole matter is irrelevant to the question whether or not Danish tradition knew the real Swedes. The question should rightly be stated thus: Who are the real Swedes mentioned in Danish epical tradition? Do they belong to the Beowulfian group or not? That is the question, and Stjerna's observation still leaves it without answer.

6. That a Götic poem could have had any interest for the Angles far away from the scene of the events described, when it did not interest such near neighbors as the Danes, is hardly to be imagined. This problem will be discussed separately below (p. 591ff.). But what about the much emphasized "dramatic character" of the Götic-Swedish conflict which *Beowulf* is supposed to describe? What is our authority? As far as the present writer can see there is but one significant authority, and that is exactly that "Geatic" poem of *Beowulf*, the Götic origin of which has first to be proved.

7. The supposition that Jutic nationality would of necessity involve close relations with the Saxons may at first glance seem plausible, but in reality is not borne out by facts. Even the Angles, on the continent, appear to have been allied to the Danes,—in the cult of Nerthus, for example, rather than to the Saxons. It was not until after the settlement in Britain that a close intercourse between Anglo-Jutes and Saxons developed. If we admit this there is nothing extraordinary about the silence as to the Saxons in *Beowulf*. Indeed, for that matter, there may be *some* traces of Geatic-Saxon intercourse in the poem. For Swerting, a relation of the Geatic princes can, not unlikely, be identified with the person of the same name whom Danish tradition calls a Saxon. Swerting's sons are represented as the murderers of the famous King Frode, and thus Swerting himself would, in Danish tradition, belong to about the same age as the Geats of *Beowulf*.

The presupposition that Jutic nationality would involve conflicts with the Bards is quite arbitrary. It is true that the insular Danes had to fight the Bards, but as the Geats and Danes were only allies, not members of one state, the Danes living in one section of the country might well have had a quarrel with certain of their neighbors without the interference of other sections.

8. That the passage 2911-2922 about lasting enmity between Geats and Franks has no constructive weight for the tradition is possible, but not strictly obvious. The Franks and their allies, in reality, are not mentioned in an incidental way like the Gepides, in line 2495, but repeatedly and with keen interest. That the Jutes, like the Göts, had no reason to fear the Franks, is strictly incorrect. There is an enormous difference between the Göts and the Jutes with respect to their relations with the Franks. Expeditions from Frankish territory against the land of the Göts were unheard of from pre-Christian times till after 1800, when Napoleon tried to attack the Swedes. But the inhabitants of Jutland were, since the beginning of the Christian era, repeatedly threatened by the powers then reigning in the country of the Franks. A Roman fleet, starting from about Frisia, com-

pelled the Cimbrians and Harudes to submission, A. D. 5. After the beginning of the 6th century, the Franks were constantly trying to follow in the steps of the Romans, operating among Saxons, Warines, and Swabians and other neighbors of the Jutes around the lower Elbe. The Gallo-Roman poet Venantius about the year 580 says that the Franks have made Saxons, Jutes and Danes tremble for their power. And only a few years after Hygelâc's defeat, the Saxons and Jutes were actually compelled to do homage to his conqueror, King Theodeberht of North France, the Hug-Dietrich of German epos. Now, if we examine the Franco-Geatic relations in *Beowulf*, we shall find them corresponding exactly with the Franco-Jutic. The poem speaks only of a lasting enmity,—not of intimate personal relations such as existed between the Geats and Swedes. And how could it be otherwise? How could we expect *Beowulf* to mention personal relations which did *not* exist? *Beowulf*, as a matter of fact, seems to foreshadow the submission of the Jutes to the Franks about the year 550, and that is all we can expect. The correspondence between poem and history is so clear and unmistakable that it cannot be slighted, even if the "lasting enmity" between Geats and Franks had to be eliminated from the text of *Beowulf*, as an interpolation. The conclusion reached is that the theory of interpolation has more than one weak point. Not only does it belong to an already too long list of questionable negations against a consistent body of evidence, but, even if admitted, it proves insufficient as an argument against this evidence. We cannot deny the fact that the supposed interpolator regarded the Geats of *Beowulf* as neighbors of the Franks, that is to say, as Jutes,—or else he must have been more ignorant about political geography than we are allowed to suppose.

9. The assumed Götic undertaking against Gaul must surely have been an entirely isolated one, since we hear elsewhere nothing of Götic expeditions so far west. As a matter of fact the isolation is so remote that it becomes suspicious. (Cp. 10).

10. Of course, a close intercourse between Jutland and Sweden is not exactly what we expect—*a priori*. But to

Danish epical tradition the idea is not at all unfamiliar—compare the raid of a so-called Swedish King Adils upon South Jutland about the time of King Wermund. And in historical times it became simply a matter of fact. In the ninth century, a Swedish dynasty is known to have become established in South Jutland. Among the runic memorials raised over Swedish vikings, westward intercourse figures nearly as prominently as the eastward movement. England is mentioned directly about ten times. The inscription of Husby, for example, mentions a Swede Sven who died in Jutland on his way to England. Now, if the Swedes in the 9th century were settling in Jutland and making rather frequent trips as far west as England, the backward perspective quite naturally leads us to the conclusion that in the 6th century their operations upon Jutland had already begun. Some Swedish family might have settled among the Jutes, as the family of Waegmundings that went from Sweden to the Geats. And, when once settled, further relations between the emigrants and their home-land would naturally result. Other Swedes might follow their example just as Ongentheow's descendants provisionally followed the example of the Waegmundings.

11. If the foregoing conjecture is correct, it again explains why an Anglo-Saxon poem like *Beowulf* mentions the Swedes and not the Göts: the Swedes are mentioned as interfering with the neighbors of the Angle-Saxons; the Göts are left out as not interfering,—that is all.

12. That the expressions “over the sea,” “over the water” and so on, might be applied to passage over the great lakes of Svearike and Götland, is, perhaps, not strictly impossible, even though rather hard to reconcile with the import of the passages in question. But such a possibility has nothing to do with the question whether or not it is conceivable that the Göts of Skjoldungian times might undertake a maritime expedition as far west as Gaul; this question must be discussed apart.

That the Göts of Skjoldungian times had more western sea-coast than their descendents is, of course, possible. Schüek may be right in assigning to them the later Norwegian province,

Bohuslän. But to make Adam of Bremen assign to them the province of Halland is too arbitrary to be allowed. And where, in truth, is the authority for extensive Geatic sea-faring and sufficient naval prowess to undertake to conduct the first fleet to the shores of western Europe? Schück makes no attempt to give evidence, and surely to do so would be a difficult task. As there is an hiatus in the arguments not only of Schück, but of all other contributors to the discussion it behooves us to endeavor to fill the gap by examination of evidences of sea-faring generally in the Baltic.

As regards the Swedes, the evidence is most venerable. The Roman writer Tacitus, in the first century after Christ, praises their naval skill: "they are strong by means of armed men and fleets"; it is the only place where Tacitus mentions Teutonic sea-faring in the whole of his "*Germania*."¹¹ *Beowulf* and *Ynglingatal* show that the Swedish sea-faring of the sixth century had not degenerated; its sphere of enterprise, according to *Ynglingatal*, extends from Estonia to North Jutland. The poem of the battle of Bråvalla, that general rendezvous of Scandinavian heroes, represents the Swedish king's fleet as composed of Swedes and Gothlanders only. Danish tradition records the raids of a Swedish king into South Jutland and the battle between King Hugleth and two Swedish vikings. The rune-stones mention numerous Swedish vikings who perished abroad. And their expeditions were directed not only against the coast directly opposite Sweden ("austr"), but also towards western countries ("vestr"). There are about thirty-five rune-stones recording expeditions towards the east, very often reaching Greece, twice even Italy; in this number we do not count above ten rune-stones mentioning people who took part in one of these expeditions, namely, that of Ingvar. There are about twenty-five rune-stones mentioning expeditions towards the west,—in nine cases referring directly to England or its neighborhood. Such expeditions resulted in the provisional establishment of a Swedish king in South Jutland.

Regarding other Baltic nations, the evidences of sea-far-

¹¹ Adam of Bremen praises the Swedish armies and fleets in words suggesting those of Tacitus; but here, also, the Göts could be included, as he reckons Götland as part as Sweden.

ing do not go quite as far back, but still there is a fairly venerable tradition, when taken collectively. The Herules ravaged Gaul and Spain from the 3rd to the 5th centuries, at the same time also, ravaging the shores of the Black Sea and of the Archipelago. Rugians (from Pomerania) are named as their followers towards western shores in the fourth century, and the memory of their undertakings still lives in the tale of King Hagen whom *Widsith* calls "King of the Holm-Rugians." The Jutes follow in the fifth and sixth centuries, the eastern Danes after 560.

We hear, too, of Danish expeditions to Sweden. For example, about the year 980, the exiled Swedish Prince Styrbjörn in making his unfortunate attempt to conquer Sweden was turned back by a Danish army, and not less than three rune-stones in Skåne refer to the participation of the Danes in this fight. Another rune-stone in Skåne mentions an expedition to Gothland, and a rune-stone in Lollard mentions an expedition to Sweden. Adam of Bremen tells of the vast amount of gold gathered by the Vikings on Seeland.

Thus we see that the sea-faring of Baltic nations from earliest times to the Viking age is well authenticated. Now what about the *Göts*? If they had taken part in the expeditions to any great extent, this fact would have been recorded. They are conspicuous only by their absence. Tacitus does not mention them with the Swedes. From antiquity we know simply their name (*Goutai*, Ptolemy). Jordanes in the sixth century and Adam of Bremen in the eleventh attribute little importance to the *Göts* as compared to the Swedes. The Bråvallian list of warriors places the *Göts* among the infantry, not among the marine forces. Danish traditions never mention Götic vikings, and the *Göts*, on the whole, play a very inconspicuous part. There are hardly a dozen rune-stones mentioning Götic vikings or transmarine intercourse, five pointing eastward, four pointing west: one rune-stone at Hobro in North Jutland; three rune-stones mentioning vikings fallen in England. We know of no historical Götic expedition towards England or Gaul corresponding to the Swedish expedition to South Jutland. The Götic capital Skara mentioned by Adam of Bremen has an extremely inland po-

sition. Under these circumstances we must declare: The collective evidence shows that the Göts from ancient times were a decidedly inland people. That these people could undertake such an expedition as that recorded by Hygelác is inconceivable. Whereas this expedition, if Jutic, would fit in with a tradition already unbroken for centuries, it would, if Götic be a first step on a new course—the beginning of naval engagements between the Scandinavian peninsula and western Europe. That, surely, was not the achievement of untrained men like the Göts, but rather of experienced sailors like the Jutes.

13. Stjerna places great emphasis on the statement that *Ynglingatal* was redacted in England. We shall not venture upon a criticism of this statement, although an expert like Finnur Jónsson has strongly denied its possibility. But, taking the Anglo-Scandian origin of *Ynglingatal* for granted,—what guarantee have we that its author was a Dane? He might quite as well have been a Norwegian, and, in reality, the poem has not the faintest trace of anything pointing towards the so-called “Danicizing tendency,”—apart from exactly those Jutlandic localities the Götic origin of which has first to be proved.

So much for the objections to Fahlbeck’s theory. Notwithstanding all this, we believe his theory is still held in favor. Its foundations remain unshaken,—the consistent evidence of four different nations from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. In support of it, no violence to the existing texts is required. There are no names or characters to be dispensed with as epical disguises or interpolations. The only circumstance which might seem difficult to explain is the close intercourse between tribes so remote from one another as the Swedes and Jutes. But the actual existence of this intercourse is certified by the documentary evidence that, during the Viking age, many Swedes touched even English shores, and that a Swedish kingdom was established for nearly a century in South Jutland.

The objections, then, to Fahlbeck’s theory seem not to be sufficiently assuring; nor do the independent arguments of his opponents appear any more convincing. As has been

said, the theory favoring the Göts cannot make use of the texts as they stand, but must resort to conjectures and interpolations. The suggestion that an out-of-the-way theme like that of a Götic-Swedish conflict would be of interest to remote and mightier peoples to the south, is contrary to the usual epical trend which moves from the south toward the north, and not in the opposite direction.

No, the assumption that a tribe like the Göts, in a measure continental, should lead the first great expedition from the Scandinavian peninsula to Gaul, is contrary to all we know about the history of sea-faring.

In the writer's opinion, the above statements would be already sufficient to settle the matter; but if further evidence is available, it will, of course, be more than welcome. And, surely, there remains a mass of evidence accessible to us.

First, the history of epical literature among the different nations concerned has yet to be more methodically examined than hitherto, especially its geographical side, which has been greatly neglected. Secondly, there is a sort of evidence heretofore almost completely ignored, namely, the ethnical significance of the names of persons. It is the first of these two propositions which the remainder of the present paper will attempt to outline.

The geography of literary themes, epical as well as others, is only a special region of the geographical horizon taken as a whole. Such a horizon, in all its epical, mythical, and commercial variations, was made, seventy-eight years ago, the object of serious study by the Danish philologist Niels Mathias Petersen, who in 1834 published his *Handbook of Old Northern Geography*.¹² His work deserved to become the cornerstone of a special branch of study, but, unfortunately, it passed over the heads of his contemporaries. Since Petersen's time, little has been accomplished in developing this new science; we can mention Mommsen's investigation of the geographical horizon in the works of the Gothic historian Jordanes; Heinzel's and Matthäi's studies of the horizon of Gothic epics; and the works of Bugge, of Olrik, and of Chad-

¹² *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi*, Copenhagen, 1834.

wick.¹³ Recently, following the course indicated by N. M. Petersen, I have myself undertaken, in several books and treatises, to determine the geography of epic themes.¹⁴ In these researches I have used several technical terms which should be introduced here, in order to make the following discussion sufficiently precise:

Symporia, sphere of intercourse or communication (Danish *Samfærds-kres*, *Samfærdsfare*).

Synscopia, geographical horizon (Dan. *Synskres*, *Synssfare*).

Intrazona, inner zone (Dan. *Inderzone*).

Mediozona, mid zone (Dan. *Midzone*).

Ultrazona, outer zone (Dan. *Yderzone*).

Ignotozona, unknown zone (Dan. *Ukendtzone*).

In the present investigation our special theme is the epical geography of the Anglo-Saxons and their neighbors. It will be necessary to discuss: A. The general direction or current of epic themes; B. The Anglo-Saxon horizon. We ought also to study the Danish and Norwegian horizons, but this must be left for another occasion.

It is a well authenticated fact that among the "Goth-folk," the Teutons, the general trend or current of epic themes flowed strongly from south to north. Our Teutonic ancestors had not the brilliant and original imagination of the Celts, allowing them to interest their mightier neighbors of southern Europe in an Arthurian cycle and out-of-the-way themes from the Northern outer zone. On the contrary, the ancient Teutons adopted rather mechanically Southern themes of epics, just as their descendants adopt Southern modes of

¹³ Especially S. Bugge, *Studier over nordiske Gude-og Heltesagn*, Christiania, 1881-96 (part translations into English and German); A. Olrik, *Kilderne til Sakes Oldhistorie*, Copenhagen, 1892-94; H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, Cambridge, 1907.

¹⁴ S. Schütte, *Über die alte politische Geographie der nicht-klassischen Völker Europas*, *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, XV, 211-336, 1903; *Anganty-Kvadets Geografi*, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, XXI, 30-44, 1905; *Oldsagn om Godtjod, vore Forfædres Land, Folk, Race*, Copenhagen, 1907 (a doctoral dissertation on the horizon of the "Goth-folk," i. e. the Teutons); *En historisk Parallel til Nibelung-Sagnet*, *Ark. f. nord. filol.* XXIV, 1-15, 1908; review of Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, *Ark. f. nord. filol.* XXV, 310-332, 1909.

dress. The exceptions are very rare, the most notable being the tale of Högni, Hedinn, and Hildr, which wandered apparently from Northern shores up the Rhine to upper Germany.

What is the application of this principle to our special issue? Obviously the general northward current of epic tradition would easily carry a Jutic or Danish theme to Norway or Sweden; the transportation of a Götic-Swedish theme, however, southward to Denmark or England, would be an exception, in reality dead against the current. True, it is quite conceivable that the Anglo-Saxons and Danes would take an interest in a struggle between "Geats" and *Franks*, no matter who the Geats were; for the Franks were the greatest power within the Anglo-Danish horizon, and the Frankish struggle with the Geats lived on within that very southern zone of tradition¹⁵ which was the most popular source of importations into Northern epics. On the other hand, it is not obvious that Anglo-Saxons and Danes would be interested in a struggle between "Geats" and Swedes if the former were actually *Göts*. For both Swedes and *Göts* lived in an out-of-the-way country, which is hardly ever known to have forced its epical themes against the general current running from south to north.

To pass to the question of the Anglo-Saxon horizon, we have first to ask, how far did the Anglo-Saxon horizon extend toward the north-east. More precisely, did its inner or mid-zone include Sweden sufficiently to make a vivid interest for Götic-Swedish relations conceivable?

A negative answer has already been indicated by Fahlbeck, whose remarks are still worth careful consideration. "The tale of Beowulf," says Fahlbeck, "must evidently have originated within that nation whose hero he was. But how has the tale passed from Götland to England? And how has an Anglian poet conceived the idea of composing the poem which we now possess? Several attempts have been made to explain this, but with little success. No emigration took place from Götland to England;¹⁶ but without such an emigration,

¹⁵ Cf. the Phædrus manuscript, see p. 577.

¹⁶ Although many single Swedes went to England during the viking period, there is no record of a viking raid or whole expedition led by Swedes (the *Göts* included) so far west.

and a large one, the wandering of the tale to the great western isle is hardly conceivable. When the skald composed his poem, which must have happened in the beginning, or at latest, in the middle of the eighth century, he took his theme immediately from the people. But it seems undeniable that in England it was originally a popular possession of no other nation than exactly that people who regarded it as their peculiar property. That it later passed from its original owners to their neighbors with whom the former were soon amalgamated to one nation, the Anglo-Saxon,—this fact can be freely admitted. But with a band of its original owners it must have passed over the sea, and only so has it secured a domicile in England.”¹⁷

There is, *a priori*, considerable probability in Fahlbeck's statements, but of course they must be controlled more exactly before a decided answer can be given. We must search for evidence which gives a more accurate idea of the Anglo-Saxon horizon during the age in question. Fortunately the Anglo-Saxon horizon is extremely apparent; it merely has not yet been examined methodically.

The most rational proceeding would be an examination of the Anglo-Saxon sea-faring, trade, and exterior politics during the migration age. Such a method has been outlined by Mr. Chadwick in his most valuable research into the origins of the English nation. If followed out, it will surely give our ideas of ethnic development the solid foundation hitherto eagerly awaited. But we cannot here enter upon the details which such researches would involve. We should be led too far afield. We must confine our attention to those traces of the geographical horizon of the Anglo-Saxons which are left in their epic literature and personal names.

The principal source of Anglo-Saxon geographical traditions in ancient times is that curious poem called the *Widsith* (“Wide-traveller”); supplementary material is found in the poems of *Beowulf* and *Finn*.

The poem of *Widsith*, or rather those three poems which are amalgamated into the collection so named, is composed in the didactic style once familiar to all “Goth-folk,” but later

¹⁷ Fahlbeck, *Beovulfsqvädet* 37-8.

conserved only among the authors of the Old Norse Eddic lays and skaldic poems. The *Widsith* consists of long lists of princes and nations, chiefly the dry, naked names, now and then interrupted by a few lines describing either the most celebrated nations of Europe or peoples near akin to the Anglo-Saxons. The three parts of the collection are arranged after rather different schemes: the first part as a sort of "Almanach de Gotha" or epical "Who's Who," the second as an itinerary, the third as a catalogue of "Gothic nobility" (*ethel Gotena*),—"Gothic" meaning here the same as Teutonic. There are several anachronisms within each of the three parts, and several chronological discrepancies between one part and another. There is also a sort of national discrepancy, the first part sympathizing with the Angles against the Myrgings, the second part being attributed to a poet from the latter nation. But however different the three parts may be in scheme and details, throughout all of them we observe the stamp of a firm geographical tradition, an exact attention to epical and political rank. By means of this evidence we can determine the zones of the Anglo-Saxon horizon in its different aspects.

First we shall have to examine the *commercial-political* horizon. It is contained in Part II of the *Widsith* collection, the itinerary through the Gothic world of the migration age. We shall now sum up the groups of nations, tribes, and noble families mentioned therein.

I. First and second class powers in Europe, "Gothic" and "non-Gothic" nationality not differentiated; those printed in italics are distinguished by mention and praise of their regents: Huns, *Goths*, *Burgundians*, Franks, Romans, *Greeks*.

II. "Non-Gothic" nations, less renowned than those in group I: Finns, Skrid-Finns, Picts, Scots, Bretons, Slavs (Saracens; Serings, Chinese interpolated?)

III. "Gothic" nations from the remoter coasts of the Atlantic, the Kattegat, and the Baltic; Throwendas, Hæredas, Hædnas, Reamas (Norway), Göts, Swedes, Rugians, Glommas, Gepides, Vandals.

IV. "Gothic" nations, tribes, and noble families in the nearer neighborhood of the poet's country; Longobards (in

Germany), Thuringians, Frisians, Hundings, Swabes, Siggs, Saxons, Angles, Varines, Danes.

V. The poet's countrymen and their friends, distinguished by the most detailed mention and praise of their regents: Myrgings and Longobards (in Italy).

The Myrgings probably lived east of the lower Elbe in the present Brandenburg, which was in ancient times called Maurunga; the Anglo-Saxon form Myrgingas or Myrjingas can be derived from *Mauriungoz. The district extends a little farther toward the south than the home of the Anglo-Saxons, but on the whole we may regard the Myrging horizon as identical with the Anglo-Saxon.

From the above list we learn that the commercial-political horizon of the nations beyond the lower Elbe extended certainly as far as the Scandinavian peninsula, even as far north as Trondhjem; whereas to the south so little notice was taken of near and rather important neighbors, as for example the Hesses, Allemans, and Bavarians, that they were not mentioned in the list at all. This fact would agree fairly well with the supposition that the inner zone of the Anglo-Saxon horizon included the Scandinavian peninsula; hence the Anglo-Saxons might take a vivid interest in dramas played as far north as that between the Göts and Swedes.

The commercial-political horizon, however, is not the same as the epical, and we can draw no sure conclusion as long as we have not compared the two. The *epical* horizon of the Anglo-Saxons is contained in Parts I and II of the *Widsith* collection. Part III is of least value for our present research, as it represents a cycle of foreign origin, mostly Ostrogothic, grouped around the giant figure of king Ermanric. It affords another example of that enormous preponderance of southern tradition which is manifest in all other branches of Teutonic epic literature. Far more valuable for us is part I. It is, on the whole, constructed after a scheme relatively parallel to part II; aside from the discrepancies caused by the opposite national point of view, we find a corresponding arrangement as to rank and precedence:—

I. First and second class powers in Europe, "Gothic" and "non-Gothic" nationalities not discriminated; distinguished

by their place in the first three lines: Huns, Goths, Burgundians, Greeks, Finns. (The Banings=Sarmates (?) are admitted probably only for the reason that in epical lists they formed an alliterating pair with the Burgundians).

II. "Gothic" nations from the remoter coasts of the North Sea, Kattegat, and Baltic: Franks, Hattuarians, Swedes, Rugians, Glommas.

III. "Gothic" nations, tribes, and noble families in the nearer neighborhood of the poet's country: Longobards, Thuringians, Hælsings, Hundings, Brandings, Siggs, Ymbras, Hokingangs, Wylfings, Eowas, Jutes, Varines.

IV. "Gothic" nations, especially mentioned as foes of the poet's countrymen or of their friends: Myrgings, Swabes, Frisians, Heatho-Bards.

V. The poet's countrymen and their friends, distinguished by the most detailed mention and praise of their regents: Angles and Danes; among the latter, two or three separate royal families are named.

If we now compare the commercial-political horizon with the epical horizon which we have just examined, we shall find their zones partly corresponding, but we cannot help being impressed by the difference in some important points, especially with regard to Scandinavia. Toward the south, it is obvious that the limit of the inner zone is the same; apart from the first class powers, such as Huns and Goths, no names from upper Germany are mentioned, not even from regions a short distance from the centre of the horizon. But toward the north, the disagreement is undeniable; where part II had Throwendas, Hæredas, Hædnas, Reamas, Göts, and Swedes, part I has Swedes only. The inner zone evidently includes the Danes, but here the continuous material stops; quite sporadically a glance seems to fall upon the Swedes, and no mention at all is made of that nation which, according to Schüek and Stjerna, would have been the object of the most vivid interest, namely the Göts.

The objection might be raised that a single poem like *Widsith* I is not sufficient to decide the limits of inner or mid zone in Anglo-Saxon epic geography; if we had more evidence it might confirm the political horizon contained in *Wid-*

sith II. This possibility must be admitted. But why confine ourselves to vague conjectures, if we can obtain a concise answer from the material itself? In fact we can easily obtain such an answer; we need only examine the collective evidence of Anglo-Saxon epical literature. Of course it might lead too far if we should consider every sort of material. We can, however, limit the selection by a very simple restriction; we will accept only such names as are epically renowned, preferring those which can be identified through coinciding evidence from other Teutonic literatures. The material thus selected is set forth below:—

HUNS

Ætla = Attila; an epic account of his attack on the Goths in the woods near the river Vistula is quoted in *Widsith* III. This account corresponds to the Northern theme of the attack of the Huns on the Goths in the Myrkvith forest (*Hervararsaga*); this passage will be cited below as the Myrkvith Fight.

Blædla = Attila's brother Bleda, the duke Bloedelin in the *Nibelungenlied*.

Elsa (Wid. III, among Eormanric's men) perhaps = Esla, one of Atilla's officials; Ilsán in German epos.

GOTHS

Eastgota, and his son Unwen (W III) = Ostrogotha, eponymical ancestor of Gothic kings, and his son (H) Unuil (Jordanes).

Eormanric (W I, II, III *Beowulf*) = Ermanric, the most renowned Gothic king before Theodoric the Great.

Wudga (W III) = Vidigoja, the great Gothic champion (Jordanes); Wittich in German epos, belonging to Ermanric's cycle.

Hama (W III, *Beow.*) = Wittich's companion Heime, who according to *Beowulf*, stole Ermanric's greatest treasure.

Heathoric (W, III) = the Gothic king Heithrek in the Myrkvith Fight; the identification is established by the surrounding persons,—Sifeca, Hlithé, Ongentheow = Sifka, Hlöthr, Angantyr.

Wyrmhære the With-Myrging, Gothic champion fighting against the Huns near the Vistula (W III) = Ormarr, Gothic champion fighting in Myrkvith against the Huns.

Wulfhære, Wyrmhære's companion (W III) = Wolfhart, one of the Gothic king Dietrich's knights in German epos.

Fræotheric (W III) = Friderich, one of Ermanric's victims in German epos, perhaps = the Gothic martyr Frithureiks, who seems to have been burned by the Gothic chieftain Athanarik.

Randhære (W III) = Randvér, another of Ermanric's victims, according to Northern epos.

Rædhære (W III) = Randvér's father Radbard in the *Hyndluljóth*; perhaps again = Radbard the Russian, of Northern epos. ("Russian" means "belonging to eastern Europe").

Rumstan (W III) = Rumstein, belonging to Ermanric's circle in German epos.

Theodric (*Deor's Lament*) = Theodoric the Great; Dietrich von Bern in German epos.

BURGUNDIANS

Gifeca (W I) = Gibica of the Burgundian Law, reappearing in the *Nibelungenlied*.

Guthhære (W II, *Waldere*) = Gundaharius (the same).

Gislhære (W III) = Gislaharius (the same).

We may add some persons of doubtful nationality belonging to the cycle of the Nibelungs:—

Sigemund and his son Fitela (Beow.) = Sigmund and Sin-fjötli.

Hagena and Waldere (*Waldere*) = Högni and Waltharius.

BANINGS

Becca (W I, III) = Beuca, king of the Sarmates in Pannonia, fighting against the Goths (Jordanes) = Bico, king of Livonia, a treacherous person belonging to the cycle of

	Ermanric (Saxo) (Alfred the Great places the Sarmates in Livonia).
HERELINGS	Emerca and Fridla (W III) = Ambrico and Fridilo, two of Ermanric's victims in German epos.
GREEKS AND ROMANS	Casere (W I and II) = Cæsar, "the emperor"; in Northern epos Kiar, king of the Walas. Ongentheow (W III) = Agecius; Aëtius in Gaul; Angantýr, king of the Goths, fighting against the Huns (Myrkvith).
FINNS	Cælic (W I) = Kalevipoege or Kalev, the hero of the Finnish national poem, <i>Kalevala</i> .
FRANKS	Hlith (W III) = Chlodio in Gaul = Hlōthr (Myrkvith). Sifeca (W III) = Sibicho of German epos, Sifka (Myrkvith Fight,—here a woman!). Theodric <i>se Huga</i> (W I) = Theodeberht; Hug-Dietrich of German epos,—the conquerer of Hygelác the Geat. Hun, prince of the Hattuarians, near the Rhine (W I), perhaps = Hun, prince of Saxony, mentioned in connection with the Rhine (Saxo, V).
FRISIANS	Finn, Folkwald's son (W I, Beow., Finnsburg Fragment) = a famous Frisian chieftain, Fin, remembered in North Frisian tradition.
HOCINGS	Hoe (Finnsburg Fragment) = Huochi, ancestor of the king; Hökingr or Höklingr, a sea king in Northern tradition. Hnæf (W I, Finnsburg, Beow.) = Hnabi, the son of Huochi; Ey-nef in Northern epos. Hildburh (Finnsburg, Beow.) = Hildeburg.
RUGIANS	Hagena (W I) = German Hagene in <i>Kudrun</i> , Northern Högni.
GLOMMAS OR HEODEN- INGAS	*Heoden (W I, Deor's Lament) = German Hetel in <i>Kudrun</i> , Northern Hethinn. Heorrenda (Deor's Lament) = German Hór-ant in <i>Kudrun</i> , Northern Hjarrandi.

HÆLSINGS	Wada (W I) = German Wate in <i>Kudrun</i> .
MYRGINGS (in Saxony)	Eadgils and his queen Ealhild (W II); compare the "Swedish" king Athisl, attacking king Wermund in South Jutland (Saxo); also the Swedish king Adils, married to a daughter of queen Alof of Saxony (<i>Ynglinga Saga</i> c. 28); also a chieftain Atli married with Alof of Svafaland = Saxony (Prose of <i>Helgakvitha Hjorvardsonar</i>).
LANGOBARDS (In southern Europe)	Ægelmund (W III) = Agilmund. Eadwine (W II and III) and his son Alfwine (W II) = Auduin and his son Albuin.
SIGGS (A Saxon tribe)	Sigeferd or Eæferd (W I, Finnsburg, Beow.) perhaps = Sigfrid, a Saxon chieftain (Saxo).
NORTH-UMBRIANS	Swerting (Pedigree) perhaps = Swerting, a Saxon chieftain (Saxo).
HEATHOBARDS	Froda and his son Ingeld (W I, Beow.) = Frotho and his son Ingellus (Saxo); German Fruote in <i>Kudrun</i> . "eald æscwiga" (Beow.) = Starkad in Northern epos.
GEWISSES (West Saxons)	Freawine and his son Wig (Pedigree) = Frovin and his son Wigo, earls of Sleswig (Saxo).
ANGLES	Wathol-Geat, Wihtlæg, Wærmund, Offa (Pedigree, W I, Beow.) = Ger-Wendel, Wigleth, Wermund, Uffo (Saxo).
JUTES	Hengest and Horsa (Bede). *Hunlaf, Guthlaf, and Ordlaf, companions of the Danish chieftain Hengest (Finnsburg) = Hunleifus, Gunnleifus, and Oddleifus, sons of the Danish king Leif (<i>Skjoldunga-saga</i> , suggested by Chadwick).
DANES	Heremod (Beow.) perhaps = Hartmuot, king of Normanie at the time of Fruote (<i>Kudrun</i>).

Scyld, Healfdene, Hróthgár, Hálga, Heoroweard, Hróthulf, and Hréthric (W I, Beow.)
= Skjold, Hálvdan, Hróarr, Helgi, Hartvar, Hrólfr, Hrörik of Northern epical tradition.

Sigehere (W I) = Sigar, the head of the Siblings, father of the renowned Signe, Hagbard's love.

Alewih (W I, Beow.) and his descendents Onela, Ohthere, Eánmund, and Eádgils = Egill (?) (Angantýr?), Áli, Óttarr, (H) Ömoth, Adils, in Northern tradition.

After examining this collective evidence let us again ask: To which horizon does it correspond, to *Widsith* II or to *Widsith* I? There can be no doubt about the answer: the collective evidence corresponds to the horizon of *Widsith* I. It corresponds to *Widsith* II only where *Widsith* I does the same.

We observe that the inner zone of the Anglo-Saxon toward Germany never exceeds that rather narrow limit which we determined within both of these poems. There had in reality been reason enough for a vivid epical interest in this direction. The Saxons on the continent about Beowulf's time led a war of extermination against their German neighbors, the Thuringians, and this drama was celebrated not only in their own epics, but even in the cycle of the Nibelungs; from that time and for centuries they fought also against the Franks, until the Franks finally overcame them, and this conflict also was epically celebrated. But of all these highly dramatic themes hardly a single trace has been found among the Anglo-Saxons; the only one of which I know is the tale of how the Saxons are named after their treacherous use of their swords (*saxes*) against their foes,—a motive which is applied to the Saxon-Thuringian war as well as to that between Saxons and Britons. From the parts of Germany lying directly south of Old Saxony still fewer traces are found in Anglo-Saxon epics; an example might be the tale of how the Herelings stole the collier of Brising, if Brising can really be applied to the Brisi-Gau in Upper Germany. But this tale is amalgamated with the cycle of Ermanric and is rather to be placed within the store of those highly celebrated Gothic

themes which became the globe-trotters in the epics of all Teutons; and if so, it cannot be used as an evidence of special Anglo-Saxon connections with upper Germany.

So far, then, as the southern zone is concerned, the collective evidence agrees with *Widsith* II not less than with *Widsith* I. But when we turn toward the north, the situation assumes quite a different appearance; here the collective evidence agrees with *Widsith* I only. We find the inner zone extending undoubtedly as far as the Danish islands; and in reality the interest for these regions must be regarded as a very vivid one, since not less than three or four dynasties are recorded. Going farther north we find the Swedes rather well represented. But the list of Swedes is confined to those Beowulfian characters whose sphere of action lay mainly outside Sweden in that mysterious Geatic territory which is the subject of our investigation. Moreover there is no single representative of those Throwendas, Hæredas, Hædnas, and Reamas, mentioned in *Widsith* II; if any allusion is made to these tribes, as to the Reamas in *Beowulf*, it is merely casual. And the only representative of the Göts whom we can discover there remain those Beowulfian Geats whose Götlic nationality has first to be proved. This situation corresponds exactly to *Widsith* I, which mentions the Swedes but leaves out the Throwendas, Hæredas, Hædnas, Reamas, and even the Göts.

Now we have drawn much nearer to our conclusion. The evidence of the Anglo-Saxon horizon as a whole seems to allow only one answer. We have seen that the Anglo-Saxons paid little attention to a highly dramatic war of extermination fought between the continental Saxons and the Thuringians in the immediate neighborhood of their own homestead, and celebrated in the epics of a nation so much imitated as the Franks. Under such circumstances it would have been quite miraculous if they had heeded a much less dramatic war, fought between nations in an out-of-the-way country, elsewhere recorded only casually within their geographical horizon. We are compelled then to believe that the war in question was fought out in their immediate neighborhood, that is to say, in *Jutland*. The collective evidence confirms our suggestion above that the Swedes are so well represented in *Beowulf* not because the Anglo-

Saxon inner zone reached Sweden, but because those Swedes who fought in Jutland *brought themselves within* the Anglo-Saxon inner zone. Thus the Anglo-Saxon epical horizon supports in a remarkable way the evidence that the Geats of Beowulf were one and the same people as the Jutes of Jutland.

Copenhagen.

GUDMUND SCHÜTTE.

HENRY FIELDING AND THE HISTORY OF CHARLES XII

Some months ago a London bookseller, James Tregaskis, advertised an autograph receipt of Henry Fielding, reading as follows: "Reed March the 10 1739, of Mr. John Nourse the sum of forty five Pounds in Part of Payment for the translation of the History of Charles the twelfth, by me. Hen. Fielding." The receipt is said to be from "the collection of the late John Dillon, Esq., of Kensington." The date of the receipt is probably "old-style" and should, then, be read "1740."*

Any information concerning any literary work that Fielding did in the period of 1737-1741 is of much interest, in view of our ignorance of his history in these years. As more light is gradually being shed by the contribution of particles of fact, we are coming to realize that Murphy's declarations (slight as they are) concerning this period are to be modified much. As Mr. Dobson (*Fielding*, 1905 p. 62) says: "Murphy speaks vaguely of 'a large number of fugitive political tracts'; but unless the *Essay on Conversation* advertised by Lawton Gilliver in 1737,† be the same as that afterwards reprinted in the *Miscellanies*, there is no positive record of anything [except the papers in the *Champion*] until the issue of *True Greatness*, an epistle to George Dodington, in January 1741, though he may, of course, have written much anonymously."

The "History of Charles the twelfth" referred to in Fielding's receipt to Nourse is no doubt that bearing before the title-page of its first volume a general title-page as follows:

* This present article was written in June, and accepted in July, 1911. The receipt has since been sold by Mr. Tregaskis. Professor W. L. Cross of Yale University permits me to state that in the summer of 1911 he saw the receipt which he judges to be certainly genuine.

† "24. An Essay on Conversation, printed for L. Gilliver; 1 s." *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1737 p. 128; "5. An Essay on Conversation. Printed for Mess. Gilliver and Clarke, price 1 s." *London Magazine*, March 1737 p. 168. I believe that the fact that "Mr. Gilliver" was one of the partners in the *Champion* (see Godden, *Henry Fielding* page 115) has not yet been associated with these advertisements.

“The / Military History / of / Charles XII. / King of Sweden, / Written by the express Order of his Majesty, / By M. Gustavus Alderfeld, / Chamberlain to the King. / To which is added, / An exact Account of the Battle of Pultowa, / with a Journal of the King’s / Retreat to Bender. / Illustrated with Plans of the Battles and Sieges. / Translated into English. / In Three Volumes. / [Cut] / London: / Printed for J. and P. Knapton in Ludgate - street; / J. Hodges upon London-Bridge; A Millar opposite to St. Clement’s Church in the Strand; and / J. Nourse without Temple-Bar. 1740.” The work is in three volumes octavo, of 334, 338, 388 pages respectively. The special title-pages of Volumes I and II agree with the general title-page except that for “In Three Volumes” they read “Vol. I.” and “Vol. II.”; and that Volumes I and II have “Ludgate-Street” and break the line after “Millar” instead of after “oppo-.” The title-page of Vol. III reads as does the general title-page through “Translated into English,” after which follows: “Vol. III. / [Cut] / London: / Printed for J. and P. Knapton, in Ludgate-Street; / A. Millar, opposite to St. Clement’s Church in the / Strand; J. Hodges, upon London-Bridge; and J. / Nourse, without Temple-Bar, 1740.” The type of the matter from “London” down is in Volume III smaller than that for the corresponding matter in the three other title-pages. The heading of the Preface (“Preface, from the French”) shows, as do notes in the volumes, that this translation was made from the French version, not the original Swedish.

This translation of Adlerfeld is listed in the Register of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for October 1740 page 528, under the heading “Books for September and October 1740,” “36. The Military History of *Charles XII. King of Sweden*. Printed for *J. Knapton, &c.* In 3 Vols. 8 vo. Price 18 s.”; in the *London Magazine* for October 1740 page 512, “3. The Military History of *Charles XII, King of Sweden*. In 3 Vols. 8 vo. Printed for Mess. *Knapton, J. Hodges, A. Millar and J. Nourse*, price 18 s.”; in the *Scots Magazine* for October 1740 page 488, “*The military history of Charles XII. King of Sweden, In 3 voll. 8 vo. 20 s.*”

Now, it must be noted that Fielding had connection with

all of the publishers of the 1740 translation of Adlerfeld. On July 9th, 1739 he wrote his extant note* to Nourse asking him to look up for him a house near the Temple. The general nature and the object of this note imply considerable familiarity with Nourse. Mr. W. K. Bixby's signed Fielding note † is addressed to Nourse requesting him to deliver to "Mr. Chappell" fifty copies of *The Vernoniad* and *Of True Greatness*, and is dated April 20, 1741. With Hodges and Nourse Fielding was associated through the partnership in the *Champion*, 1739-41. Miss Godden's list (p. 115) of the partners from the minutes of the *Champion* meeting of June 29, 1741 is: "Mr. Fielding, Mr. Nourse, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Chappelle, Mr. Cogan, Mr. Gilliver, Mr. Chandler."

The editors of the *Champion* in the spring of 1740 were interested in the Knaptons. It chanced that the Knaptons are the only publishers mentioned by name in the essays, Index to the Times, or the Literary Articles of the *Champion* between November 1739 and the middle of June 1740. In the last paragraph of the Index to the Times of April 24, 1740 is "Within these few Days a Book upon the Art of War, taken from the Memoirs and Maxims of the Great Marshal Turenne, was published by Messieurs Knapton, for the Information of our modern Heroes, who have never yet seen Service." This book is "The Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marshal Turenne, With Remarks by A. Williamson, Brigadier-General. Printed for Mess. Knapton," listed as Item 1 in the Register of the *Gentleman's Magazine* of April 1740 page 208, and as Item 22 in the April 1740 number of the *London Magazine* page 200. The Knaptons are puffed again in the Index to the Times in the next to last *Champion* of the series reprinted in 1741 and 1743, i. e. that of June 17, 1740: "Though a more elegant Design was hardly ever set on foot, than that, at present carrying on by Mess. Knapton, for making a collection of Prints of the most illustrious Persons of Great-Britain; and tho' Mr. Houbraken has, unquestionably, executed his Part of it, so as to deserve the highest Applause, many ingenious Men are of Opinion it will be far from com-

* Quoted in full by Godden, *Henry Fielding*, pp. 94-5.

† Quoted in full by Godden, *Henry Fielding*, p. 115.

plete, unless the Undertakers will continue it down to our own Time; . . . ”

With A. Millar Fielding was to be closely associated from 1742 on, for from the publication of *Joseph Andrews* in 1742 Millar printed almost all of Fielding's personal works.*

It is perhaps significant that the advertisements of books in the 1740 edition of the *History* are those of the two *Champion* partners, particularly of him to whom Fielding gave the receipt. Nourse's advertisements occupy page xvi of Volume I following the Preface and facing the first page of the text; and the last page of Volume I. Hodges' advertisement is in the next to last page of Volume I facing the last page (338) of the text.

As far as the choice by publishers goes, it is very likely, then, that these men would call on Fielding to make the translation. Beyond the receipt quoted in the first paragraph of this paper there is nothing directly to connect Fielding with a translation of a *History* of Charles XII. Beyond the evidence found in the facts of association with the publishers, that I have pointed out, and the fact that Adlerfeld's work appears to be the only one that will fit the receipt, there seems to be no evidence to connect this 1740 translation of Adlerfeld's book with Fielding. I have vainly gone over the various versions of the work in search of such evidence. The question of Fielding's authorship or part authorship would seem to rest wholly upon the authenticity of the receipt to Nourse. That Fielding did do some such hack-work at this time seems very likely. It is odd, however, to find him who in the *Champion* and in *Jonathan Wild* classed Charles XII with Alexander the Great as a typical example of "Great Men" who were of the butchers of mankind and the curses of the world, turning from his legal studies to the long task of translating what made up in print in English 1060 octavo pages, all originally composed for the glorification of the conqueror. But perhaps Fielding got some of his antipathy to such "Heroes" from his labors on this very book.

* See my list in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June 1912. There I mention other facts connecting Fielding with several of the publishers of the *History*.

One other point I may add. As I shall indicate in a forthcoming article on the *Champion*, toward the end of April, and during May and June, Fielding's contributions to the *Champion* became less frequent. On June 12 he wrote a paper that sounds much like a farewell, and it would appear that after that date he contributed little to the periodical. This would fit in with close labor on the translation of Adlerfeld's work, which as we shall see must have been made before at least a month earlier than October, the date of publication.

Militating against Fielding's authorship of the translation is the fact that in 1742 the work was published as by "James Ford." The title-page of this edition reads as follows: "The / Genuine History / of / Charles XII. King of Sweden: / containing / All his Military Actions: / with / A more particular Account of the Battle of Pultowa, and of / his Majesty's Retreat to Bender in Turkey, than was ever / yet published. / Written by / M. Gustavus Adlerfeld, / Chamberlain to the King, and by his Majesty's express Order: / And now translated into English, / by James Ford, Esq; / Illustrated with the Effigies of the King, and several Plans of the / Battles and Sieges. / London: / Printed and Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country. / MDCCXLII. / " At the end of the volume are two pages of advertisements of "*Books lately Printed; and sold by R. Walker, in Fleet-Lane, London.*" The addition of "London" to this heading, and the next to the last line of the title-page, might possibly indicate that the book was to be sold largely in places other than London. The book is in one volume, small quarto; and has 557 pages, double columns, with the two pages of advertisements at the end. The "Effigies" and "Plans" spoken of in the title-page are not inserted in the copy belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia that I have examined. I do not find in the *Gentleman's Magazine* or the *London Magazine* notice of the issue of this book.

Whoever wrote the translation, as a matter of fact this "Genuine" history and "more particular Account of the Battle of Pultowa, and of his Majesty's Retreat to Bender in Turkey, than was ever yet published," is (as I have indicated)

another edition of the 1740 translation. I note the following variations between the two editions:

I. The 1742 text omits the 1740 Preface from the French. As the Text begins at page "7," and as the 1744 issue (see below) contains the Preface in pages numbered "iii-vi" while its Text begins at page "7," it is *possible* that the copy (belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia) that I have used is here defective; the copy appears, however, to be intact and in the original binding.

II. The 1742 text omits (a) various passages retained from the French in the 1740 translation: p. 66 drops lists at 1740 I. 117 ¶ 3; p. 276, lists at II. 178-9; p. 305 ¶ 5, 3 paragraphs II. 235 "Though the barns..." to 236 "While we took"; p. 312, II. 249 last two lines and lists on 250-1 to 252 ¶ 2; p. 313, II. 254 last paragraph—255 ¶ 3 "But Saxony"; p. 321, II. 270 ¶ 3 last sentence "Here follows the treaty" to 281 ¶ 2 "It is very" (II. 281 ¶¶ 2-3 are modified); p. 331, II. 302 ¶ 1 last 2 sentences; p. 333, lists at II. 305-6; p. 335, II. 311 ¶ 1 last sentence and ¶ 2; p. 335, II. 312 ¶ 2 end "according to the..."; p. 359, II. 358 ¶ 3 sentence 2—359 ¶ 3; p. 365, II. 371-373 ¶ 2; p. 368, II. 381 ¶ 1 "The following letter..."—388 top; p. 370, III. 4 ¶ 2, "So they marched..."—5 ¶ 2 "Our valoches"; p. 375 ¶ 2, III. 13 ¶ 3 last sentence; p. 389, III. 40 ¶ 4 "and we will" to end of ¶; p. 436, III. 136 "No. III"—185 ("Number III." of 1742 is "No. XXXI." of 1740); p. 479, III. 275 ¶ 2 last sentence; p. 481, III. 280 ¶ 2 to end to Vol. III (includes 280 ¶ 2—284, and Indexes).—The 1742 text omits also (b) numerous short passages at ends of paragraphs (e. g. 1742 p. 8 ¶ 2, 3; p. 9 ¶¶ 4, 6; p. 7 ¶ 3), at beginnings of paragraphs (e. g. 1742 p. 9 ¶ 5), and sometimes in the midst of paragraphs (e. g. 1742 p. 9 ¶ 3 l. 4).

III. The 1742 text omits most of the Notes of the 1740 English version, preserving only those at page 8 (1740 I. pp. 2-3) where a part of the 1740 note is retained; page 12 (1740 I. 11); page 17 (I. 21 note 2); p. 33 (I. 52); p. 45 (I. 78); p. 52 (I. 92); p. 77 (part of I. 139-40); p. 111 (I. 293); p. 124 (I. 228-9); p. 129 (I. 238); p. 143 (I. 264); p. 151 (I. 278); p. 165 (I. 306); p. 182 (II. 2); p. 189 (II. 13); p. 191 (II. 17);

p. 201 (II. 37); p. 213 (II. 60); p. 214 (II. 62); p. 228 (II. 87); p. 280 (II. 188); p. 303 (II. 230); p. 324 (II. 288); p. 359 (II. 359); p. 363 (II. 367); p. 429 (III. 124). The 1742 text omits also indications of distance between places; e. g. 1740 I. 83 ¶¶ 2, 3, 4 (1742, I. 48-9); I. 87 ¶¶ 2, 3 (I. 51-2); I. 89 (I. 51); etc.

IV. The 1742 version prints *in the text* some footnotes of the 1740 version; pp. 16-17 (I. 21); p. 25 ¶ 2 (I. 36); p. 25 ¶ 6 (I. 37); p. 35 ¶ 5 (I. 56); p. 86 ¶ 6 (I. 157); p. 355 col. 2 ¶ 2 (II. 350); p. 376 ¶ 4 (III. 15); p. 383 col. 2 ¶ 3 (III. 29-30); p. 398 ¶ 1 (III. 59-60); p. 415 ¶ 5 (III. 96).

V. The 1742 version has some few *modifications of the phrases* of the 1740 English text, *not* however to make it conform with the French: e. g. p. 7 l. 1; p. 9 last 2 lines, to improve the construction; p. 9 ¶ 7; p. 321 ¶ 4 (II. 281 ¶¶ 2, 3).

VI. The 1742 version supplies at page 342 the year indication "1707." At pages 482-557, after the matter that ends the 1740 volume III page 124 and before the 1740 "Index," the 1742 version supplies an Appendix "Number IV," "The History of Charles XII, King of Sweden from the Time of his Retreat from Bender in Turkey to his Death; being Killed at Frederickshall in Norway, December 1718," and also (pages 555-7) "A Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord * * * * *, giving a Description of the Persons, Behavior, &c. of the King of *Sweden*, King *Augustus*, and King *Stanislaus*." This matter is in neither the 1740 English nor the 1740 French Amsterdam version. It is the only new matter supplied in this English version above the 1740 English version. With the exception of the "Letter" it is Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII*. Book V to the end of the work, (i. e. the end of Book VIII) followed as a rule very closely paragraph for paragraph, but with some very slight additions by the translator, and with some modifications. The close rendering of Voltaire begins at page 483 ¶ 3 which corresponds with Voltaire's Book V ¶ 8.

It may be repeated that with exception of the account of Charles from the retreat to Bender to his death, and the Letter describing Charles, Augustus, and Stanislaus, the 1742 version is a somewhat cut-down reprint of the 1740 English

version, that presents, however, all the important matter of that 1740 version. The declaration of the 1742 title-page "A more particular Account of the Battle of Pultowa... than was ever yet published," in view of this account's being a reprint of the 1740 version, is perhaps directed at the version of the retreat of Charles put out by Samuel Heyl, a bookseller of Hamburgh. In his Preface (translated in the 1740 English version) to his French translation of the *Military History*, Amsterdam, 1740, C. M. E. Adlerfeld protests against Heyl's employment of a hack-writer to add to the account of the retreat enough to make it fill out an octavo pamphlet. That "the marvellous might not be wanting," this writer "threw in a fabulous description of a desert, through which his Majesty passed"; "We read there, for example, that the King's retinue were forced to support themselves for some time with nutmegs, which they found there in abundance." It is interesting that the first of Fielding's various assaults against the fabulous in *Voyager's Tales* came in the chapter from Job Vinegar's *Voyages*, in the *Champion* of March 20, 1739-40.

I have been unable to discover anything concerning this James Ford whose name appears in the 1742 title-page. Did Ford write the 1740 translation? Did he translate only the account of Charles from the time of the Bender retreat to his death, printed in the 1742 version but not in the French version or the English version of 1740? Was his name put on the 1742 title-page because he made the translation of this account and did the hack work for the 1742 English version? Was it put on the 1742 title-page because the publishers thought thereby to give greater force to the impression that their title-page seems to seek to create, that the 1742 issue was a quite new translation and specially well cared for? Did the publishers of the 1740 edition approve of the 1742 reprint and the ascription of the translation to Ford? The facts in general and the next to last line of the 1742 title-page would make this last possible. In Walker's Booklist at the back of the 1742 edition is advertised what is probably a reprint of J. Banks' *History of the Life of Peter the Great* that is advertised as Hodges' publication on the advertising leaf at the end of Volume I of the 1740 edition.

Whatever be the facts, the 1742 work was re-issued in 1744 over Ford's name. With exception of the date "1744" the title-page of this 1744 issue contains the same phrasing as does that of 1742. The lines are, however, slightly rearranged. The University of Pennsylvania copy, which I have used, has the lines "Illustrated with the Effigies of the King, and several Plans of the / Battles and Sieges" stamped out—so presenting to the reader a more truthful account of the contents of the volume, since the plates are missing in this issue as well as in that of 1742. The sheets are those of the 1742 issue, without change. As in the 1742 issue the Text extends over pages 7-557, and Walker's Booklist follows and ends the volume. But there are inserted pages "iii-vi," containing the 1740 translation of the "Preface from the French," omitting, however, the last five paragraphs.

The French editions of Adlerfeld's work, at least those that concern us, seem to be two in number. The earlier made from the Swedish by C. M. E. Adlerfeld,* is in four volumes 12mo. and has title-page as follows: "*Histoire / Militaire / de Charles XII / Roi de Suede, / Depuis l'an 1700, jusqu'a la Bataille de Pultowa / en 1709, écrite par ordre exprès de Sa Majesté, / Par Mr. Gustave Adlerfeld, / Chambellan du Roi. / On y a joint une Relation exacte de la Bataille / de Pultowa, avec un Journal de la retraite / du Roi à Bender. / Tome Premier. / [Cut] / A Amsterdam, / Chez J. Wetstein & G. Smith. / M.DCC.XL. /*"—The other edition was published in three volumes at Paris, 1741.†—I have not ascertained in what month the Amsterdam issue occurred. It was probably this that the translator of the 1740 English version used.

There remains to ask what the English translator did with the French original.

The 1740 English version in three volumes is a quite close but excellently idiomatic and readable English translation of the matter in the French. The writer began with the French l'preface and continued right through the four volumes.

The Amsterdam version contains: Vol. I. pp. iii-vi. a Dedication to the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein omitted in the

* British Museum Catalogue, 1885.

† A copy is in the New York Public Library.

English edition; pp. vii-xxix a Preface, in the English I.i-xv.; pp. 1-434 the Text, in the English I. 1-244 end of ¶ 1.—Vol. II. pp. 1-627 (last three pages misnumbered “525,” “526,” “527”) the Text, in the English I. 244 ¶ 2—II. 247 end of ¶ 5.—Vol. III. pp. 1-463 the Text, in the English II. 247 ¶ 6—III. end of 124; pp. 465-547 “Additions,” in the English III. 125-189 end of ¶ 1 “Additions” (styled “Appendix” in the headlines after p. 129).—Vol. IV. pp. 1-173 “Additions,” in the English III. 189 ¶ 2-284; pp. 174-182 “Additions et Corrections” of Text, not in the English, but embodied at the proper points by the translator; pp. 183-231 “Table des Matières” to Vols. I-III. of the Text, in the English III. 285-326; pp. 232-240, special “Table” to the “Additions” corresponding to the English special Table III. 327 to the end.

As has been indicated, the English Text follows the French Text apparently without omissions. The English contains all the French “Additions” except a short and insignificant paragraph of the French (III. 501 ¶ 3) and a French footnote which directs to delete a note that appears in the English at I. 297.

The English *supplies* at II. 367 and 370 foot-notes, brief translations of the Latin, and at III. 280-1-2 translations of Latin headings, not in the French.

The two French Indexes are faithfully carried over into the English with altered alphabetization to suit the English equivalents.

But three French foot-notes to the Text are omitted: the first III. 63, specifies the amount of food allowed to horses; the second III. 110 (English II. 310) is two sets of French verses in praise of Charles by Marie Aurore, Comtesse de Königsmark; the third III. 134 (English II. 321) is a set of verses by the Père du Cerceau, “Portrait de Charles XII, Fait en 1707.”

The maker of the English translation was not content with the French notes, but supplied a number of his own, especially to Volume I of the English. After that volume his contributions are few. The following are added notes: I. 2 a, 52 p, corrections of text readings, based on Voltaire; I. 9 f, added details from Voltaire; I. 2 b, 2 c (very long), 57 s, 77 u,

113 h, added facts from Voltaire I. 9 e, 92 x, 129 c, added explanatory facts from Voltaire; I. 6 d, 26 m, 102 a, III. 96 d, added facts source not given; I. 10 g, 36 k, 37 l, 56 q, 228 l (part Voltaire), III. 118 g, added details, source not given; I. 23 k, l, references to Appendices; I. 41 m, 42 n, 45 o, details from *Memoir du Regne de Pierre le Grand*; I. 56 r, corrections from same; I. 66 r, 113 h (last part), facts from same; I. 190 i, II. 332*, reference to matter in same; I. 66 s, explanation of custom by parallel English custom; I. 73 t, comment on following French in inserting distances with parentheses; I. 78 x, 203*, II. 2*, 13*, explanation of terms adopted from the French; I. 82 u, details from Puffendorff; I. 157 h, correction from Puffendorff; I. 86 w, 139 e (long), III. 59 r, comment on difference between authorities; I. 115*, statement of correction of error in French; II. 17 * * comment on and correction of French text; III. 136 m, remark on frequent poor sense of French because of ill pointing; II. 87 *, correction of author's error; II. 36 *, explanation of custom; II. 326 *, explanation of change of a word to suit English understanding; III. 13 c, 24 f, 24 g, presentation of the French original of an English substitute.

This English translation of Adlerfeld is a faithfully and intelligently wrought piece of work. The translation must have been finished at least a month before the date of publication in October 1740. It could have been begun not much earlier than the date of the receipt, March 10, 1739-40, since the original is apparently the 1740 Amsterdam edition. If Fielding made the translation, much credit is reflected on him by the fact that in such a short time he produced so creditably such an extensive piece of work (1060 pages) by the way, while he must have been greatly preoccupied with his legal studies and, at least during the period ending at the middle of June, with his writing for the *Champion*. The production of the work under such circumstances would confirm the notion of Fielding's persistent industry that is evident whenever we come upon him, and would contribute much to necessitate farther qualification of Murphy's picturesque declarations of Fielding's irregularity of life at this time and to emphasize his statement of the future novelist's assiduity.

GERMANISTISCHE BIBLIOTHEK. Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streitberg. I. Sammlung Germanischer Elementar- und Handbücher. III. Reihe: Lesebücher. 2. Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch von Carl von Kraus. Heidelberg, Winter, 1912.

Zu den im Jahre 1909 bei Niemeyer in Halle erschienenen Mittelhochdeutschen Übungsstücken, zusammengestellt von Heinrich Meyer-Benfey, welche die bis dahin vorhandenen Übungsbücher von Pfeiffer (Altdeutsches Übungsbuch) und Müllenhoff (Altdeutsche Sprachproben) ersetzen resp. ergänzen und modernen Anforderungen anpassen wollten, gesellt sich nun in der von W. Streitberg herausgegebenen Germanischen Bibliothek das Mittelhochdeutsche Übungsbuch von Carl von Kraus, Heidelberg, Winter, 1912. Pfeiffer's Grundsatz bei der Herausgabe seines im Jahre 1866 erschienenen Übungsbuches war, nur solche Stücke aufzunehmen in seine Sammlung, von denen kritische Bearbeitungen weder vorhanden noch fürs erste zu erwarten waren. Dieses hatte aber zur Folge, dass die aufgenommenen Stücke vielfach durchaus uninteressant und auch poetisch ziemlich wertlos waren, und dass das eigentlich klassische Mittelhochdeutsch dabei garnicht zur Geltung kam.

Müllenhoffs Altdeutschen Sprachproben auf der anderen Seite konnte dieser Vorwurf, dass nur Minderwertiges und Uninteressantes darin aufgenommen sei, nicht gemacht werden. Der Rahmen des Ganzen war nur, wie der Titel andeutet, zu weit gezogen, da zwei Drittel des Buches von gotischen und altsächsischen und althochdeutschen Sprachproben in Anspruch genommen wurde. Das Bedürfnis nach einem modernen Seminaransprüche gerechter werdenden mittelhochdeutschen Übungsbuche war deshalb gewiss gerechtfertigt. Meyer-Benfey sowohl wie Carl von Kraus suchten dieser Forderung gerecht zu werden, jedoch von durchaus verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten ausgehend.

Meyer-Benfey gibt als die eigentliche Bestimmung seiner Sammlung an, dass sie als Grundlage dienen solle für Übungen in der Herstellung kritisch und sprachlich gereinigter Texte. Er versucht deshalb, das in der Handschrift gegebene Schriftbild so getreu wie möglich wieder zu geben, ändert also grundsätzlich nichts, trennt weder die Zeilen noch die Wörter, bezeichnet weder den Vers noch die Strophe, führt keine modernen Interpunktionszeichen noch grosse Anfangsbuchstaben ein, wo die Handschrift sie nicht bringt. Aus pädagogischen Gründen hat Meyer-Benfey in seiner Sammlung alle

Literaturangaben unterdrückt, die dem Studirenden in irgend einer Weise den Author oder Zeit und Ort der Entstehung des literarischen Produktes hätten verraten können. Carl von Kraus will in seinem mittelhochdeutschen Übungsbuch vor allen Dingen zu Stilistischen Übungen anregen, um auf die Weise neue Bausteine zu gewinnen für unsere immer noch recht mangelhafte Kenntniss von der Entstehung und Entwicklung der höfischen Kunst. Er schliesst sich strenge an die Überlieferung an bei der Wiedergabe seiner Texte, die er fast alle neu kollationiert hat. Wie Carl von Kraus es für durchaus angepasst hält gegen Meyer-Benfey im Anhang ein genaues Verzeichnis der Literatur über die einzelnen Sprachproben beizufügen, mit welchem Grundsatz ich durchaus übereinstimme, so benutzt er auch jede Gelegenheit, auf die Varianten im Texte der verschiedenen Handschriften hinzuweisen, um so den Studenten zu veranlassen auf das Landschaftliche in Sprache und Orthographie von Anfang an zu achten. Ausser dem Wigamur, Portimunt, dem Sperber, sind besonders herangezogen der Graf Rudolph und Athis und Prophlias, für die der Herausgeber besondere Vorliebe zu haben scheint, während sie von der Forschung im allgemeinen bis dahin recht stiefmütterlich behandelt wurden. Ein wertvoller Abschnitt ist ferner der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik gewidmet, um zum Studium der Eigenart der mittelhochdeutschen Lyriker anzuleiten.

Das mittelhochdeutsche Übungsbuch von Carl von Kraus reiht sich in jeder Hinsicht würdig der unter Streitbergs Leitung herausgegebene Sammlung germanischer Elementar- und Handbücher an.

Mit Meyer-Benfey gebe ich jedoch dem Wunsche Ausdruck, dass uns bald das *ideale Übungsbuch* geschenkt werden möchte, eine *Sammlung von Faksimiles*, was bei dem heutigen Stande der Reproduktionskunst, wie sie uns z. B. in den von Otto Clemen herausgegebenen Zwickauer Facsimiledrucken vorgeführt wird, wohl möglich wäre, wenn man sich auch wohl zuerst, was die Masse anbetrifft, etwas zu bescheiden haben würde.

ERNST VOSS.

University of Wisconsin.

DR. FRITZ STRICH: Die Mythologie in der deutschen Literatur von Klopstock bis Wagner. Halle a. S. 1910.

Strich's *Die Mythologie in der deutschen Literatur von Klopstock bis Wagner*, has come opportunely to answer a need long felt by students of German literature, and is a monumental work of real value.

This complete and careful investigation, which aims to give a contribution to the "history of ideas," makes it abun-

dantly clear that the problem of the nature and function of mythology in art has since the days of Klopstock and Herder been the central problem of imaginative German literature. Thus the study of the literature of this period is seen to resolve itself largely into an analysis of the deeper meanings which the various poets infused into traditional myths, their personal interpretations varying, indeed, with the everchanging ideals and insights of their times.

Strich shows how in the thought and literature of the period from Klopstock to Wagner the problem of the *myth* came step by step to be felt as coincident with the problem of poetic creation, and with the problem of cognition itself, so that it was seen to be impossible to separate, in their fundamental essence, philosophy, and art, and religion. Accordingly full discussion is given, in this book, of philosophic and religious thought and theory, as well as of the resulting poetic productions: "for," says Strich in his Preface, "it is not possible to understand one without the other." In this broad treatment of the philosophic background Strich's attitude is in harmony with that of Oscar Walzel, who in his excellent little book "Deutsche Romantik" speaks with condemnation of the time—not yet entirely gone by—when philosophic thought played but a "Cinderella rôle" in the treatment of literary history.

It is patent that the task of organizing all this rich material of theory as of practice is one of tremendous difficulty both on account of its complexity and on account of its fullness. Although one may wonder, perhaps, whether more highlights, more strongly accented lines in the handling of the enormous mass of material, might not have been an advantage, yet one is compelled to recognize that Strich has well presented and developed the interweaving of the infinite influences concerned; and that one gets not only a feeling of gradual growth and unfolding, but a strong realization of the connection of individual thought and creation with the determining social background.

Strich uses the conception of mythology in its broadest connotation; it includes, for him, "all sensuous representations of the divine, all symbolisations of the invisible in visible forms, all vivifications of nature, and all personifications of ideas."

Following out chronologically the long intricate story of the confluences and ramifications and transformations of thought upon this subject, he touches briefly on Bodmer's and Breitingner's tentative questionings and statements regarding the possible justification of the use of mythology in poetry; presents in full detail the gradual development of

Herder's convictions concerning the essential nature and functions of *myth* and the process involved in myth-making; discusses carefully the studies of Goethe and Schiller; and comes then to the central theme of his investigation; the triumphant proclamation by Novalis, Schelling, and Friedrich Schlegel, of myth as the primitive as well as final principle not only of art and cognition, but of religion and of science or "natural philosophy."

As it had been the task of the eighteenth century to re-establish the primitive union between philosophy and poetry, so, says Strich, it was the task of the romanticists to reconquer the religious sense, and to prove the identity not only of philosophy and poetry, but also of science and religion. They were the first, he adds, fully to unfold the conception of *myth*, and to apply it to all the realms of intellectual life. The separate currents of romantic thought, independent yet from the first directed toward one goal, all met in Friedrich Schlegel's "Conversation concerning Poetry." In leading up to this central theme of his book Strich makes clear, moreover, how the "romantic attitudes and theories grew logically and inevitably out of those of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller; how the romanticists were merely endeavoring to reconcile Goethe-Spinoza with Leibniz and Fichte; and how in their theories objective and subjective idealism met and were harmonized in a monism which insisted on the identity of the *real* and of the *ideal*. Strich says that Goethe himself recognized that "classicism" and "romanticism" are not in their fundamental essence antagonistic (II 316), there being indeed but one "universal poetry," namely, the sensible expression of man's vision of the infinite; and he finds that the antagonism exists merely in the fact that while Goethe generally preferred clear outlines and plastic form in the handling of his myths, the romanticists accented their symbolic significance and the religious or rather mystical mood.

Leaving this central portion of the discussion, Strich next considers the attacks of Heine and Young Germany against the exaggerated developments which some of the romantic tendencies later underwent; speaks briefly of Hegel's historic theories and of his dramatic interpreter Hebbel; and concludes the book with a consideration of Wagner. He shows how Wagner stands out as the re-proclaimer of the older thought regarding the nature and importance of the myth as a basis for all great imaginative and social art, and how he has become thereby one of the chief heralds of the new-romantic tendencies of the present day.

As is evident from the preceding summary, the foremost problem of all these arguments was the problem concerning

the nature and fundamental importance of the mythic process.

Another question which is constantly discussed by the poets is the question of the relative value of various traditional mythologies. Strich gives a full account of the warfare waged over Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian, Indian, Keltic, and national Teutonic mythologies; he shows how the scales decided now in favor of one, now of another; and how the romantists—while having a particular fondness for the mediaeval and for the national Teutonic mythologies—nevertheless maintained that all are of equal value because all are in final essence interpretations of the infinite in terms of sensible finite forms.

Strich considers also the demand made for a "new" mythology which should symbolize and embody the modern scientific systems of Copernicus and Newton and the new idealistic philosophies, and which should thus do for them what the old mythologies had done for man's primitive scientific and philosophic outlook. This demand, first made by Herder, became in the days of Schlegel's *Athenaeum* a central postulate.

Herder had taught, as was seen, that all great imaginative art must have its root in mythology; he demanded, moreover, that myths should never be used adventitiously, or as decoration; but that they should always be vitally expressive of personal meanings and experiences. In chapters following the various theoretical discussions, examination is made by Strich of the numberless myths as they appear in the poetic productions of the various writers. He distinguishes several ways in which they were revitalized. In the Storm and Stress period myths like those of Prometheus and Niobe were used again and again to embody the emotional protest of that rebellious age. Another favorite motive of the time was that of the struggle between good and evil spirits for the possession of the human soul. Herder, Winckelmann, Goethe, and Schiller found in the Greek gods the prototypes of their humanistic ideals of harmonious self-control and tolerance. Schiller succeeded in making the Greek myths expressive of his entire philosophic system; and similarly the romanticists used them—and the myths of all other systems—to symbolize their "natural philosophy" and their philosophy of art. Goethe had already used myths like those of Ganymed and the Erlking to express his pantheistic vivification of nature; and now Greek and Teutonic and Christian mythology, higher gods and the lesser spirits of the elements, were used—by Hoelderlin, Novalis, Tieck, Schelling, and hosts of others—for the one purpose of giving expression to their enthusiastic faith that nature and spirit can not be divorced from one another,

and that both are divine. The tale of man's fall from a primitive state of nature and harmony into the wracking dualisms of developing cognition, and his dream of a new age of harmony to be brought about by the healing ministrations of the art-faculty, were symbolized over and over by the myth of the Golden Age. The magic power of art found a favorite symbol in the stories of Arion and Orpheus.

During the period of myth-hostility which followed this fruitful age of myth-intoxication, myths were used by Heine and others quite unmythically; but the work of the earlier poets was taken up again by Wagner, who expressed in terms of mythology his deepest moral and social convictions.

Strich's treatment of this sheerly inexhaustible poetic material is comprehensive and suggestive. Naturally, one finds interpretations with which one does not entirely agree—such are, for instance, the explanations of Goethe's and of "Klingsohr's" *Maerchen*; on the other hand, a student of Novalis and his friends will appreciate Strich's interesting exposition of their "light-worship," and will respond heartily to his statement that the romanticist's glorification of night has been very much over-emphasized. Wieland's satirical use of *myth* is given full consideration, and is seen to be very interesting as the rationalistic foil to Herder's activities.

The point of view from which romanticism is treated in this book is modern, and free from traditional prejudice; and the grasp of the entire subject is broad because the philosophic thought of which the poetic creations are the artistic embodiment is taken into full account. Thus this encyclopaedic treatise is an invaluable addition to the books on romanticism.

Vassar College.

LOUISE M. KUEFFNER.

GRAMMAR AND THINKING. A STUDY OF THE WORKING CONCEPTS IN SYNTAX, by Alfred Dwight Sheffield. New York and London, 1912.

We must heartily welcome a sensible volume on the larger aspects of language, especially as some of the American books on the subject have been poor and provincial. Sheffield, though not so excellent as Whitney, Morris, or Oertel, is fortunately a clear thinker and knows what he is about.

The purpose of the book is, to use the author's words, a fresh appraisal of the notions that our terms (in grammar; more specifically, in syntax) presuppose. As such an appraisal of the notions and terminology of scientific linguistics, if at all necessary, would have to be made on an entirely different plan and scale from those of S.'s book, we infer that he is speaking with reference to pedagogic language-work. In

this inference we are supported by the statement (p. 2): 'In fact, the grammar taught in our schools lies under a stigma as unprogressive. It can hardly be said to offer the elements of present linguistic science.'

Once granted that this is the field, the school study of English grammar comes into focus, for anything more than the roughest nomenclature for word-forms is utterly out of place in school modern-language study,—and in the ancient-language study of schools terminology has only a relatively greater importance on account of the many unfamiliar forms and construction met by the pupil; anything like a theoretical-scientific treatment of the language studied can be attempted in school only at the price that the pupil fails to learn the language itself. Here again our conclusion is borne out by the author, who devotes his final paragraphs (p. 183 ff.) to an estimate of the value of English-sentence-study in school, aptly saying (p. 188): 'Sentence-study... is high-school philosophy.' By the way he adds that 'It can profitably keep in view the diverse speech-material that the pupil meets in his work with foreign languages...' He should perhaps have added that such work must be strictly limited to the English grammar class-room; in the foreign-language class there is at best only enough time to give the pupil command over the forms of the foreign language itself and to familiarize him with the foreign civilization (literature, history, geography, customs, general mental point-of-view, etc.).

It will be seen that I have tried to define the author's exact purpose by eliminating those possible purposes which his book cannot serve. What has forced me to this round-about method is the greatest fault of the book: its construction is not sufficiently organized. S. develops his exposition somewhat as a sculptor hews a stone gradually into more and more definite shape. Each chapter brings the whole thought into more intelligible form, but at no one time is any one articulate part of the subject systematically chiselled into clearness. The complex nature of any scientific matter is a strong temptation to such treatment, but to succumb, as does S., is to deny the reader the clearness that is in one's own mind. A previously uninformed person would have to study through S.'s book carefully two or three times before he could understand it. If I have rightly defined the author's purpose, he would have achieved it far better by a patient and graded laying-out of his course along a straight ascending line, beginning at the level of the high-school English teacher's presumable knowledge of conceptual and linguistic processes. When he got to the top of the hill he could have allowed a survey of the whole field that would show the unessential, if advantageous

character of the particular road taken. S., however, is a hard leader; even the transition from paragraph to paragraph and sentence to sentence is often insufficiently bridged, though a few words could have done it, for S. himself always knows whither he is bound. As an extreme case a single sentence may be cited (p. 37): '...we shall probably create no confusion by calling formatives, as well as affixes, prefixes, when added before the kernel.' Only those who know something of the subject will here know that S. means some such thing as '...by giving the name formatives not only to suffixes, but also to prefixes.'

This difficult arrangement will cause regret to those who realize what great harm is done by the barbarous ignorance of our whole school-system about matters of language,—all the more regret when it is clear that S. brings study and sound reasoning to bear on such questions as the relation of sentence-structure to thought, the varying functions of words, the relation of word-form to word-function, and so on. Especially commendable are the passages where such classifications, diagrams, or tables are evolved as could be used in pedagogic treatment of grammar (e. g. pp. 33 f., 40, 50 f., and nearly all of the long chapter on *Terms of Syntax and Parts of Speech*): where S. is most concrete he is most successful. S. knows enough about language to have helped teachers of grammar up to a plane where their dogma and methods would not only correspond in a decent degree to the facts of the English language, but also give the pupils some light on the relation between speech and thought.

Possibly, if S. had definitely pictured to himself such an audience, he could have succeeded in better arranging his book. One is, in fact, tempted to think that he did not take care enough about formulating his general point of view. He passes without explicit warning from statements about language in general to statements that apply only to the European languages usually studied or only to English. A moment's reflection, to be sure, or a look into earlier pages, always shows that S. is not making a mistake, but it does not show that he is not leading an uninformed reader—the very reader in whose hands the book would be useful—into false notions. A separate chapter on English syntax and perhaps a few on the appropriate foreign languages, would have made these transitions avoidable.

Similarly, S., who is thinking of schools, includes in his idea of grammar a normative element and makes such statements as (p. 10): "Where confusions of word-form defeat the ends of expression it is...right to call them ungrammatical" and (p. 11): "Geographical and social differences...are bound

to give dialectic and illiterate speech, and since differences of this kind are marked off from what is standard not by sharp lines but by a penumbra of doubtful forms, it seems legitimate to expect that *grammar* should make clear some norm of practice.' He then goes on to say that the older grammarians and stylists (videlicet: of literary languages) aimed at too rigid and narrow a standard of what was correct. All this, of course, is true and appropriate; one might expect, perhaps, for the benefit of the reader (on the principle of a certain German maxim), a passing comment on the fact that the scientific study of language has nothing to do with the normative (i. e. purely pedagogic) purpose of teaching people of ('fixing') the use or the better use of a literary language; that the scientific study of language cannot exclude from its observation dialectic speech or that of the illiterate, but may even find these the most suitable fields for certain observations,—especially as a vast preponderance of all human speaking and even of all English speaking has been dialectic and illiterate. Most surprising it is, therefore, when S., instead of making this precautionary remark, suddenly (p. 13) contrasts the scientific study of language with the setting up of normative rules, not as something entirely incommensurable, but as another attitude upon the same question,—an attitude involving the fault opposite to that of the older grammarians and rhetoricians! He calls it 'the point of view now uppermost' and a 'reaction from pedantry,'¹ and labels as 'partisanship for the slipshod' such statements as Sweet's in his *New English Grammar*, that the subjunctive is nearly extinct, implying that Sweet should have added some disapproving comment. This of course is a confusion of two entirely different activities.

This lack of a definite orientation is what to scholars in the field itself will appear the great fault of the book. Although it has decided scientific value, especially of a suggestive kind, its confusion of distinct and even unrelated concepts must arouse the caution of professional students. This is quite aside from any demands of depth, scope, and detail that the immense subject of the book might call forth from scientific readers, were it primarily intended for them: the faults I am referring to pertain to simple and well-established matters.

¹ No one would deny, of course that there may be today among teachers and authors of school text-books such a reaction and such a partisanship for the slipshod,—but this has nothing to do with the point of view that 'looks especially to understanding speech as a development,' that 'values any fact, whether from classic writing, dialect, or slang,' whose 'interest is purely scientific, taking the facts as they are, without venturing theories as to what they ought to be,'—in short with the scientific study of language.

Thus, in continuing (p. 14) the discussion of scientific linguistics, S. confuses the factors—sound-change and analogy—that constitute change in language (or, more accurately change in the form of words) with the entirely unrelated question of the selection of words and constructions by good usage. 'Such a liberal tone... is apt... to foster a notion that sense-association and phonetic law *determine* usage. Of course they *influence* usage, but their working is wholly subject to men's need of conveying to one another distinctions of meaning.' Needless to state that sound-change and analogy are not, so far as we know, subject to our needs of expression, but are, respectively, psycho-physiologic and psychologic processes that occur involuntarily and cannot be directed by our needs and desires. They are the processes which constantly alter the form of our speech-material. The selection by the educated community of words and forms from this speech-material has nothing to do with sound-change and analogy, and these processes do not even remotely 'influence' the selection for literary and cultivated speech, which is a matter of collective taste,—of social form. What has misled S. is the consideration that literary speech should not be too ready to adopt innovations—whether of sound-change or of analogy—which the unfixed dialects have made. Farther on in the book (p. 83) a suggestion of 'concerted effort to shape usage' is again, though here without explicit connection, hitched on to a discussion of the universal unconscious processes of language-change.

A similar misconception probably underlies the statement (p. 55) that 'the Chinese, ... having a special regard for blood-relationships, use two names each for 'brother,' 'sister,' to distinguish elder and younger in each case, etc. The Chinese have inherited these words from the past just as we have ours, and the inheritance shows nothing about the degree of their regard for blood-relationships: either the terms or the regard may exist, arise, or die out quite independently of each other; for a possible example (Finnish) of the loss of the double terminology, see (Steinthal-)Misteli *Charakteristik*, p. 2.

Possibly derived from Jespersen's *Progress in Language*, (p. 55?), which S. has otherwise read understandingly, is the erroneous notion that sound-change may in some way be controlled by the semantic value or lack of value of the sounds affected. Thus (p. 23 f.) 'Whenever in the history of such a sentence-word (L. *amavi*) slurring and contraction obscure the marks of these terms (tense, person, etc.), it is because a fresh ordering of speech-material has brought them otherwise into view. Thus *amavi*, 'love-did-I,' has given place to *j'ai*

aimé (*ego habeo amatum*), 'I did love.'¹ Again (p. 70): 'After word-order had acquired functional value, and the more precise relating-words were current, relating endings lost their importance, and would become assimilated, slurred, and dropped, from the natural tendency of speakers to trouble themselves over no more speech-material than is needed to convey their thought.' Such views as this are quite natural, but as no facts in their favor have ever been ascertained, science has not adopted them; a concrete view of the circumstances, moreover, makes it very unlikely that such facts will ever turn up. The phenomena we designate as phonetic change are minutely gradual, unconscious changes of habit in the execution of certain extremely practised and therefore very much mechanized movements, namely those of articulation. Psychologically viewed, these gradual changes of habit fall into an entirely different plane—one many degrees lower as to consciousness,—from any desire or need of expressing one's thought. Such a desire or need may influence my selection of words or whole expressions, their position, their emphasis and melody, and may even impel an analogic change, but it cannot influence that remote part of my psyche that is without my command or knowledge leading me, as the decades go by, to hand on to posterity certain habits of tongue-position differing by a millimetre or a few sigmas from those which my elders taught me.

Space forbids entering farther into this complex question or at all into a few others of less primary importance. In spite of these errors of principle, we must hope that S. will continue his studies and publications in this field. Work that will contribute to improve the situation as to languages, English or other, in our schools, is to be welcomed with open arms.

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ELEMENTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, by Uno Lindelöf, Ph.D., Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Helsingfors, transl. by Robert M. Garrett, Ph.D., University of Washington, 1911. pp. 128.

Doctor Garrett has introduced to the American student another continental treatise on the History of the English

¹ Here the example is faulty, for the L. perfect has lived on in the Romance languages by the side of the new compound forms (Cf. e. g. Suchier, *Gr. d. rom. Phil.* I², 804): how the latter can be held responsible for sound-changes in the former is a mystery to me. That they are driving the old forms into disuse is another matter.

Language. This latest work does not in any way rank in importance with the earlier ones. It can make no pretention to the authoritativeness that characterizes Kluge's pioneer work. Nor can it at all compare with Jespersen's stimulating work, so original in point of view, so fresh in method. Professor Lindelöf's work is rather a digest of existing information on its subject. "The book was written in 1895," we are told by the translator, "as a summary of the leading facts in the history of English, for the use of University students who were preparing for examination; the author has thoroughly revised and rewritten portions of the work for the translation." "The great charm" (sic) of the book, we are told by the translator, "is its brevity," a somewhat doubtful claim to charm it would seem. In reality the brevity of the treatment of so broad a subject must have seriously hampered the author, in whom it is possible to detect here and there signs of genuine feeling for the interest of his subject. Attempting, however, as he does, to compress into less than one hundred and twenty-eight pages an account of the Indo-European family of languages and the Germanic group, of Old English phonology and inflection, of the foreign influences affecting English, and of the later history of Old English sounds and declensions, it is not surprising if in many places he has to offer only a barren heap of grammatical forms. This feature of his work is apparent for instance in the bare statements regarding the "Preterite-Presents" and the forms of the verb 'to be.' Such assemblages of facts are not readable and for the sake of reference might have been more effectively, even more concisely, presented by means of tables.

An even more serious fault, in the opinion of the present writer, is in the placing of the emphasis. There may be said to be two ways of treating the history of the English language. One way, the older one, is first to center the attention on Old English, particularly on the sounds and inflections, and then to study the development of the Old English sounds and inflections in later English. A second way is first to center the attention on modern living speech, and then to study earlier stages in the history of the language for the purpose of learning the source of present-day spelling, pronunciation, inflections, words, and idiom. The shift of the emphasis to the modern period is apparent in most modern books on English language. Professor Lindelöf's book represents the older method.

Professor Lindelöf in this work shows familiarity with the principal products of recent scholarship. He also shows personal familiarity particularly with the early English dialects. The book aims in general merely to set forth accepted opinion,

and consequently offers little subject for controversy. An exception must be made in the case of the discussion of French influence on English before 1400, in which too great emphasis is placed on the Norman element.

In the English version of this work there have crept in a number of expressions not quite suited to the genius of the English language. In line 10 of the first page, the tense of *has been* seems like a survival from the original work. In a similar way is probably to be explained *some* in line 10 of page 2. To the difficulty of transferring from one language to another are probably to be explained a number of distortions of fact. For instance on page 1, we read, "the number of Celts is very small," where the reference is to people speaking Celtic languages; and on page 2 we read in one place that "Gallic is the only Celtic language of the mainland of which we know anything"; in another place, "Welsh is spoken in Wales, and Breton in Brittany." Faults arising in translation, like the ones we have cited from the first two pages, occur with somewhat too great frequency in the remaining pages of the book.

This work in its inception was intended for a cram book. For that use it seems now better fitted than for use in introducing students to the general subject. The author has brought into a remarkably compact form the facts that a student would need to call to mind in reviewing. He has brought to his work knowledge of the most recent progress in the subject. He has, however, made little original contribution, and the form of the work is hardly that best suited for the use of the beginner.

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DIBELIUS, WILHELM. *Englische Romankunst. Die Technik des englischen Romans im achtzehnten und zu Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Bd. I., Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1910.

MORGAN, CHARLOTTE E. *The Rise of the Novel of Manners.* Columbia University Press. 1911.

When a scholar announces in his preface, "My work presents the great highway which leads from Defoe to Dickens, but not all the little sidepaths that accompany and cross it," and then publishes 406 closely-printed pages as but one-half of his labor, the reader has a right to expect proportion, completeness, and clearness for the topic chosen. It is not too much to say that Professor Dibelius's work on the technique of the English novel in the the 18th century is neither clear, complete, nor well-proportioned.

A powerful cause for this failure lies in the origin of the book. Although first intended as "an introductory chap-

ter of a greater work upon Dickens," it later became, first a search for Dickens's sources, and then a study of "the relation of artistic individuality to traditional methods" from Defoe to Dickens. Unfortunately, when Professor Dibelius decided to ignore "all the little side-paths," his book remained—minus Addison—a study of Dickens's sources; and it is thus incomplete as an account of the "individual" technique of 18th century novelists. Every American student of the novel knows most of what Professor Dibelius has set forth as new; the painful mass of the volume will deter even the curious from unearthing the little that is "trove". For what Professor Dibelius has done is to analyze at unnecessary length such characteristics as are dwelt upon by every instructor of an elementary course in the novel. 279 pages are devoted to Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Goldsmith; Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, and Lewis get 61 pages; and to the only little-known writers—Mackenzie, Inchbald, Godwin—are allotted but 61 pages! Certainly this does not sufficiently represent fictional influences. To ignore Swift and the *voyage imaginaire*, the novel of inanimate objects, and the oriental novel may not be defended by stating, as does Professor Dibelius, that one has not attempted a "history of the English novel."¹ For where are writers mentioned as influential in both Raleigh and Cross—Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Haywood, Leland and White, Mrs. Shelley and Maturin, Peacock and Walker? As will be indicated, Smollett owed much to the two first-named, and Scott would not have been Scott without the second two. The others I know little about. All eight—to name no other writers—should have been among Professor Dibelius's problems.

Another reason for Professor Dibelius's failure—one yet more potent than his ill-starred double aim, because it militates against completeness in the seemingly exhaustive treatment of the authors selected—is Professor Dibelius's theory of what constitutes novelistic technique. No one can read this work understandingly—surely a dubious tribute—unless he analyze the preface of the volume. Professor Dibelius's goal is, indeed, put clearly enough, even though he must have utterly forgotten Koerting and Warren when he wrote: "but a work which throws light upon the technique of an entire century or an entire school I do not know." He intends to "regard the novel as a work of art, that like every work of art possesses a definite technique, which rests partly upon the natural form of expression of the type, partly upon a tradition;" and he does not mean to "ask of the most significant works of the fundamental epoch of the English novel: is this beautiful

¹ *Rasselas* and *Vathek*, we are told, are the only Oriental novels!

or not, but: how is this produced, and is this traditional or individual technique?" Further, he delightfully defines the novel (?) as "no great edifice (? *Fassade*) which impresses through the strongly formative lines of architecture, but a variegated mosaic, in which the many little stones scarcely appear." All this is admirable. One thinks of Brooke's *Fool of Quality*—a side-path—and is pleased.

Pleasure at the abandonment of the "dramatic-structure" theory becomes dismay, however, when the "many little stones" and their geometrical combinations are set forth; Professor Dibelius knows altogether too well just how mosaics are pieced. But let us abandon metaphor in the interests of brevity. There are, then, claims Professor Dibelius, three possible origins for a novel—a suggestive incident called to the author's attention, a knowledge of some interesting personality, or a vague idea of a "restless sequence of exciting events." These origins, further, are most important, since even in the most haphazard novel, patient search can later detect them *somewhere*, and since they determine the general type. "Purpose" is a mere later modifier. Of the types, thus determined, there are two, the *Abenteuerroman* and the *Persönlichkeitsroman*, each built up through a carefully enumerated complexity of *Konstruktionsmotive*, especially, of course, love or "character." "Allotment of character-roles" is the author's next step, the characters being either pure types or type-aberrations, their analysis being either direct (writer's analysis, self-depiction, or portrayal by another character) or indirect, their personal portraiture being either detailed or suggestive, objective or subjective. At the same time, inevitably, the plot or complication of events moves forward, it being decreed by mere chance, by foreknowledge of the end, by the opening lines (conversational or scene-depicting), by the use or non-use of a medical climactic point, by the "moment of last suspense;" desire for clarity, mystery, contrast, or "will-conflict" are other important factors. Still three other matters are present, consciously or unconsciously, to the novelist, but, of necessity, consciously to the critic. In the first place, is an author subjective or objective in his attitude, i. e., does he keep himself out of his production, or does he interfere by personal comment or at transitional points ("let us return.")? And does he relate in the first person, by letters, by the "Pendennis" method, or in the third person? In the second place, how does the author use satire, whether static, ethnic, social, or political? Is he didactic? Does he employ pathos? Does his humor arise from situation, from character, or from "subjective tone"—and if from the latter, does it issue from *Qualitätsvorstellung*, from *Quantitätsver-*

schiebung, or from *Kongruenz des Inkongruenten*? In the third place, what is the author's attitude toward nature?

The reader may be thinking that I have been exhausting. I have not been exhaustive. The necessity, too, was pressing. With every author Professor Dibelius follows painstakingly this outline of technique; if there are in an author points not present in the scheme, he overlooks such points. Moreover, certain of Professor Dibelius's headings are questionable. Is it true, e. g., that the three origins stated by Professor Dibelius are the only ones? An English or American reviewer can not forget Stevenson's comment upon the possibility of beginning with plot, character, or "atmosphere". And aside from this, since one must grant that the "atmospheric" novel is perhaps not found in the 18th century, is the germinal idea always antecedent to "purpose," and *can* it always be detected? By brushing aside the *voyage imaginaire*, the novel of scandal, and the Oriental romance, Professor Dibelius has cleverly tried to checkmate such an inquiry. Still, there are Sterne and Reeve, and even Fielding in *Joseph Andrews*. Third, may one assume, as does Professor Dibelius in chapter after chapter, that in the determining of individual contributions to technique, all which is not new must be traditional? Koerting threw upon the much-studied volumes of the 17th century French romancers additional light by considering the effects of the authors' lives; is this not wiser than writing as if authors produced *in vacuo*? Whether or not the effect arises from Professor Dibelius's feeling that to understand *Dickens* we need not know his predecessors' lives, this much is true; of their lives we never hear. Finally, are not more than two openings for a novel possible? A study of 17th century prefaces would have shown Professor Dibelius that before Defoe three types of opening had educed considerable theorizing, and as such had determined structure; these were the genealogical opening, the discursive opening, and the opening *in medias res*. (Why does Professor Dibelius write *in mediis rebus*?) Penelope Aubin, the author of the *Generous Rivals* (1711), and the writer of *Indiana* (1736) might also have been consulted with profit. That these three authors move in "side-paths" is no ground for contempt. Professor Dibelius himself says: "no one has ever written a novel who has not first been a voracious novel-reader." Can it be probable, then, that Richardson fed only on Defoe?

Enough, however, of the vulnerability of Professor Dibelius's general scheme. The result of it when applied to any one writer displays its further defects—lack of completeness

and lack of proportion in every chapter. That upon Smollett, as neither the best nor the worst, comes to hand.

In discussing Smollett Professor Dibelius pursues his cataloguing method with but one variation; didacticism precedes satire. Suppose, now, one ask what material the average American sophomore, taking an elementary course in the novel, would give, if examined on Smollett's sources and on Smollett's general theory. For sources he would, I think, name Defoe, Fielding, and Le Sage: Professor Dibelius adds Cervantes and Richardson. Surely, however, no reader of Roderick Random's encounter (II, ch. 15) with a certain "noble lord," or of the "doctor's" Roman banquet in *Peregrine Pickle* (II, ch. 10) can forget Petronius. Scarron is named by Smollett himself. The *Female Quixote* of Mrs. Lennox, much in vogue in the fifties, he must have known. These, of course, are not unexamined sources; it is the "by-paths" whither Smollett's feet must have wandered that need exploration. Certainly the scandalous novels of Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Haywood, ranging from the *New Atalantis* (1709-11) to the *Court of Caramania* (1727) must have contributed to Smollett's "nastiness." For here are in full-length portraiture many of Smollett's *dramatis personae*—for that matter, some of Richardson's and Fielding's. Here is Monimia of *Count Fathom* under the name of Masonia. Here, under the guise of an omniscient Cupid or Virtue or Justice, is one of the most important devices of Crebillon's *Sopha* or Smollett's own *Adventures of an Atom*. Here is the cold brutality so lacking in Defoe and so conspicuous in Smollett. There are other sources, too, besides these novels. The famous forest scene in Defoe's *Singleton* and the constant description in *Gaudenzio di Lucca* are not unrelated to Smollett's love of nature. *Ferdinand, Count Fathom*, I, 298, even contains a list of popular novels, nearly all to be found, by the way, in the easily accessible *Novelists' Magazine*.

But what of our American student's answer in an examination upon Smollett's general theory. As "contributions to theory" he would probably name (a) formlessness; (b) brutal realism ("nature," says Smollett, "is appealed to in every particular"); (c) an odd liking for the exotic (homosexuality, mild madness, Gothicism, antiquarian treasures); (d) that satire which delights in attacking contemporaries; (e) the introduction into fiction of real sea-men, Scotchmen, and Irishmen; (f) emphasis on caricature. If he did not, he would not have read his *Cross*, as assigned. What becomes of these points in Professor Dibelius's scheme? (a) and (f) fall in with it, and are stressed; (b) and (e) are touched upon very incidentally; (c) and (d) are in their most influential phase,

practically ignored. It is only just to remark that on some matters Professor Dibelius arrays numberless illustrations. But no amount of minute citation upon points which have never been questioned can atone for the misrepresentation we have explained.

Proportion suffers still further. At times, despite the iron-clad movement of each chapter, interesting bits, very well worth while, crop up; they are lost amid hurtling examples of some heading. Such are (189) the interesting survival of the sequel theory which had worried the 17th century; the hint of relation to Hogarth's caricatures (185); the appearance of Rousseauian theories of education (185). At other times, adherence to the scheme brings about dreary repetition, or, if not that, the division, Solomon-like, of two halves of one topic. Thus, on 173 we find under "character-types" fragments of "pedants"; on 195 under "static satire" we pick up other fragments. (Cf. 161 and 186). Such a division may even lead to inconsistent statements. On 193 we read under "didacticism": "Didactic leanings show themselves in Smollett as good as never"; on p. 207 under "hygiene, pedagogy, and art" we learn of suggested reforms. Nevertheless, Professor Dibelius's worst sin against proportion is almost unique. Since the stories of novels are never summarized and since dates are never given, no reader with a treacherous memory may dare to peruse any one heading without a careful decision as to whether the material is chronologically arranged. Sometimes it is.

More, assuredly, might be said of the sins of omission in a volume swelled to several times a desirable bulk. The relation of Defoe to his predecessors, the very possible debt of Richardson to *Idalia* or *Indiana*, the influence of the 1717 translation of *Theagenes and Chariclea*, the connection between Smollett and the Gothicists—these are but few of the problems almost certainly shelved because Professor Dibelius is primarily intent upon Dickens. Perhaps, too, it is significant that Cross is not included in Professor Dibelius's short bibliography, and that of other secondary titles Dobson, Dunlop, and Raleigh are alone English or American.

It is a relief to turn from such a heavy work as Professor Dibelius's to the 142 unpretentious pages of Miss Morgan's *Novel of Manners*. For, though Miss Morgan modestly speaks of her volume as "a clearing of the ground in a field where little has been done and much remains to be accomplished," she has aided scholarship more than the *New York Nation* for Dec. 7 seems inclined to admit. Naturally Miss Morgan's book has its faults. But the cavalier tone of her anonymous reviewer is most unwarranted; and it is even

possible that his smart figures and superficial generalities are due to a meagre knowledge of 17th century fiction.

Had Miss Morgan achieved nothing more than to prove conclusively that writers on Richardson must revise their views, her service would not be slight. As it is, she has accomplished much more. She has investigated, analyzed, and at times summarized the types of romance before 1740, presenting many entirely new names. She has examined and classified the early realistic forms of the novel. Finally, she has discussed—more gossipingly than critically, it is true—the fiction of Margaret Cavendish, Aphra Behn, Elizabeth Rowe, Eliza Haywood, Mary Manley, Jane Barker, and Penelope Aubin. We wish she might have found the novels of Mrs. Butler and Mrs. Hearne. So much for services. One is forced to add that the final chapter, that on “popular” fiction, is, as the *Nation* comments, inadequate. Yet let it be always remembered that there was a genuine romantic and realistic novel from Sidney downward. Why study, as the *Nation* insists, news sheets, accounts of crimes, etc.? Furthermore, 17th century fiction does not lie ready to hand in collections, as does that of the 18th century in the *Novelists Magazine* or in the 1787 *Voyages Imaginaires*.

Miss Morgan might, in fact, have left her critic of the *Nation* weaponless, had she collected the material most obviously lacking to her study. Her purpose may have precluded the gathering of the theories of their work left by the early fiction-writers; but one who may himself be engaged in that field will realize how defective this omission makes Miss Morgan's book. She has not often made, one must admit, Dr. Stanglmaier's error in his thesis on Jane Barker, wherein he trusts implicitly that lady's own statement of her aims—though Miss Morgan *does* repeat twice (104, 113) Mrs. Barker's amazing claim of writing *Exilius* “after the manner of Telemachus.” Still, Miss Morgan has too often failed to trace the rise of such bits of theory as she quotes. “Congreve's unique effort to differentiate between the novel and the romance” (50) is by no means unique. Sorel's *Polyandre*, Scarron's *Roman Comique*, and Furetière's *Roman Bourgeois* had voiced the differentiation forty years earlier. Aside from Miss Morgan's ignorance of theory, there are other *lacunae* rather unaccountable. The influence of the translations of the work of Jean-Pierre Camus is unnoted; the followers and imitators of Defoe, such as Edward Dorington, and Simon Berington, are passed by; the marked effect of such *Voyages Imaginaires* as the *Sevarambians* (1672), *Jaques Sadeur* (167?) and their ilk upon the matter and manner of Swift and Defoe is untraced; the “return to nature” cult in this

same group of publications is untouched. Finally, why was not Thomas Deloney treated? He falls just before 1600 and is important.

The remaining faults of Miss Morgan's study may be gathered under three topics. The first of these faults—seeming lack of knowledge of contemporary foreign fiction—vitiate, I am inclined to think, all that she has to say upon comparative influences. Especially noticeable are the startling misstatements of chapter I, which deals with romances and anti-romances. One has passed but a few pages when the "seven divisions" of romance leave the reader bewildered. We hear of chivalric, classical, Arcadian, euphuistic, allegorical, political, and *miscellaneous* romances. The chivalric we soon recognize as Hurd's "Gothic" romance, and are at peace. But classical romance is made a mantle to cover "short tales of the Milesian order," *Baarlam and Josaphat*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, Petronius's *Satyricon*, the *Golden Ass*, and the "erratic Greek romances" (?). Not Bishop Huet in 1670 was more question-begging. And are not Arcadian and Euphuistic badly-chosen captions? Surely, too, Miss Morgan must know d'Aubignac's six divisions of allegorical romances. It was unfair to the student not a specialist in 17th century fiction to set up headings, certain to mislead him and seldom later so carefully defined that he may escape his misconceptions.

These errors, however, my reader will be inwardly remarking, are not exactly shocking misstatements. To say of the Greek love-romances that they make "no attempt to describe accurately old customs" . . . that we "are never left in doubt as to the precise appearance of the sympathetic rocks and trees to which the unfortunate characters confided their woes" . . . that (13) "style is ornate in the extreme"—these comments are. Startling, also, is the characterization (14) of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Montemôr's *Diana*. So is the claim that Cervantes's *Persiles and Sigismunda* is "closely modelled after the Greek pattern" (37); Cervantes merely *says* so. So is the classing of Barclay's *Argenis* with Gombould's *Endymion*; they are utterly different. So is the remark about the problematic influence of Sidney's *Arcadia*; see, e. g., the peasants' revolt (*Argenis*, 46), the immuring of *Argenis* (*ibid*, 112), ch. XIV of Sorel's *Berger Extravagant*, and Clara Reeve's *Progress of Romance*. So is the declaration (19) that in "ideal republics" there is no plot, no love theme; as a matter of fact, from at least 1672 love and plot became such essentials that in the preface to Desfontaine's *Nouveau Gulliver* we read that all *voyages imaginaires* "should be based partly on a love-affair." So is the view that the prefaces of

Mlle. de Scudéry and of Calprenède were "ruthlessly cut out" of English translations; I have before me the prefaces of *Ibrahim* and *Cassandre* as translated by Cogan and Cotterell, and I have seen several others. So is the dismissal as hypothetical of the relation of "translations from the French" (65) to the English group of "narrative comedies" from 1688 onward; *Oronces and Eugenia* was translated in 1784. So is the comment that Subligny's *La Fausse Clélie*—really a variation of the Decameron-framework-novel—is a satire upon heroic romances. Startling, finally, are the statements that *Polexandre* inaugurated the heroic romance (28), that Ollenix du Mont-sacré wrote the *Bergeries de Juliette*, that the Italian *novella* was "displaced" in France by the long romance. Koerting, whom Miss Morgan misquotes, pointed out Gerzan's work as preceding Gomberville's; rather hesitatingly, I add La Tour Hotman's *Histoire Celtique* and Baudoin's *Histoire Négropontique*. Mont-sacré was the pseudonym of de Montreux. Sorel, Baudoin, Camus, Segrais, and others carried on the *novella*.

Miss Morgan's second fault is carelessness in making statements about English fiction. I pass over the *Nation's* taunt about Rabelais imitating Cervantes; this, like others of my own first misconceptions, is a result of rather peccable sentence and paragraph structure. Still, however, I am wondering why Miss Morgan omitted from text and bibliography the *Theophania*, which just preceded the *Parthenissa*, if its prefaced claim be true that it is "the first [heroic romance] that ever our country produced." What, too, can Miss Morgan mean in calling (79) the obscure and haphazard *King of Bantam* Mrs. Behn's "best novel"; in overlooking Kirkman's *Unlucky Citizen* as using 20 years before Incognita the "delightful digression upon digressions," (Dibelius solemnly fathers it upon Fielding); in saying (85) that Mrs. Manley combined the "secret memoir and ideal commonwealth"; in citing (104) portions of Mrs. Barker's *Exiluis* of 1715 as seven new novels of hers in 1726? To carelessness, also, should probably be attributed Miss Morgan's irritating failure to do much more than hint at the origin of the realistic forms. Far better, certainly, than chapter I is chapter II, which deals with novels of the "cloak and sword," "historical novels," "veiled histories," "combinations of the romantic Spanish intrigue with prosaic contemporary manners," "narrative comedies," and the "letter-novel." Here are many valuable summaries, and Miss Morgan is to be commended for her general arrangement. Yet for the very reason that she is on surer ground than in chapter I she should have traced origins and presented more careful definitions.

The remaining fault of Miss Morgan's study is mechanical. The double bibliography seems to me of questionable value, and the print is unnecessarily high. Lowering of the type, with a consequent compression of the bibliography and an elaboration of the content of the study would have been far better.

Nevertheless, *all* deductions made, Miss Morgan has added much to our knowledge of the English novel. The value does not, as the *Nation* perversely declared, lie in the bibliography. And Miss Morgan's modesty contrasts well with Professor Dibelius's self-confidence.

A. J. TIEJE.

University of Illinois.

SIR PERCEVAL OF GALLES: A STUDY OF THE SOURCES OF THE LEGEND, by Reginald Harvey Griffith. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. Postpaid \$1.35.

It takes rare courage to venture into the mazes of the Perceval-story, even if one thinks to make a straight path for himself as he goes. This courage Professor Griffith has possessed, but he has avoided the complications of the Grail legend, with which the Perceval-story is so closely bound up, by taking for his point of departure the English *Sir Perceval of Galles*, which contains no grail. The volume consists primarily of a careful analysis of the *Sir Perceval of Galles* into twenty-eight incidents, which fall into five large groups. Group by group and incident by incident, the English romance is compared with those portions of the remaining representatives of the legend which contain corresponding elements, and with Celtic folk-tale analogues. The consequence of this procedure is that the book has a somewhat formidable appearance and is rather difficult reading, since numerous tables and lists are made necessary. Nevertheless the mechanical process encourages the reader to feel that the author is making no evasion, that he is seeking simply the truth about the matter; and it enables the reader—conveniently, if not without pains—to retrace the steps by which the author reached his conclusions. The reviewer can claim no competence to deal with the details of the discussion, which will in time be passed upon by those most concerned, but will restrict his remarks to certain general aspects of the study.

Professor Griffith begins his study with a characteristically modest, if somewhat misleading statement: "The problem to which the following pages address themselves concerns the origin of the mediaeval English poem *Sir Perceval of Galles*, whether or not it is the offspring of a

romance composed in French by Crestien de Troyes and now commonly known as *Perceval le Gallois, ou le Conte du Graal*." A convenient summary of previous scholarly opinion is given (pp. 7 ff.), and an attempt is made to reach a final result through a more minute and orderly arrangement of the material for comparison. Professor Griffith's conclusion, that Crestien's romance is not the source of the English *Sir Perceval*, seems quite justified by the evidence—consisting chiefly in the numerous features common to *Sir Perceval* and other versions of the legend, which do not appear in Crestien. This opinion coincides with that of Miss Weston, and has been widely accepted in the past, although Golther's early opinion to the contrary one must suppose unchanged (cf. *Die Gralssage bei Wolfram von Eschenbach*, Rostock, 1910).

However, the study is much more ambitious than the first statement would indicate. In attempting to show that there is no necessity to go to Crestien for the material which entered into the English romance, the author is led to a fairly complete scheme of the development of the Perceval-story. The inclusion in the diagram (p. 128) representing this development of Crestien's romance, Gerbert's Continuation, *Peredur*, and the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach is made, I presume, for the sake of completeness, since the relations of these versions are not to be determined by a study which professedly ignores part of the material. But the attempt to trace the evolution of the story to the stage represented by *Sir Perceval* is serious, and is, in fact, the main contribution of the book. Celtic folk-tales are used to trace the probable steps. First, Professor Griffith finds that there was a frame tale consisting of an account of the rearing of the hero in a forest by a mother who wishes to prevent him from becoming a knight and of an adventure in which the hero rescues a distressed lady and wins her for his wife. This stage is represented in folk-lore by *Fool* (Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, III, 160-193). Into this frame are absorbed successively the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story (represented by *Red Shield*, Campbell, II, 451-493, and in *Sir Perceval* by vv. 481-1056); the Tent Lady-Giant story (*Sir Perceval*, vv. 417-480, 1817-2104; also *Ivain* and *Lady of the Fountain*); and "Saracen Influence" (involving a modification of the significance of certain incidents and a change of geography). That is, *Sir Perceval*, and with it *Peredur*, represents the fourth stage in the development of the Perceval-story. The analysis made by Professor Griffith is thorough, but it is hardly reasonable to suppose that his evolution will be generally accepted. After all, the folk-tale analogues are

sometimes both scanty and remote (as Professor Griffith confesses); and can one say more than this: that in *Sir Perceval* are contained elements which either did exist, or well might have existed, separately? If it is impossible for scholars to agree as to the relations of well-preserved versions, such as Wolfram, Crestien, and *Sir Perceval*, is it possible that they will agree on hypothetical versions represented by distant folk-lore analogues? Indeed, one must agree to the theory of the relation of the English and French versions before the further study would have any significance for him. Professor Griffith has only presented one possibility among many.

A suggestion in regard to the locality of the story and its possible independence of French originals is interesting but too tentative to receive very serious consideration. The writer believes "the territory extending from Carlisle (or Edinburgh) to Chester" to be the place where the Perceval-tale took form. The folk-tales out of which the Perceval-tale might have developed are in neighboring territory, and it was in this district, he thinks, that Celtic tales would be likely to reach English hearers. Moreover, the dialect of *Sir Perceval* belongs to this region. This evidence leads to Professor Griffith's conclusion that *Sir Perceval* is not derived from a French original, but that it is "simpler and more in accordance with all the evidence in the case to consider it an English singer's versification of a folk-tale that was known in his district of Northwest England." Opinions of this sort involve much more than the history of one story merely; they involve the whole question of the literary relations of Celts, English, and French. However, until generally accepted views of these relations are modified, and until a thorough study of the folk-tale analogues of the Perceval-story shows that Professor Griffith's implied limitation of their geographical distribution is justified, the very obvious resemblances of *Sir Perceval* (dated by Griffith 1370) to French Arthurian romances of much earlier dates in names, in motives, and in atmosphere, seem decidedly in the way of the acceptance of the suggestion.

Professor Griffith acknowledges frankly the objections to this opinion as well as to others advanced by him. He is himself so cautious in his statements and so modest in his claims that one must admire his disinterested spirit. Moreover, work done so thoroughly and carefully is certain to be helpful in future investigations. Every page bears witness to the painstaking accuracy with which the material was prepared for the press. And the author has, I think, shown that it is unnecessary to go to Crestien to find material out of which the English *Sir Perceval* might have developed.

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HERBERT LE SOURD CREEK.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE, presented to Agnes Irwin, Litt. D., LL. D., Dean of Radcliffe College, 1894-1909. Boston and London, Ginn and Company, 1910.

This volume of Radcliffe Studies, presented to the former Dean of Radcliffe College, consists of nine contributions ranging from a dedicatory poem by Mrs. Marks to such a highly scientific paper as that of Miss Allen on the *Authorship of the Prick of Conscience*. Between these we find an essay on *Virgil's Use of Märchen from the Odyssey* by Grace Harriet Macurdy; a useful analysis of *The Story of Vortigern's Tower*; an announcement of *An Arthurian Onomasticon* collected by Alma Blount and now accessible to scholars in the library of Harvard University; an exact description by Dr. Schoepperle of the conventional island combat of romance, as illustrated in *Tristan*,—a convention which Dr. Schoepperle considers independent of the Scandinavian *holmganga*; Miss Harper's discussion of the Brome and Chester plays of Abraham and Isaac, which leads to the conclusion that the two have probably a common source, "that in any case the Chester play was not derived from the Brome," and that the Brome play as it has come down to us, is a more highly developed and a later type of the Abraham play than the Chester; *Some Aspects of the Ancient Allegorical Debate* by Margaret C. Waites; and a successful criticism by Edith Scamman of Professor Skeat's view that *Death and Life* and *Scottish Field* are by the same author, with an attempt, in the subsequent sections of her paper, to show that the author of *Death and Life* was influenced by Dunbar and "greatly indebted to Piers the Plowman."

The most noteworthy contribution to the volume is Miss Allen's *Authorship of the Prick of Conscience*. Miss Allen attempts to show that the evidence for Rolle's authorship is inadequate and that there are, on the other hand, substantial and positive reasons for excluding the poem from the Rolle canon. The external evidence for Hampole's authorship is as follows: a passage in a contemporary manuscript (Harl. 1766) of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, which declares that Richard "drowh in ynglyssh the prykke of conscience"; the testimony of Bale in his note-book and bibliography to Richard's authorship of a *De Stimulo Conscientiae*, "which, to judge from the first line quoted, is in Latin prose"; the testimony of Pits to one book of a *Stimulus Conscientiae*; the mention of a *Stimulus Conscientiae* by Wharton, by Oudin, and by Tanner, the latter registering manuscript in English and Latin; and finally the assignment of the work to Rolle by some of the manuscripts. On the other hand, the *Prick of*

Conscience is not mentioned in the *Office*, an account of the hermit prepared by the nuns of Hampole; there is a marked difference between its style and that common to authenticated works of Hampole; and, if we suppose it to be a translation, it is a translation of a very different sort from that presented in the *Psalter*. The established works of Rolle grouped by Miss Allen for comparison with the *Prick of Conscience* are: *Fire of Love*, *Mending of Life*, *Form of Living*, *The Commandment of Love to God*, *Ego Dormio et Cor Meum Vigilat*, and the *Psalter*. All of these, unlike the *Prick of Conscience*, are mystical.

In the absence of a definitive Rolle canon, some uncertainty must, of course, attach to the unit into comparison with which Miss Allen brings the *Prick of Conscience*. Is it sufficiently inclusive? Granting that it is, we may conclude that the *Prick of Conscience* has none of the hall-marks of Rolle's work. That such a manual of practical ethics should have been written by him, remains nevertheless a possibility. "Admirande autem et utiles imprimis erant huius sancti occupaciones in sanetis exhortationibus quibus quam plurimos convertit ad Deum, in scriptis etiam suis mellifluis et tractatibus et libellis ad edificacionem proximorum compositis, quae omnia in cordibus devotorum dulcissimam resonant armoniam." There is in this passage, which Miss Allen quotes only in part, a pretty clear indication that Richard approved by his practice the active as well as the contemplative life. That such a "useful occupation" as the composition or translation of the *Prick of Conscience* should not be specifically noted in the *Office* is neither here nor there, since only one of Rolle's works has received that distinction and since the *Office* was written to celebrate the mystical and miraculous in Rolle's life. Nor do we think that Miss Allen has done justice to the testimony of Lydgate, however we interpret the words "drowh in ynglyssh." And the same may be said of her treatment of the early bibliographers. What, for instance, does Miss Allen mean by saying that Bale's single entry refers to "a manuscript of *De Stimulo Conscientiae* in Westminster, which, to judge from the first line quoted, is in Latin prose"? The reference is, *ex collegio Martonensi, Oxon.* and the Latin *ab eterno et ante tempora fuit Deus*, a translation of the opening lines of the *Prick of Conscience* proper, no more indicates a Latin text, than *Rithmum de Thopaso, viri fratres attendite bono*, means that Bale had a Latin copy of Sir Thopas before him. Miss Allen notes that Pits and Oudin also list a Merton College *Stimulus*, Pits adding in one case an entry specifically marked *latine*. Is it clear that "these early bibliographers do not present the solid front in regard to manu-

script attribution that one would expect"? In how many cases the manuscripts themselves, a great many of which have been studied by Andreae and Bülbring, assign the work to Rolle, Miss Allen is unable to say; "a thorough examination of the dialect of the *Prick of Conscience* and the other works ascribed to Rolle has not been made"; and "in the consideration of vocabulary and phraseology there are elements present that render that part of the inquiry somewhat unfruitful"; she adds: "the subject matter is so unlike as to explain many differences of this sort." The author's modifications of these concessions we cannot enter into here. However modified or interpreted, they mean that Miss Allen's valuable paper leaves something to be desired. What she has accomplished is a careful examination of a considerable part of the evidence which bears upon Rolle's supposed authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*. H. S. V. JONES.

TRUTH AND REALITY. An introduction to the Theory of Knowledge. By John Elob Boodin. The Macmillan Company. New York. 1911, pp. VIII-334.

Philosophic discussion of the past decade has centered pretty largely in the question of truth. Professor Boodin's book is a well-written and interesting contribution to this discussion. In its aims it is constructive and expository rather than polemic. The author attempts to give, from the standpoint of the "new realism," a presentation of the problem which recognizes the truth of rival theories and avoids their difficulties. As point of departure he takes the results of modern biology and psychology, which are presented in stimulating fashion; after which he takes up in order *The Nature of Truth*, *The Criterion of Truth*, and *Truth and its Object*. Limitations of space make it necessary to omit from present consideration much that is of interest and merit, in order to give proper attention to the matters which are fundamental in Professor Boodin's book.

What is truth? The endeavor to answer this question leads at once into the endless ramifications and technicalities of philosophic controversy. To the outsider all these attacks and counter-attacks may seem to embody the acme of academic barrenness and futility. Some permanent results, however, seem to have been secured, albeit largely of a negative sort. The notion that truth is a process of duplication or copying has been generally discarded as impracticable. Truth as an "agreement" between an idea and its object is likewise empty, unless agreement can be explained in detail and in the concrete. The pragmatic doctrine that truth is the function

whereby one experience leads on or guides or points to a further experience has won considerable approval and meets with sympathetic treatment on the part of Professor Boodin. He agrees that the concept of truth has meaning only when considered with reference to an intelligence. A truth that exists eternal and immutable, independent of all minds, is a fiction of the intellect which mistakes abstractions for realities. "Truth is our version of reality. . . . It is nonsense to speak of an hypothesis, which is our meaning or attitude, as true previous to verification" (p. 228). "What we mean [by agreement] is what science always has insisted, viz. that the consequences which follow from the hypothesis, or the constitution of the object *as we have conceived it* on the basis of past experience shall tally with the consequences *in dealing with the object*, or with further experience, formal or empirical, according to the problem set. There is no such thing as agreement in the abstract; no way of finding out the truth of an idea by merely examining its eternal fitness in general" (p. 189).

But if truth is not an affair of copying, nor yet something self-existent and sacro-sanct, neither is it for Professor Boodin simply the function whereby an experience anticipates and leads on to a further experience. At this point, to be sure, it is necessary to proceed with some caution, for the exposition is not wholly direct and unambiguous. In one connection the statement is made that "there can be no ultimate difference between truth and the test of truth," also that "it is the intent as terminating in the selected facts which constitutes the truth" (p. 197). But on the other hand, the notion of truth as "agreement" is not wholly surrendered. Validity is defined as "the agreement of an idea or belief with its reality" (p. 210). The pragmatic theory, which construes truth wholly in instrumental terms, i. e. in terms of the process whereby we pass from a given experience to a certain other experience, is convicted of inadequacy, on the ground that this view confines the range of truth to the merely individual experience. The significance of this criticism is that "individual experience" is evidently regarded as a stream of "states," isolated from the rest of the world. It is only on the basis of this assumption that the criticism of the instrumental theory of knowledge has any force. For instrumentalism "the question is merely how the facts *seem* to us; how they can be controlled by us; whether our concepts terminate in perceptions. Not so in the knowledge of the sharing type. Here the truth attitude is not merely an artificial tool, like an astronomical ellipse or a census table. It is not a piecemeal selection of external qualities and relations which are serviceable as leadings to

the concrete processes which we strive to anticipate and control. We must imitate, not merely externally, but share and acknowledge, soul confronting soul, the individual's own meaning in its unique wholeness. Only when social communication of mind with mind results in such sympathy and copying do we have real knowledge of selves. In so far as the knowing attitude here can be completely realized, it is no longer of reality; but it is reality. To know the meaning of Hamlet is to have the reality of Hamlet. Leibniz's monads are a splendid illustration of a universe which might exist in many copies" (p. 220).

According to Professor Boodin the doctrine of pragmatism or instrumentalism furnishes at best but a partial explanation of truth. It is an error to suppose that "truth exists solely for the sake of satisfying certain demands extraneous to itself, for example the biological end of adjustment. Truth sometimes finds its inspiration in such practical demands, but it sometimes finds its motive in scientific curiosity..... Truth as a matter of fact must always be imitative of its object to a certain extent" (p. 193). This is not the place to debate whether the appeal to scientific curiosity proves the existence of knowledge which is not instrumental in character. Whatever its shortcomings, the position of instrumentalism has an attractive definiteness and concreteness. But since instrumentalism is said not to cover the whole ground, the question recurs, what, precisely, is the relation between the true idea and its object?

To this question the reviewer is unable to find consistent and unambiguous answer. As already indicated, the author makes certain concessions to the instrumental point of view. These concessions, however, seem to place his argument in a certain predicament. The charge that the instrumental test of truth restricts the scope of truth to "individual experience" has been made very often, and always for the same reason, viz. that the theory provides no avenue of escape from the stream of subjective states. If, however, instrumentalism is really guilty of postulating the existence of such a stream, it is unable to justify the claim of any experience to be true. From such a standpoint the treatment of the problem must necessarily end in scepticism; and we might reasonably expect a writer like Professor Boodin to avoid entering into an entangling alliance with a position which has so often been tried and found wanting in the past. But on the other hand, if instrumentalism has not committed this offense, the criticism urged against it falls to the ground.

The author's treatment of instrumentalism is but one among several indications that he holds to more than one stand-

ard or criterion of truth. Instrumentalism is good enough, "as far as it goes." In other contexts, however, "agreement" or "correspondence" or "imitation" comes to the front. These terms are meant to indicate a relation which is indeed to be tested by results, but which is something different from verifiability or from the process of verification itself. Again, when we operate on the plane of social meanings, the true idea and its object are identical. "To know the meaning of Hamlet is to have reality of Hamlet." Idealistic propaganda, however, has long since robbed such statements of their charm. Assertions of identity have become as familiar and as uninspiring as the generalizations of a political platform. The affirmation of an identity between thought and its object is not really significant until it is developed and made concrete on the side of its metaphysical implications.

In so brief a review it is impossible to do justice to the genuine merits of the book. In point of style and arrangement it is to be highly commended. The discussions frequently impress the reader with their fairness and insight, as also with a certain freshness and aptness of presentation. It is a hopeful sign that present-day realism, of which the author professes himself an adherent, is beginning to put forth sustained treatments of the problems which are at present of cardinal importance in the field of philosophy.

University of Illinois.

B. H. BODE.

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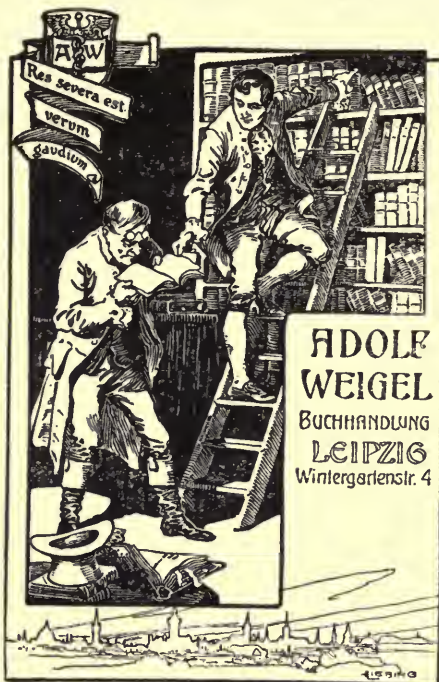
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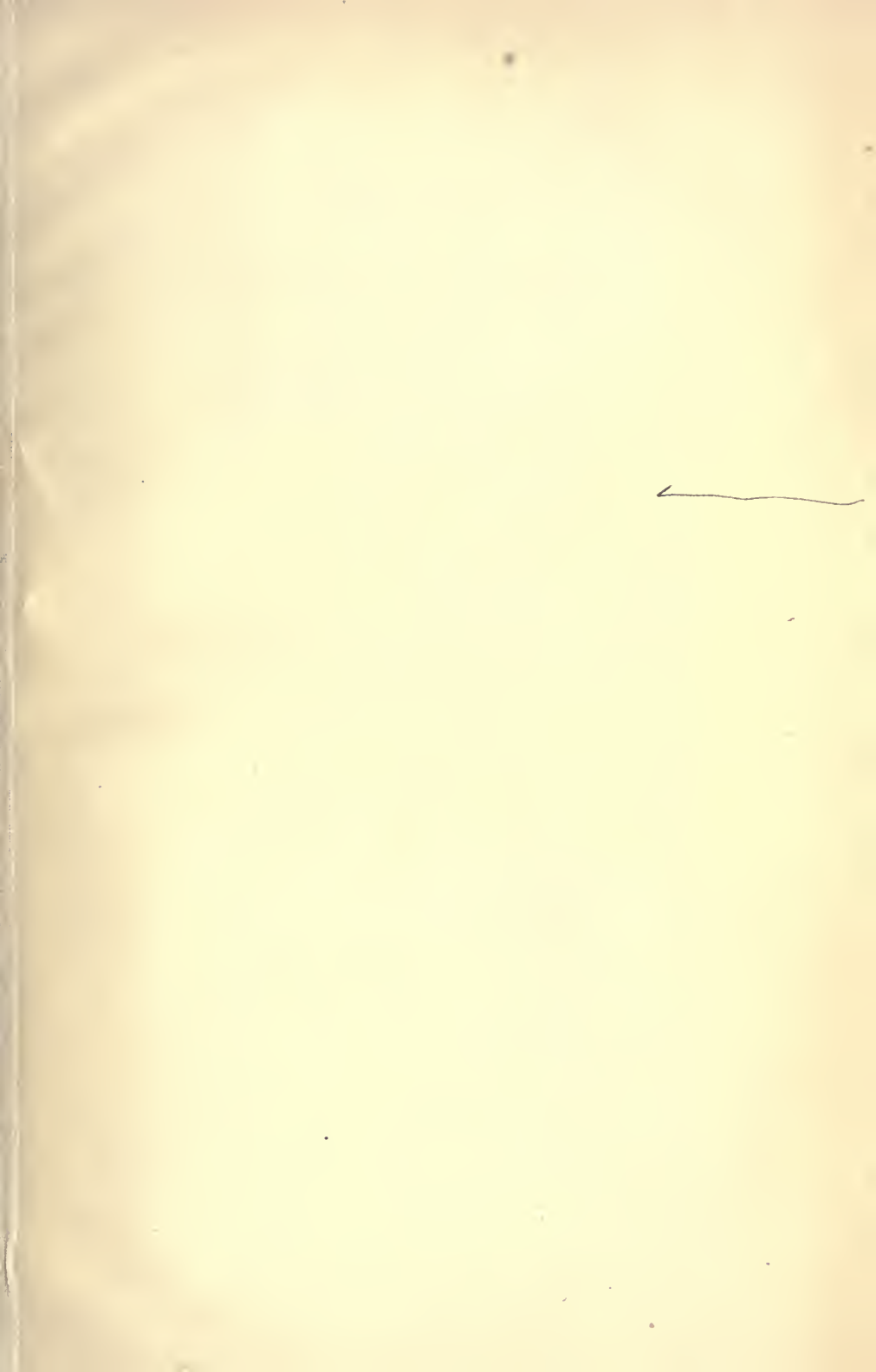
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